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PUBLICATIONS

OF THE

SCOTTISH HISTORY SOCIETY

VOLUME XLVII

CHRONICLES OF THE FRASERS

January 1905

CHRONICLES OF THE FRASERS

THE WARDLAW MANUSCRIPT ENTITLED 'POLICHRONICON SEU POLICRATICA TEMPORUM, OR, THE TRUE GENEALOGY OF THE FRASERS.' 916-1674

By Master JAMES FRASER
MINISTER OF THE PARISH OF WARDLAW (NOW KIRKHILL), INVERNESS

Edited from the Original Manuscript with Notes and Introduction, by
WILLIAM MACKAY

EDINBURGH
Printed at the University Press by T. and A. CONSTABLE
for the Scottish History Society
1905

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ILLUSTRATION

REPRODUCTION OF A PAGE OF THE MANUSCRIPT, *at page* 1.

INTRODUCTION

The author of *Polichronicon*, which has for the last hundred years been better known as the 'Wardlaw Manuscript,' was Master James Fraser of Phopachy, near Inverness, minister of the parish of Wardlaw or Kirkhill, in which Phopachy is situated. He was one of the twenty-four children of Mr. William Fraser of Phopachy and his good wife, Alison Fraser. Mr. William took the degrees of master of arts and doctor of medicine; but he ultimately studied divinity, and was minister of Kilmorack from 1630 to 1643; minister of Killearnan or Redcastle from 1643 to 1649; and minister of the Second Charge of Inverness from 1649 till his death in November 1659.[1]

Our author was born on 1st January 1634.[2] The probability is that he first saw the light at Phopachy, where his father may have resided when minister of Kilmorack, as he did while minister at Inverness. The child was named after his grandfather, James Fraser, Lord Lovat's major domo, or *fear-an-tigh* (the man of the house), who, in 1599, acquired in wadset Lovat's lands of Phopachy, which he had previously possessed under lease.[3] To these lands James succeeded on his father's death. He was succeeded in them by his son, Alexander, who was rewarded for his good services to Simon, the Lord Lovat of the Forty-five, by being

[1] P. 117, and Scott's *Fasti*. See his descent from the Frasers of Fruid, p. 115 *et seq.*

[2] P. 268.

[3] Pp. 235, 268.

persecuted to death by that nobleman; and to Alexander succeeded his son, Robert, in whose time—about 1740—Lord Simon redeemed the wadset. The connection with Phopachy thus ceased, but Alexander's son, James, the London apothecary who attended Lord Simon during his last hours, acquired the estate of Torbreck, near Inverness, which remained in his family until 1834. To him it was that Lovat said on the scaffold, 'My dear James, I am going to heaven, but you must continue to crawl a little longer in this evil world.' Several families of standing in Scotland and in England now trace their descent from the apothecary and his grandfather, the writer of the 'Wardlaw Manuscript.'

That writer received his early education in the grammar school of Inverness. Along with his chief's son, James Fraser, he boarded with his schoolmaster, John Robertson —'a pope,' with whom 'we must content ourselves to remain *sub ferula*.'[1] He was with Robertson as late as 1650, ~~In that year or the next~~ he entered King's College, Aberdeen,[2] where, in 1655, he took his degree of master of arts.[3]

A student of diligence and gifts, Mr. James, as he was now by virtue of his degree entitled to be called, ripened into a scholar of culture and erudition. In addition to English and Gaelic, he wrote Latin and French with ease; and he had some knowledge of Hebrew, Greek, German, and Italian. He was given to writing, and the Catalogue of his works, which he inserts in the Manuscript, and is printed in this volume, is a remarkable record of industry and versatility. Few literary workshops of his day saw so much

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[1] P. 349. [2] P. 398. [3] *Fasti Aberd.* (Spalding Club), p. 515; *Officers and Graduates of University and King's College* (New Spalding Club), p. 193.

labour as the little room in the thatched manse of Kirkhill which he calls 'my studdy at Mons Mariæ.' From it came forth, during his incumbency of forty-eight years, upwards of fifty volumes on subjects varying from history and theology to songs and jests. These extended to thousands of pages of manuscript. The *Polichronicon* alone, if printed in full, would make perhaps two volumes of the size of the present one; and the three volumes of 'Triennial Travels' would extend to almost as much. Mr. James wrote poetry in English and Gaelic, and he was the author of an 'Irish' or Gaelic dictionary, and of a volume on place-names. In addition to the works specified in the Catalogue he wrote an account of Loch Ness, which appears in the *Transactions* of the Philosophical Society for 1699; 'A Short Chronologie and Genealogie of the Bissets and Frasers of Lovat,' given in volume ii. of *Macfarlane's Genealogical Collections*, printed by this Society; and 'A True Genealogie of the Frasers, . . . being the Marrow of y^{t} he relates of y^{e} Frasers in his Polichronicon.' So far as the editor has been able to find, these writings are all lost, with the exception of *Polichronicon*; the 'Triennial Travels,' which are in the possession of the author's descendant, Miss Hilda M. Paterson, of Birkwood, Banchory, who has kindly allowed the editor to peruse them; 'Providentia,' which is in the Advocates' Library; the 'Bill of Mortality,' a most interesting record, which was discovered some years ago among the family papers of Mr. Ramsay Biscoe of Newton, and is now in the General Register House; and copies of the 'Short Chronologie' and 'True Genealogie.' The loss of his sermons and theological and philosophical treatises is to be regretted, but more so the disappearance of his Gaelic poetry and Gaelic dictionary, his book on the flora of his parish, his works on place-names and weather lore, his medical treatise, and his collections of songs, epigrams, epitaphs, jests, and raileries. Specimens of

his English verse are scattered throughout this volume,—the most ambitious being Lovat's Last Farewell—

> 'Farewell, fond world, so voful, full of care!
> Map of all mourning, toil, trouble, and dispare.
> . . . . . .
> Now my Yule royall I will keep above
> 'Mongst saints and angels with the god of love.
> Farewell, fond world, all friends I bid adue
> Till they and I in glore our loves renue.'[1]

The Mournful Elegy on p. 510 appears also to be from his pen—

> . . . . . .
> 'Farewell, dear soul, now fre'ed from haps and feares,
> Whilst we doe writ thin Epitaphs in teares.
> Alas! unsavoury flowers bud their full prime,
> Whilst the fragrant rose is pluckt before its time!'

Fraser, having rested for a time after finishing his course at college, resolved to see something of the world. 'Travel,' he writes, 'is by most men concluded to be one of the main meanes and advantages, conducible to compasse outward manners, to rectifie the judgement, enrich the mind with knowledge, and polish mankind.'[2] Imbued by these sentiments, he, on 7th June 1657, and when he was in the twenty-fourth year of his age, mounted his Highland pony, and, accompanied by a Highland servant, left Phopachy on a tour through Great Britain and the Continent. He carried a testimonial in Latin from the Presbytery and Magistrates of Inverness, and the following passport from the acting colonel and the secretary of the English garrison of that town:—

'Permit the bearer hereoff, Master James Fraser, Student in Divinity, with his servant and horse, to passe to Aberdeen, and so forward to England, without let or molestation, he acting nothing prejudicial to his Highness or the Commonwealth.

'Given under my hand and seale, at the Sconce near Inverness, the 5 of June, 1657. MYLES MAN.

'To all whom it may concern. JO. ROKLAY.'

[1] P. 311.

[2] 'Triennial Travels.'

He that night lodged in the house of his uncle, Alexander Fraser, in the East Street (now High Street) of Inverness, to whom he next morning bade farewell in a pint of claret and sugar, for which he paid one shilling sterling. Travelling by Nairn, Forres, and Elgin, to Aberdeen, he there further armed himself with a Latin testimonial from the principal and professors of King's College. In Edinburgh he was introduced to General Monk, from whom he obtained a second passport:—

'Permit the bearer hereoff, Mr. James Fraser, Student in Divinity, with his servant, horse, and necessaries, to passe to Cambridge, Oxford, or any other part in England, without molestation.

'Given under my hand and seale, at Dalkeith, the 17 day of June, 1657 yeares. GEORGE MONCK.

'To all officers and soulders and others q^m these may concern.
JO. CLERK, Sec.'

From Edinburgh Mr. James travelled by Haddington and Berwick to Tynemouth, where he took ship for London. He arrived in the great city on 4th July, having called at the principal ports on the way. Making London his head-quarters, he thoroughly explored the city itself, and visited Oxford, Cambridge, and other places of interest. On 8th December he left London for the Continent, and, selling his horse at Hastings, crossed to Dieppe, with other nine passengers, in the good ship *The Roe of Rye*. In Dieppe resided his uncle, Captain Hugh Fraser, who settled in France many years previously, and whom our traveller had never seen. The old skipper refused to believe that the young man was his nephew—perhaps he had already been imposed upon by wanderers from Scotland; whereupon Mr. James told him that he could do without his help, and started for Rouen in the company of Henry Jordan, a young Englishman with whom he had foregathered. The two travellers slowly

made their way to Paris, Orleans, Lyons, and Marseilles. From Marseilles Fraser took ship for Spain, and passed some time in that country. He then sailed to Minorca, and from that island to Corsica and Genoa. In Genoa he came across William Wait, in whose company he walked to Leghorn, Pisa, and Rome. He arrived in Rome on St. Peter's Day—Saturday, 29th June 1658—and, going straight to St. Peter's Church, had the good fortune to witness the Pope and seven cardinals celebrating the Apostle's festival.

In his wanderings hitherto Fraser had, when it suited his comfort and convenience, passed as a Roman Catholic pilgrim, and he consequently received the hospitality of the monasteries. He played the same part in Rome, and had his feet washed as a pilgrim, and ten days' free quarters given him in the pilgrims' hospital. Desiring to prolong his stay in the Eternal City, he joined the Pope's Guards, 'getting my muscat [musket] 7th July 1658.' He served the Pope until 4th April following, seeing what was worth seeing, and making many friends. On his departure from the city some of these convoyed him northwards for eight miles, and he once more had the good luck to fall in with a kindred spirit, Godfrey Hartley, with whom he did not part until they arrived in London.

Proceeding by Florence, Modena, Ferrara, and Padua, the young men reached Venice, where they made the acquaintance of John Scot, son of Captain George Scot, who, in 1643, built at Inverness a ship of prodigious bigness which became the terror of Mahometan navigators in the Mediterranean and the Adriatic.[1] He there found free lodgings for three nights in St. Mark's Hospital, and met so many friendly Scots, English, and Irish that, as he records, 'I could have free bed and board whole three months from them for nothing.'[2] After seven

[1] P. 297.

[2] P. 298, note.

days he and Hartley left the interesting and hospitable city; and, proceeding by Padua, Verona, and Trent, crossed the Alps, and travelled through the Tyrol, Bavaria, Austria, Hungary, Moravia, and Bohemia, visiting, among other cities, Munich, Vienna, Prague, and Ratisbon, where he was entertained for some days in the Scottish monastery. Making their way down the valley of the Neckar, they passed through Heidelberg, Spiers, Mannheim, Worms, Frankfort, and the Rhine cities, to Cologne. Leaving Cologne on 8th September, they travelled through Holland, Belgium, and the north of France, visiting the chief cities in those countries. In Brussels they were gratified to see Charles II. and his brother, afterwards James II. At Douay they were entertained at the Scots College, where they found sixteen Roman Catholic Scots students, two of whom were Highlanders of the name of Macdonell. Having 'done' Arras, Amiens, Abbeville, St. Valery, and Boulogne, they at last, in December, crossed from Calais to Hythe, where, 'kneeling down, we kissed the very earth in gratitude to our good God who brought us safe to our native soyle.' They reached London on the 21st of that month; and Fraser remained in England until 28th April 1660, when he sailed from Gravesend for Scotland. His ship was the *Mary* of Dundee, bound for Inverness—one of 'the Scotch fleet' of twenty-two vessels which sailed under the convoy of the Government frigate *Providence*. 'Providence,' he reflects, 'was still my convoy in all my travels and voyages.' To Gravesend, 'the dearest hole in England,' came down his London friends to pay their last farewell; and, 'by a happy providence,' his three fellow travellers on the Continent also met him there—Henry Jordan, William Wait, and Godfrey Hartley. 'At Mr. Shushans Checker Tavern we cheere one another with many affectionat remembrances, and, after bathing some choice healths in the best London liquors that

place could afford, at last we part, and bid adue to sack and the Checker at once.' Among his companions on board the *Mary* were several Inverness merchants who were returning from the Metropolis, bringing home their annual stock of commodities for their Highland customers.[1] And so, after an absence of almost three years, Mr. James Fraser returned to his native land, laden with notes and memoranda, which in due time became the 'Triennial Travels.' That work, besides personal experiences of an interesting nature, contains descriptive and historical sketches of every city and town through which he passed in the course of his tour, beginning with Inverness; and it is to be hoped that it will some day be given to the public.

When Mr. James returned he found that his father was dead, and that he himself was wadsetter of Phopachy. Next year he was appointed minister of his native parish; but Presbyterianism was about to give place for a time to Episcopacy, and the Presbytery of Inverness was by an Act of Council prohibited from taking his 'trials' until March 1662, by which time the bishops ruled. He filled the incumbency until his death in 1709. Although he was a pronounced Episcopalian, and heartily disliked the Covenanters, he cannot be said to have been a narrow or unreasonable bigot. We have seen how he played the Roman Catholic on the Continent. He studied divinity under the Presbyterian regime, and, if the Act of Council had not intervened, would have been inducted to his parish as a Presbyterian. During the Episcopalian period he mildly resisted such feeble efforts as were made by the Presbyterians of the North to spread their principles. When the Revolution placed those Presbyterians in power he acquiesced in the change, but, in common with the majority of his presbytery, adhered to Episcopacy, and retained his charge. In this course he and

[1] Pp. 428-30.

his Episcopalian friends had the support of their flocks; and they were not interfered with in their ministry until they were, one after another, removed by death. So far as the people were concerned, it was difficult for them to see wherein the two church systems differed. The Episcopalians had their kirk sessions and presbyteries and other church courts, as the Presbyterians had; and practically the same order of public worship was followed by both parties. But at the Revolution the Episcopalians were the friends, and the Presbyterians the enemies, of King James; and the Jacobite Highlanders continued to look with a friendly eye on the bishops until the old order of things passed away in the troubles of the Forty-five.

Few districts in the Highlands are more interesting historically than the parish of Kirkhill, which was formed in 1618 by the union of the two older parishes of Wardlaw in the west, and Fernua in the east. Originally, the church of the western parish stood at Dunballoch, but in the beginning of the thirteenth century it was, under an agreement betwèen the Bishop of Moray and John Bisset of Lovat, transferred to that beautiful hillock, which, looking down upon the rich plain of Lovat, was its ward-law or watch-hill in times when watch and ward were necessary.[1] That agreement gives the Gaelic name of the hill as Balabrach—probably the Town of the Malt. According to our author, the old church of Dunballoch was dedicated to St. Mauritius,[2] and in this he is followed by Shaw, the historian of Moray, who also states that the new church on the Ward-law was dedicated to the Virgin.[3] To this day the Gaelic people call the eminence *Cnoc Mhoire*—Mary's Hill; and the fair, which in the old days was held at Dunballoch annually on 11th November, was known as *Feill Mauri*—Mauri's Fair.[4]

[1] *Register of Moray* (Bannatyne Club), p. 16. [2] P. 60.
[3] *Hist. of Moray*, p. 361. [4] P. 275.

But there is no trace among the people of Mauritius, who would have been known to their ancestors in the thirteenth century, not as Mauri, but as Machar, which was his Gaelic name; and it is pretty certain that Mr. James's Mauri was not Mauritius, but Moire (Mary); that the Dunballoch church bore the Virgin's name; and that the name followed the church to the Ward-law. Mons Mariæ is the name by which our author prefers to know the hill, and he delights in describing himself as *Ecclesiastes Montis Mariæ*,[1] or *Pastor Montis Mariæ*.[2] *Air Moire 's a' Chnoc*, By Mary in the Hill, was a form of oath in the district.[3]

The church of Fernua, said to be derived from *feàrn*, alder,[4] stood at Baile-na-h-Eaglais, or Kirkton, where the old burying-ground is still in use. It was dedicated to Curadan or Kiritinus, who in the early days of the Celtic Church was bishop and abbot of Rosemarkie, and who became the patron saint of the churches of Corrimony in Glen Urquhart, Bona on Loch Ness, and Struy in Strathglass. It had a good glebe called *Croit an Teampuill*, the Croft of the Temple or Church.[5] In Fernua also stood the cell of Bunchrew, whose hermits kept a register of local events, which was known as *Scriptum Bunchriviæ*.[6]

At the union of Wardlaw and Fernua in 1618, the name of Kirkhill was given to the united parish. During that century it is sometimes called Wardlaw and sometimes Kirkhill. Since Mr. James's time the latter name has prevailed.

The old church of Wardlaw stood in the present churchyard. It was abandoned in 1790, when the present parish church was erected on a less interesting site. Mr. James's manse probably stood where the modern manse stands. Church and manse were covered with thatch. In the church

[1] Title-page. [2] See Catalogue, p. . [3] P. 112.
[4] Shaw's *Moray*, p. 361. [5] P. 185. [6] P. 3.

he faithfully taught and preached in Gaelic and English for the long period of forty-eight years, while the manse witnessed the wonderful literary labours to which reference has been made. The fragment of his session-book, still preserved at Kirkhill, records but one 'text' for each Sunday; from which it would appear that he preached in both tongues from the same passage. His sermons were written in English, and, as he collected them into several volumes, we may assume that they were prepared with care. At a presbyterial visitation of his parish on 21st August 1677, his heritors and elders declared themselves satisfied with his doctrine, living, and conversation, and stated that he was so 'panefull' in visiting the sick, catechising the people, and his other ministerial duties, 'that they were affrayed that he should thereby shorten his own dayes in all likliehood.'[1] In visiting the sick he, doubtless, gave them the free benefit of that medical knowledge of which he made use in the parish 'Herbal' and 'Experiments of Phisick and Chirurgery,' and which he had probably acquired from his father. The session-book tells that he provided so well for the poor of the parish that crowds of hungry strangers flocked to the church at his annual distribution of money and meal. In discipline he was firm, but just. The 'Bill of Mortality' and *Polichronicon* show that he knew his parishioners and the inhabitants of the surrounding districts by name and headmark; and he went in and out among them, not only as their spiritual guide and temporal adviser, but also as one deeply interested in their manners and customs, and in their Gaelic legends and lore, which he noted mentally as he rested within their turf huts. Notwithstanding the incessant demands of his charge and his study, he was to the last ready to assist his neighbouring brethren. During the last eighteen months of his life, for

[1] *Records of Inverness and Dingwall* (Scot. Hist. Society), p. 79.

example, he, in spite of his age, preached in Kiltarlity, Dores, and Glen Urquhart.

Mr. James's dust lies in the yard of his old church. His grave is not known with certainty. His memory, however, has not faded away, and one tradition—an echo of the 'Triennial Travels'—tells how he travelled in foreign parts for three years, during which he visited the Holy Land and beheld the Holy Places, and how, when he unexpectedly returned on a Sunday morning, the bells of his church, which had during his absence been silent, rang out a welcome of their own accord.

In October 1669 Mr. James married Margaret Symmer, daughter of Mr. Alexander Symmer, minister of Duffus—Lord Lovat accompanying him to Morayshire on the occasion.[1] There were three sons of the marriage: Robert, who predeceased him; Alexander, who succeeded to Phopachy; and Simon, of whom nothing is known.

The *Polichronicon* was Fraser's greatest work—how great in the estimation of his friends is shown by the 'panagirick eulogy' of one of his admirers—

> . . . . . .
> 'Our great historians of a long time ar dead,
> And yow to those brave heroes do succeed.
> Long have we wisht, but all this time in vaine,
> To see our ancient genious wake againe.
> In spite of malice yow will still be great,
> And raise your name above the powr of fate.
> Our sinking house, which now stoops low with age,
> Yow show with newborn lustre on the stage.
> Thus candles, crumbling in their sockets, lye
> And sally out in flams before they dye.
> Goe on, brave man, advance quhat yow have begun,
> Assured of this to be by none undone.'[2]

Another friend gives his anagram—*Facis in orbe rarus*.[3]

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[1] P. 484. [2] P. 28.

[3] P. 29. The anagram contains the letters of the author's name in Latin, *Jacobus Fraserus*.

He himself writes: 'This work cost me time: it was a serious subject, and I lookt or I leapt; for heast makes wast, and I remember the poet—*Nonumque praematur in annum*:—

> 'Eight yeares digest what you have rudly hinted,
> And in the ninth yeare, let the same be printed.'[1]

The title-page tells that he began to write this volume in 1666; but page 120 must have been written after 1682, and pages 496-497 not earlier than 1691. The Preface is dated 'From my studdy at Mons Mariæ, July 9, *anno* 1666'; but the dedication which immediately follows is to Simon, Lord Fraser of Lovat. The Lord Lovat of 1666 was Hugh, and the first lord after him who bore the name of Simon was Lovat of the Forty-five, who succeeded in 1699. The explanation of the matter seems to be that the author had the work in hand from 1666 until after 1699, and that the volume which we possess is a clean copy, made after that year, and dedicated to the chief who then ruled.

The volume has come down to us through (first) the author's son, Alexander Fraser of Phopachy, who died about 1736; (second) Alexander's son, Robert, of Phopachy and Wester Ballifeary, who died without issue, and probably unmarried, after 1769; (third) Robert's brother, James, the London apothecary, who purchased Torbreck in 1758, and died in 1770; (fourth) James's son, Alexander of Torbreck, who died in 1821; (fifth) Alexander's daughter, Anne, who married Captain John Macdonald, of Springfield, Forres; and (sixth) her daughter, Anne, who married John Thomson, of Springfield, Inverness, solicitor and bank agent in that town, and latterly of Liverpool. In January 1870, and after her husband's death, Mrs. Thomson sent the volume, and the gold-headed cane which Lord Simon handed on the scaffold

[1] P. 10.

to his solicitor, William Fraser, to London to be sold; and on the 22nd of that month they were purchased for Sir William Augustus Fraser, baronet, of Ledeclune and Morar, by Mr. Francis Harvey, bookseller, 4 St. James's Street, at the price of £140. On Sir William's death, in 1898, the volume came into the hands of his trustees and Sir Keith Alexander Fraser, the present baronet, who have, with great courtesy, placed it at the editor's disposal.

Only a comparatively small portion of the work has hitherto been made known. The Hon. Archibald Fraser of Lovat (Gillespic Mac-Shimi), son of Simon of the Forty-five, drew upon it in a small volume of annals of his family which he printed in 1795; and so did Mr. John Anderson in his history of the Frasers, published in 1825. Dr. Robert Carruthers gave extracts from it in his *Highland Note Book*, published in 1843; and extracts were also made by Mr. Lewis M. Mackenzie of Findon, who died in 1856. Findon's transcript is now in the British Museum, and has to some extent been utilised by Mr. Edmund Chisholm-Batten in the *Priory of Beauly*, printed by the Grampian Club in 1877.

The work is primarily a history of the Frasers; but to Mr. James the seat of his chief was the centre of Europe, and he gathers around the family story historical sketches of Scotland, England, the Popes, France, Germany, and almost every Continental state. The editor has, in preparing this volume, omitted all matter not properly connected with Scottish history, and many pages have thus been discarded.

The author's sources are indicated on pages 3, 11, 79, and 128. The *Records of the Priory of Beauly* are now, with the exception of certain copies, unfortunately lost; and so is *Scriptum Bunchriviæ*, which, indeed, disappeared in Fraser's own time. He obviously had access to the manuscript of Sir Robert Gordon's *Earldom of Sutherland*, and he made

use of family charters, the *Register of Moray*, and the Scottish histories which were available in his time.

From the time when Julius de Berry treated Charles the Simple of France to 'curious sallats and fruites,' and so acquired the name Fraise or Strawberry[1]—whence Fraser—down to almost his own time our author's narrative is unscientific and inaccurate; and he lets his imagination have free rein. The harangues of his Highland heroes rival in eloquence the speech which Tacitus puts into the mouth of the Caledonian chief at the battle of Mons Granpius; and, considering how rare the Bible was, they reveal a praiseworthy knowledge of its contents. The value of his book, however, lies not in what it records of early history—although that is not without a certain interest—but in what it tells of the people of his own time, and the times of his father and grandfather, and especially of the stirring events of the reign of Charles I., the rule of Cromwell, and the early years of Charles II.

When the Troubles of the first Charles arose, and the Scots 'clandestinly contrived plots against their good King,' the Highland chiefs began to muster and train their men for such services as might be required of them in his Majesty's cause.[2] Hugh, Lord Lovat, provided 'a good armory, stored with muscats, firlocks, gunpouder, and amunition'; and the young Master of Lovat, who, in 1636, won at Aberdeen the silver arrow in a competition at bowmarks and rovers, and was devoted to the trumpet and great pipe, made a progress through the extensive lordship, enlisting the 'prettiest' men, furnishing them with bows and arrows, and training them in martial and manly exercises—archery, shooting with firelocks, fencing with cudgels, running, jumping, swimming, and throwing of the bar.[3]

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[1] P. 31. [2] P. 257. [3] *Ibid.*

But the Master died before there was fighting to do, and Lord Hugh, good and amiable, but 'sunk in melancholy,'[1] devolved the management of the estates on his own brother, Sir James Fraser of Brey, an ardent and masterful Covenanter, who carried the clan into the Covenanting cause. In this he had the aid of a Deity offended by the introduction of *Na Leabhraichean Dearg*—the Red Books—as Laud's Liturgy was called in the North. The waters of the flood were again upon the earth. The Beauly and the Conon overwhelmed their neighbouring lands, and the Burn of Jack devastated Easter Moniack, Drumchardny, Drumchrie, and Bogroy, sweeping land, houses, cattle, and sheep into the sea.[2] Montrose had no more vigorous opponent than the Laird of Brey, who not only led the Frasers against him, but for a time induced other clans to follow their example. When the Marquis marched into the Highlands, Inverness, garrisoned by the Covenanters, prepared to resist him to the utmost. 'To the great trouble and cost of the country, the towne was sconced round with an earthen wall, a deep trensh, rampards, and pillasads, a strong port to the east, another to the south in the top of the Castle street, another at the bridge, the 4 [fourth] low at the church. Every parish came in to the town successively till all was finished and Inverness made a considerable strength.'[3]

The Frasers strengthened the Aird and Strathglass by constructing five sconces within their bounds,[4] and at Auldearn they so stoutly opposed the yellow banner of Colkitto that eighty-seven widows were left 'about the Lord Lovates eares; this we got for our dissloyall, rebellious covenent which we fought for.'[5]

The victories of Montrose at Tippermuir, Inverlochy, and Auldearn brought him the support of the Macdonalds,

[1] P. 259. [2] P. 272. [3] P. 287. [4] P. 315. [5] P. 296.

Macleods, Mackenzies, and Mackays; but the Frasers continued to stand fast for the Covenant. For this they were severely punished; for when, in April 1646, Montrose was unsuccessfully besieging Inverness, he allowed his army to overrun the Aird and Strathglass, with the result that 'betuixt the bridge end of Inverness and Gusachan, 26 miles, there was not left in my countrie a sheep to bleet, or a cock to crow day, nor a house unruffled.' The Inverness garrison and the local sconces 'preserved thousands of soules, men, women, and children, who had recourse for safety to these fortes to preserve their lives; otherwayes all had perished in the fury of this surprise and onesett.'[1]

For other local incidents of Montrose's war the reader must be referred to Mr. James's pages—such as the plunderings and burnings of Lord Lewis Gordon and his master burner;[2] Highland William sitting astride a barrel of ale, defying the enemy and calling upon passers-by to drink to the King;[3] Montrose and Middleton watching each other for days from the opposite banks of the Beauly;[4] Dochmaluag's attempt to seduce the Frasers;[5] the meetings of Colkitto and Foiness over a bottle of fraternity between their rival camps;[6] the mutiny of the Inverness Covenanters, during which our author was bespattered with blood—and the consequent surrender of the town to the Mackenzies and the Mackays;[7] the haughty conduct of those clans on their march to Balvenie, when they would not eat without *airgiod cagainn*, or chew money, and their miserable return, when they were glad to lap water like dogs;[8] the betrayal of Montrose, and his appearance and bearing as he journeyed southward to his doom.[9]

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[1] P. 315. [2] P. 313. [3] P. 314. [4] P. 316.
[5] P. 325. [6] P. 329. [7] P. 337. [8] Pp. 339, 340.
[9] P. 352 *et. seq.* It is the part taken by Inverness in Montrose's war that is probably referred to in the 'Prophesie made before the situatioune of Inverness'

The defeat at Carbisdale and the death of the great Royalist leader were severe blows to the friends of Charles II.; but, when his Majesty landed at Garmouth in June 1650, he was still welcomed by the Scottish people. The incident of the old Earl of Southesk drinking *deoch-an-doruis* with him illustrates the homely warmth of that welcome.[1] The battle of Dunbar was another terrible blow; but the Highland chiefs continued to send their best men to carry on the struggle. Mr. James beheld and admired the Highlanders of Strathnaver, Caithness, Sutherland, and Ross, as they marched southward through his parish. The Master of Lovat mustered the men of the Aird, Stratherrick, and Abertarff at Tomnahurich, and, in April, four hundred of them marched south, 'without rant or vanity, as pretty men as went from the North.'[2]

In the camp at Torwood the royal army had a pleasant time. Charles was merry and gracious, and he gratified the Highlanders especially by calling them 'the flower of his forces.' Competitions took place, at which Axell, Lord Home's servant, was declared to be the best trumpeter, and the Earl of Sutherland's 'domestick,' the best piper. The King, observing old John MacCrimmon, the hereditary piper of

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preserved in the collection of Gaelic poetry made by Macrae of Inverinate in the seventeenth century (*Reliquiæ Celticæ*, vol. ii. p. 90):—

'*Invernish daill chlaisk*
Dorire kaha tuirhghash,
i dig M'Pehaig i mach
Lea layn agas lea luhrich
Tuitti ni Ghayle ma saigh
Ma voirlumb toim nj hurich.

Inverness a clashing [?]!
A deadly battle will be fought,
In which MacBeth will come forth
With his blade and his mail;
The Gael shall fall over one another
About the Bordland of Tomnahurich.'

[1] P. 366. [2] Pp. 378-379.

Macleod of Dunvegan, standing proudly in the midst of eighty fellow pipers, was informed, 'Sir, yow are our King, and yonder old man in the midle is the Prince of Pipers.' Charles gave MacCrimmon his hand to kiss; whereupon the veteran played *Thug mi pòg do lamh an Righ*, which has ever since been a favourite among lovers of the bagpipe—

'Thug mi pòg, is pòg, is pòg,
Gu'n d'thug mi pòg do lamh mo righ;
Cha do chuir gaoth an craicionn caorach
Fear a fhuair an fhaoilt ach mi.

'I gave a kiss, a kiss, a kiss,
A kiss I gave the royal hand;
Who got such honour save myself
There is not piper in the land.'[1]

But these pleasant doings came to an end at Worcester, where there was great slaughter among the men of the kilt. Many who survived were seized and transported to the American plantations. Others were sent to Barbadoes, where, a century later, their descendants may have exchanged traditions with the exiles of Culloden.[2] Many more perished in the attempt to reach their homes through an unfriendly people, to whom they and their garb had been a terror, and whose language they neither spoke nor understood. The Commonwealth prevailed; and such was the consternation in the Lowlands that the clergy 'tooke the frey, and many of them ran north to Inverness.'[3] The ministers of the parishes bordering on the Moray and Beauly Firths prepared to seek shelter in the glens, and provided 'cloathes fitt for their jurnay'—trews, if not kilts.[4] They were, however, in no danger. A marvellous peace suddenly fell upon the land.

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[1] Fionn's *Martial Music of the Clans*, p. 123, where, as well as in Mansons's *Highland Bagpipe*, p. 329, MacCrimmon's Christian name is given as Patrick.

[2] Pp. 388, 392. Certain exiles in Barbadoes married there notwithstanding that they left wives at home.—*Records of Inverness and Dingwall*, p. xliv.

[3] P. 392. [4] P. 393.

'All the North of Scotland are demure under a slavish calm, submitting their Voluntar unvoluntar necks to the present swaying yock wreathed about their necks';[1] and so long as the calm continued the Saxon soldiers who garrisoned Inverness and the principal houses in the North did not harass pastor or people.

The account of Colonel Fitch's English regiment in Inverness—their sectarianism, and hangings to begin with;[2] their improvement during their ten years' sojourn—'they made that place happy, and it made them so';[3] their grief when that sojourn came to an end;[4] the glory of the citadel;[5] the imprisonment within its walls of chiefs and chieftains who had hitherto been a law to themselves;[6] the launching of the first ship on Loch Ness;[7] the peace and prosperity which had so strangely overtaken the Highlands—is a wonderful story. 'It were a rant to relate what advantages the country had by this regiment. Story may yet record it, but I onely set down in the generall something of what I was eyewitness.'[8]

One of these advantages, it has been thought, was that the soldiers taught the inhabitants of Inverness English of remarkable elegance and purity. 'The soldiers,' writes Samuel Johnson, 'seem to have incorporated afterwards with the inhabitants, and to have peopled the place with an English race; for the language of this town has been long considered as peculiarly elegant.'[9] But is there reason to suppose that the soldiers had themselves that elegance of speech which they are said to have imparted to their children and neighbours? The rank and file were unlearned men, drawn from all parts of England, and probably speaking as many dialects as are still found between Northumberland

[1] P. 396. [2] Pp. 397, 402. [3] P. 447.
[4] *Ibid.* [5] Pp. 399, 413. [6] Pp. 408, 416.
[7] P. 415. [8] P. 416. [9] *Journey to the Western Islands.*

and Devon. The elegance of the Inverness English in the old days has been remarked by other travellers; but its origin is to be found in the circumstance that the language was acquired by a Gaelic-speaking people whose native tongue was remarkably free from 'brogue' or accent, not from English or Lowland soldiers, but from educated schoolmasters and good English books.[1]

The Highland chiefs who had supported Charles II. were taken bound by solemn bonds that they and their clans, vassals, tenants, and servants, should deport themselves peaceably under the government of the Commonwealth, and should give all due obedience to the Lord Protector and his successors; and that they should not build houses of strength on their lands, or suffer the enemies of the Commonwealth to reside or remain within their bounds.[2] These obligations were respected so long as Cromwell lived, and the Highland people enjoyed a greater measure of repose and security under him than had been their lot for centuries. But the king's Restoration was also the restoration of undesirable customs; and the bonfires which greeted the happy event were the signal to many a veteran cattle-lifter, whose hand had during the 'slavish calm' nigh lost its cunning, to resume the spirited work of harry and spuilzie.

How vigorously that work was carried on in the district of Inverness during the years that immediately followed the razing of the Citadel in 1662, the editor has had occasion to tell elsewhere.[3] As of old, it was connived at, if not encouraged, by the heads of the clans. 'The Lord Mack-

[1] Thomas Kirk, an Englishman who visited Inverness in 1677, wrote: 'All in the town of Inverness do generally use that language ['Wild Irish' or Gaelic] except some few of the better sort, that can speak Scottish.'—*Tours in Scotland*, 1677 and 1681, p. 28.

[2] See *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*, vol. xiv. p. 74, for Glengarry's bond—an interesting specimen.

[3] *Urquhart and Glenmoriston*, p. 175.

donel' [Glengarry], remarks Mr. James, 'lives still at Drakies, within a mile east from Inverness, and some do construe that his stay there is to give the greater latitud to his rude clan to sally out, sorn uppon, and pillage their nighboures, for the Highlanders are now brakeing out to prey uppon the Low Countries in robberies and depredations everywhere; the strick restriant which the English kept uppon their necks being now taken off, there is no right method as yet fallen uppon to punish or curb these ravage courses at all.'[1]

The true Highland reaver had little in common with the English highwayman, who made it unsafe for our author to travel by land from London to Scotland,[2] and whose demand was, 'Your money or your life'; and still less, perhaps, with the mosstrooper of the Borders, of whom it was sung :—

'They spuilze puir men of their pakis,
They leif them nocht on bed nor bakis;
Baith hen and cok,
With reil and rok,
The Lairdis Jok
All with him takis.'

Such petty larcenies were beneath the Northern cateran, who was frequently the younger son of a laird or a large tacksman, and who looked upon his profession as a gentleman's calling, and upon a cattle-raid as legitimate warfare. He stood high above the common masterful beggars whose custom it was 'to sorrin from house to house, makeing merry whilst provision lasts, and still carry the master of the last house with them';[3] and he was sometimes the protector and supporter of the poor. Mr. James mentions several heroes of the sort, but, being an inhabitant of the suffering 'Low Countries,' his references are neither generous nor sympathetic. Mac Robert Straun, who flourished in the end

[1] P. 457. [2] P. 428. [3] P. 205.

of the sixteenth century, had eight hundred men under his command, and 'all the Kingdom was affraid of him.' In the end he was seized, and executed at Perth; while several of his followers met the same fate at Inverness.[1] The braggart course of John Macleod, whose character was not worthy of his standing as the Laird of Raasay's brother, was brought to a close at St. Bridget's fair, Conon, in February 1597.[2] In the middle of the following century John Dow Gare—*Iain Dubh Ceàrr* (Black John the Left-handed), 'troubled all the North with excursions, and never traveled without 20 stout fellowes attending him well armed, put a tax uppon townes and villages as he went through, and made all compon with him, bribing him with loane and soumes of mony.'[3] The most noted, however, of Mr. James's caterans was Patrick Roy MacGregor, who, making the Cairn of Mounth his haunt, kept the surrounding districts, including Moray, Banff, Aberdeen, and Angus, in terror. The story of the mock trial and the hanging of Alexander Lyon, and of Patrick Roy's last fight, and death, is well told on pages 487-489.

Although Mr. James gives credit to the soldiers of the Commonwealth for the undoubted benefits which they conferred upon the north, the Restoration of the monarchy and the establishment of Episcopacy were in his view an unmixed blessing; and he is unable to conceal the satisfaction with which he spied Thomas Fitch, whom he had known in power and grandeur as governor of Inverness and colonel of the English regiment there, lurking in a private lane near London Bridge, 'most dejected.' 'These happy changes hath brought such snakes to skulc up and down the city obscurly and in disguise.'[4]

Between the Restoration and the year 1674, when the

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[1] P. 129. [2] P. 230. [3] P. 324. [4] P. 428.

Manuscript, as it has come down to us, closes, the author chats and gossips about local events; but of the tyrannical proceedings in the Lowlands, which were undermining the throne of the Stewarts, he has scarce a word to say. The persecutions which disgraced the South did not much affect or concern the North; and he, at any rate, had no sympathy for those 'wild and disaffected persons,'[1] who were the unhappy, but, in his estimation, deluded sufferers.

The Troubles, which began with Laud's Liturgy, and may be said to have ended only with the establishment of Presbyterianism after the Revolution, if not, indeed, with Culloden, were heralded by strange and marvellous portents. We have seen how the introduction of the ill-omened Red Books was followed by the devastation of the fairest portions of the Aird. As the Troubles developed, 'prodigious signs, apparitions, spectraes, strange sights, were seen everywhere, which presaged warr and revolutions, such as men fighting in the aire, horse and foot, retreating, returning again, visibly observed.' Ghostly armies, whose clothes and accoutrements were plainly observed, went through their evolutions on the hillside, and were taken for the forces of Montrose and Colkitto; 'yet all evanished again and again.' Two Kirkhill butchers, journeying to Inverness, found themselves walking behind a spectre army, foot and horse, and heard the rattling of their arms. Three men, who were known to Mr. James, saw an army of marshalled horse and foot near Beauly Ferry—'the very collour of their horses and cloths, kettledrums and ensigns, apparent, to the wonder and admiration of many.' On three several evenings two hosts fought above Beauly, the glistening of their swords being seen by men as they slashed at each other. Two great whales, one representing the King and the other the Parliament, pursued each other up the Beauly Firth until they both perished

[1] P. 499.

on the shallow sands between Tarradale and Spittal.[1] The spring of *Crois Beo*—the Living Cross—near Beauly, ran blood for three days; and at the Virgin's Well at Kirkhill men 'observed three ovall pieces of clotted bloud, as broad as trenchers, flotting upon the water.'[2]

The times were otherwise full of the supernatural. At the battle of Blair-na-leine only four Frasers were left alive, and the clan was saved from extinction by the providential circumstance that the widows of eighty of the fallen heroes each 'brought forth a sone, and every one lived to be a man.'[3] When the tutor and ladies of Lovat sacrilegiously attempted to remove the ancient Celtic bell of Kilchuimen, Loch Ness, which in a previous age carried St. Columba's corricle against the wind,[4] lashed itself into a tempest, and refused to be the bearer of the sacred relic: since which the waters of the lake have been as good as medicine for man and beast.[5] Chancellor James Stewart was slain at Catslack, as he had been forewarned years before;[6] and a witch's warning was similarly fulfilled in the case of Sir Lachlan Maclean.[7] Second-sighted Donald Glashach saw upon the shoulders of Lady Katherine Fraser the two lords whom she was in the future to marry.[8] Weird lights and voices led to the discovery on the altar of Beauly Priory of a parchment written in Gothic characters, unfolding the fate of the family of Lovat.[9] A singular providence ruled the proceedings, under the presidency of our author, for the discovery of the murderer of Donald Mac William Chui;[10] and, until he was found to be a woman, Paterson the

[1] At a later period the appearance of a great whale at Inverness was the precursor of the departure of the English garrison (p. 449). A sturgeon taken at Drumchardny presaged death; and three big whales taken at Ardersier were followed by the accidental death of the Laird of Cawdor's brother (p. 443).

[2] Pp. 290, 291. [3] P. 138. [4] Adamnan's *St. Columba*.
[5] P. 147. [6] Pp. 197, 220. [7] P. 233. [8] P. 284.
[9] P. 468. [10] P. 516.

Pricker was no doubt believed to be under divine guidance in his search for witches.[1] Even the storms had their element of judgment. A wretched woman of Elgin, who blasphemed when others prayed, was struck dead by lightning; and a Garmouth young atheist, who called upon the thunder to 'crack on and drown the corn the year as yow did fornyear,' met a similar fate. 'What dreadfull warnings are these, worthy to be regarded and recorded by all Christians!'[2]

The *Polichronicon* throws much light on the life of the Highland chief of the olden time. His first duty, on coming to his inheritance, was to make a progress through his estates, to ride his marches, to hold regality and baron courts, and to settle tenants. On such occasions he was accompanied by a strong body-guard—one hundred bowmen, for example, when in 1589 the Tutor of Lovat visited Glenelg,[3] and two hundred clansmen, besides strangers, when, fourteen years later, Lord Lovat made that journey to the same country which occasioned such a 'take' of herring that for many years thereafter the people prayed, *A Dhe, cuin a thig Mac-Shimi?* —O God, when will Lord Lovat come again?[4] At the baron courts rough justice was dispensed in civil and criminal matters, and the tenants' obligations were proclaimed—the principal being to pay their rents in money or in kind, to perfect themselves in the use of the bow, and, latterly, the gun, and to protect the meiths and marches. According to a Lovat maxim a gentleman's first duty was to watch and guard the chief's territory, and 'to live uppon the marches, skirts, and extremities thereof, to keep off theeves and sorroners.'[5] Alexander of Foiness, Colkitto's friend, fixed a watch in the Heights of the Aird to keep back the sorners and vagabonds who overran the Highlands, as they did the Lowlands.[6]

[1] P. 446. [2] P. 493. [3] P. 184. [4] Pp. 221, 222.
[5] P. 250. [6] P. 328.

The adjustment of boundaries was always a serious business. In 1557 hundreds of armed Mackenzies and Frasers met at Rheindoun over a dispute between their chiefs, and a bloody conflict was prevented only by the good offices of the Laird of Fowlis.[1] At the settling of a march between Mackenzie of Tarbat and Ross of Balnagown in 1664 eight hundred Rosses appeared to support their chief's claim. 'Providence prevented a signall mischeefe that day.'[2] In the same year there was a great congress at Inverness, at which a very old dispute between The Mackintosh and Lochiel regarding their lands in Lochaber was closed. Mackintosh was supported by a number of gentlemen, and by about five hundred rank and file, who lay at the Haugh. Lochiel had also his friends; and his three hundred armed men lay about Tomnahurich. 'Earth, water, aire, rebounded at the sound of bagpipes Martiall music. At the sound of a trumpet the meeting sits, at some distance, and my Lord Bishop of Murray and the Laird of Alter, as arbitrators and trenchmen, passed betuixt them, and at last, the 3rd day, being Thursday, maters were brought to an accommodation and agreement, that it prevented litigation and cost in law. This was a noble sight of gallant gentlemen, and the clergy in decent grave garbs.'[3]

No opportunity was lost of displaying the chief's 'tail.' When Queen Mary visited Inverness she was met by the Tutor of Lovat at the head of four hundred men.[4] Later, Lovat met the Regent Moray at Inverness at the head of two hundred gentlemen;[5] and when, in 1661, the Fraser chief returned from a visit to the South he was met at the bridge-end of Inverness by sixty mounted gentlemen and six hundred foot—our author being 'present at that pleasant parade.'[6]

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[1] P. 179. [2] P. 454. [3] *Ibid.* [4] P. 148. [5] P. 161. [6] P. 440.

Marriages, and the 'infers,' or bringing home of the bride, were also made the occasions of great gatherings. At the wedding feast of Simon, Lord Lovat, and the daughter of the Knight of Kintail, at Christmas, 1589, 'the Yowell [Yule] was royall and solemn, nothing wanting to make it a splendid bridall, where all the clans in the North, in part or whole, were concerned.' This was followed by a 'great infare' in the house of Beauly—the ancient home of the Priory monks.[1] When in 1596 Lord Lovat brought home Lady Jean Stewart, the young couple were attended by the prime and flower of the Frasers of the shires of Inverness and Aberdeen. They were also escorted by the Lairds of Mackintosh, Kintail, Fowlis, Balnagown, and Cromartie, with their retinues; and the infer feast was 'sumptuous and extravagant, for all maner of provision desireable that the Kingdom could afford.'[2] The bringing home of Lord Leven's daughter by the Master of Lovat, in 1642, was a triumphal progress from Edinburgh to Inverness. Four hundred young gentlemen met them at Inverness and conducted them to Lovat, where the feast was 'splendid enugh.' 'Liquors of all sorts, meat, mirth, musick, and good management of all things.'[3] The marriage and infer rejoicings continued for days. The infer feast of the Earl of Sutherland and Lovat's daughter, in 1638, extended over eight days.[4] We learn something of the manner in which the guests occupied the time from the accounts of the wedding of Ross of Balnagown and Mary Fraser of Lovat, in 1634, when, in allusion to the names and native provinces of the young people, 'epithalamiums and nuptiall panagiricks [were] made to the Rose and Marigold, or the Rosemary of Murray and the Rosa solis of Rosse,'[5] and of the espousal of Sir Hugh Calder of Cawdor to Lady Henrietta Stewart, in January 1662, at

[1] P. 201. [2] P. 224. [3] P. 278. [4] P. 261. [5] 256.

which Mr. James was present. 'The gloves and contract ribbans being distributed in state, we had a most solemn feast, a wedding rather than a contract dinner.' In the afternoon the wits of the house gave anagrams and accrosticks in writ to the bride, and I judged Lovat gave the most apposit of all, Henreta Stuart, an tru sweet hart: which, with the accrosting pertinent verse, was applauded, the bridgroome, Sir Hugh, the greatest poet in Murray, being the most competent judge in that case. After a surfit of sincere friendship and feasting, my Lord Lovat, the 4 day, takes leave of the noble famely off Murray, and, in parting, the finall complement was, my Lord Lovat takeing horse rids up the Scale staires of Tarnaway, and in the great Hall drinks the Kings health with sound of trumpet and pistoll shot. The meanest drunk boales off wine, and snowballs cast in for sugar; and, after many a loath farwell, sounded good night and God be with yow!'[1]

But it was at the funerals that the great display was made. At that of Lord Hugh, who died in Mar, on 1st January 1576, and upon whom the Gaelic elegy was composed by Mactavish, the captain of Inverness Castle, upwards of two thousand men convoyed the remains to Inverness. 'In these rude times no such funerals ever known for solemnity and magnificence.'[2] The funeral of the Lady Lovat, who died in 1636, and was buried in the then newly finished 'Isle of Mons Mariæ,' which still stands in the old churchyard, was 'sumptuous and solemn.'[3] In 1649 the great Covenanter, Sir James Fraser of Brae, had 'a most glorious funerall.' 'The forces, being here then added very much to this show, haveing 13 trumpets sounding at his interment in the Chappel of Kirkhill,'[4] that is, the still standing 'Isle.' The Tutor of Lovat, who died

[1] P. 452. [2] P. 175. [3] P. 259. [4] P. 348.

in 1671, and on whom the Latin acrostic given on page 497 was made by the learned schoolmaster of Wardlaw, was buried by torchlight. 'The grandeur and honorable conduct of his burriall was exact in all things proper, with a vast confluence of people, yet had not that show which it would make were it in the day';[1] and, next year, there were present at Lord Hugh's burial, at which Mr. James officiated, eight hundred horse, of which the town of Inverness contributed sixty, and a large concourse of foot, of which the Frasers numbered one thousand. Other chiefs and chieftains were equally honoured in their last journey. Lord Lovat attended The Chisholm's funeral in 1661 at the head of eight hundred Frasers,[2] and the funeral of Mackenzie of Scatwell about the same time, at the head of one hundred horse and five hundred foot.[3] The bigger the muster the greater the honour to the deceased; and it is with a touch of contempt that Mr. James, after recording the presence of one thousand Rosses and six hundred Munroes at the funeral of Sir Robert Munro of Fowlis, remarks, 'Seaforth came there accompanied with a few horse, and no foote at all; and it is a thing I wonder off that nobleman that he makes no figure at any time at burrialls.'[4] Mr. James's account of the funeral of Fraser of Foyers in 1669 is picturesque. 'My Lord Lovat, with many of his name, road over to Urqhart, and was that night in Ballmackaan, Thomas Grants house, who had married the Lady Glenmoriston, Culbokies daughter; and sure her cheefe, with his train, were welcome to her. Here we leave our horse, and my Lord, with many Grants, Cumings, Frasers, croassed the Lough Ness in 4 great boats, trumpets sounding, pipes playing, with echoes rebounding, and convoying Foyers corps to his interment at Boleskin.'[5]

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[1] P. 496. [2] P. 444. [3] P. 447. [4] P. 475. [5] P. 484.

Mr. James's pages throw considerable light on the domestic arrangements of the old Highland chiefs. At Lovat there was the major domo or *fear-an-tigh*, the chief gentleman, the chaplain, the musician, the butler or steward, the wardrobe woman, and grooms, pantryboys, cooks, and other menials.[1] The musical instruments were the trumpet, the great pipe, the harp, the virginal, and the fiddle.[2] Of flesh, fish, and fowl there was no lack. Venison and other game were abundant. Ale and aqua vitæ were brewed at home, and large quantities of wine were imported from France in exchange for the salmon of the Beauly.[3] When health failed, the doctor was called in. A branch of the great Highland family of physicians, the Beatons or Macbeths, was settled in the Aird. The Beaton doctors are known in history as early as the reign of Robert II., and as late as the eighteenth century—their principal spheres being Islay, Mull, Skye, and Sutherland-shire.[4] At what time they settled in the Fraser country it is perhaps impossible to say; but under the year 1589 our author records that they, along with the Race of the Physician—their own blood, no doubt—and another sept nicknamed the Race of the Mouse, had possessed a very old davach in Glenconvinth, 'time out of mind.'[5] In 1558, one of them, James Beaton, attended Lord Lovat, whom he 'transported to the Isle of Agis [Aigas] to a milk dyet and for a frie aire.'[6] This Beaton was known as Tolly Mullach —*An t-Ollamh Muileach*, the Mull Doctor—showing that he was of the noted physicians of that Island. The race declined in the Aird, and before the end of the sixteenth century one of them, John M'Klich—John, son of the

[1] Pp. 245, 268. [2] Pp. 265, 483, 502. [3] Pp. 217, 218, 245.

[4] For notes on the history and Gaelic medical manuscripts of this remarkable family, see the following articles in the *Caledonian Medical Journal*: by Dr. H. C. Gillies, April, 1902; by Professor Mackinnon, July, 1902; by Dr. George Mackay, October, 1904.

[5] P. 185. [6] P. 145.

doctor—who kept Lord Lovat's flocks, got into trouble by helping himself to his master's muttons, and was saved from punishment by his wit and skill in archery.[1] By 1622 they probably ceased to practise the healing art, for in that year Dr. Lovell, from Perth, attended Sir Simon of Inverallochy at Dalcross, and 'had his feares of spells.'[2] In 1636 a vile Irish varlet, vulgarly termed Doctor Sholes, practised medicine in the Highlands, with disastrous results to his patients.[3]

But the people of the old days lived an active, open-air life, and consequently seldom troubled the doctor. The chase was their great recreation. The weaker sex frequently joined in the sport; and it was one of the ladies of Lovat who cleared of wolves the mountain range of Caiplich, lying between Loch Ness and the Aird.[4] At a hunting which Lord Lovat had in Glenstrathfarrar in 1592 there was a 'vast row, accompanied with 2 lords and 6 barrons, with all their trains.'[5] Next year he gave the Earl of Atholl 'hunting and sport fit for a King.'[6] In 1642 the Master of Lovat and his bride, Anna Leslie, and a large number of gentlemen, with about three hundred men in arms, had 'princly sport' in the forest of Killin—wilds whose old shieling songs are still sung beside the peat-fires of Stratherrick.[7] At a great hunt in the forest of Monar in 1655, between six hundred and seven hundred deer were sighted, and sport was obtained 'fitter for kings than country gentlemen.'[8] Mr. James was there, and so were two English gentlemen from the Inverness garrison, who declared 'that in all their travels they never had such brave divertisement, and if they should relate it in England it would be concluded meer rants and incredible.'

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[1] P. 164. [2] P. 246. [3] P. 258. [4] P. 110. [5] P. 219.
[6] P. 220. [7] P. 279. [8] P. 416.

There was in the old days much training of young men in archery and other manly exercises. Lord Hugh, who fell at Blair-na-leine in 1544, 'tooke pleasur to train his men exactly at sword and bow, the onely arms then in use.'[1] His grandson was noted for his skill in 'arching, either at buts, bowmarks, or roaving.' Through his example 'all the country turnd expert in arching, and the very sheepherds could not want their bow, it being the onely arms in vogg, and he oblidged every parish to have their bowmarks, and set dayes of game, and himselfe went in circuit to see it put in practice, and was present with them frequently. He was a great wrestler and swimmer and jumper, nay, there was gallant, manly exercise, but he used and brought all his young men to the dayly practice of.'[2] He also encouraged football, putting the stone, throwing the bar, and tilting; and as a horseman he astonished the country by leaping over the rock of Clachnaharry. 'There the print and impression of his horse shoes was noticed and kept clean by a certain man for a yearly pension, and severals cam to view the feat.'[3] After the Castle of Inverness was placed under his charge, in 1574, he had the young men of the district 'dayly exercised upon the levell of the Castle-hill, or down in the Links, by one Lieutennant Thomas Cerr, a townsman and my Lordships own domestick servant, an expert soldiour, bred abroad in the warrs of France and Flanders.'[4] His successor, Lord Simon, while living at Meikle Garth in Stratherrick, 'keept a weekly muster of his men, training them to arching, hagbuting, jumping, wrestling, putting the stone, throwing the barr, and all manner of manly exercise.'[5] We have already seen how the young men of the North were trained for the wars of Charles I. When, in 1669, the Lovat of the day paid a

[1] P. 129. [2] P. 150. [3] P. 165. [4] P. 171. [5] P. 255.

visit to Lord Reay in Strathnaver, the Mackay chief contrived all manner of sport and recreation for his brother peer—'sometimes out at sea in berges afishing, sometimes haukeing and hunting, sometimes arching at buts and bowmarks, jumping, wrestling, dancing—for my Lord [Lovat] had his trumpeter, Hans Adam, and his expert fidler, Hugh Chisholm, with him.' The visit was closed with superb sport in the Reay Forest—'the finest and richest forest in the kingdom for deer and reas.' Reay made Lovat a gift of a curious, curled, black, shelty horse (probably a Shetland pony), several firelocks, bows, and a sword; while Lady Reay presented him with 'a plaid all of silk, party colloured, her own work, and a pare of truse of the same, neatly knit, and a dublet of needlework.'[1]

Horse-racing was also encouraged. The Lovat of the Clachnaharry feat 'at races often road horse, tint and wan the prize.'[2] For years races were annually run round the hill of Tomnahurich, in which the peers and chiefs of the North rode their own horses. They were discontinued during the period of the Commonwealth, but were after the Restoration re-established in their 'prestin consistancy.' The meeting at Tomnahurich on 24th and 25th May 1662 was a great affair. Earls, chiefs, barons, and a great concourse of country people attended. 'The Provost and Magistrates of Inverness, with the citizens, came in procession over the bridge to their bounded march, and, with the usual ceremony, hung the silver cup with blew ribbons uppon the hookes off the painted port, the Sadle and the Sourd set uppon the top of it.' On the first day the cup, valued at £7 sterling, and the saddle, valued at £3, were won by Lord Lovat. On the second, Bailie Fraser, one of the magistrates of the burgh, carried the cup and sword, and the Laird of Grant there-

[1] P. 483. [2] P. 165.

upon purchased his horse for £13. The Magistrates 'gave the nobles a sumptuous treat'; and men of judgment were of opinion 'that if this race at Inverness were incurraged and well mannaged, in process of time it would come litle short, if not equal, Couper or Cavertonedge.'[1] For generations races continued to be held—somewhat spasmodically, it is true—in the neighbourhood of Inverness. After a long period of suspension they were a few years ago re-established at Dunain.

We gather a little from Mr. James about education in the past. Among the institutions to which Highland boys of position resorted before the Reformation for educational purposes were the religious houses of Beauly, Rosemarkie, Fearn, Kinloss, Kingussie, and Ardchattan. Early in the fourteenth century Lord Lovat's sons are said to have been educated at Beauly.[2] 'In that monastery, after the death of Prior Duellus [Dugald] Mathison, succeeded William Cuming prior, a man of great parts and noble descent, sone of the Earl of Buchan, kept an academy for training youth in the monastery at Beuly.'[3] Until the Reformation the Priory continued to play an important part in the mental training of the young.[4] Prior Dawson, who flourished in the early part of the sixteenth century, and who invented the still well-known parting drink *Deoch-an-doruis*, was 'a man whose hospitality was generally known, and most oblidging in educating gentlemen's children in the pryorie.'[5] But these good deeds did not save the ancient institution when the storm of the Reformation burst. Lord Lovat and the High Chief of Kintail had an amusing race to Edinburgh for the Priory lands.[6] Lovat won, and they are still possessed by his descendants.

After the Reformation Highland gentlemen received their

[1] Pp. 447-9. [2] P. 76. [3] P. 81. [4] Pp. 107, 147.
[5] P. 124. [6] Pp. 161-6.

early education at the grammar school of Inverness, whence they went to the university of Aberdeen or St. Andrews.[1] Parish schools were slow to appear in the North, but there was one in Kirkhill at a comparatively early period, and it prospered during our author's incumbency.[2]

The following, among many occurrences mentioned by our author, need only be referred to here: the meeting of Macbeth and the weird sisters at Cullyburn, near Forres;[3] the destruction of the old bridge of Inverness—'the famousest and finest off oak in Brittain'—by Donald of the Isles, and the burning of the town;[4] the discovery of a treasure trove at Beauly, and its fatal consequences;[5] the building of Captain Scot's great ship at Inverness, and his exploits with her against the Turks;[6] the strange plague among the horses of Abriachan;[7] the fall of Inverness Bridge;[8] the feud between Glenmoriston and Inshes, and the burning of the barns of Culcabock;[9] the Keppoch murder;[10] the capture of the Dutch ship *Phœnix*, and the career of her captain, Sir Andrew Forrester;[11] the fatal Battle of the Cheese at Inverness;[12] and the drowning of the Laird of Raasay and twenty-six followers, a fatality which drew forth from the Macleod bardess one of our earliest surviving Gaelic elegies, and from MacCrimmon, a noted lament.[13] The drowning at the time was attributed to witchcraft,[14] but, says our author, 'drunkness did the mischeife.'[15] Master Gilbert Marshall's rhyme[16] on the 'fatal year,' 1666, may also be quoted:—

> 'In this instant year you 'le see a great wonder,
> Sex shall chase sexty, and sexty sex hunder!'

[1] Pp. 242, 257, 260, 349, 379.
[2] Pp. 489, 497; *Inverness and Dingwall Records*, pp. 80, 108.
[3] P. 34. [4] P. 95. [5] Pp. 268-270. [6] P. 297.
[7] P. 444. [8] P. 455. [9] Pp. 453, 455. [10] P. 461.
[11] P. 478. [12] P. 479. [13] 498.
[14] Stewart's *Lectures on the Mountains*, p. 192.
[15] P. 499. [16] P. 464.

Much more historical grain will be found in the volume, mixed with a good deal of legendary chaff. But the reader will himself do such further winnowing as he may find necessary; and he will not forget that even chaff has sometime its value. He will perhaps find amusement ~~and sometimes~~ instruction in Mr. James's origins of surnames and names of places.

Two errors, if not more, have crept into the footnotes. The old forest of Corricharby (p. 84) lay partly in Urray but chiefly in the parish of Kilmorack. Ferry Unes (p. 406) is not identical with Unapool Ferry, but is at the mouth of the Fleet, near Golspie.

The editor has already expressed his obligations to Sir Keith Fraser, Sir William Augustus Fraser's Trustees, and Miss Hilda Paterson. He has also to thank Dr. Alexander MacBain and Mr. W. J. Watson, Inverness, for suggestions in connection with old and obscure place-names; Mr. A. Francis Steuart ~~and~~ Mr. W. B. Blaikie for general help; and Mr. Mill for the exhaustive Index. Dr. Law, the editor's friend for a quarter of a century, is now beyond the reach of this acknowledgment of the warm interest which he took in the Wardlaw Manuscript.

WILLIAM MACKAY.

CRAIGMONIE, INVERNESS,
Christmas 1904.

A Catollogue of Manuscripts being bookes bound written and Hilled[1] Be Master James Fraser Pastor Montis Mariæ. In divers volumns *ab anno* 1660.

1. The Survy of antiquity a manuscript in 4°. Written 1660.
2. Church History to century 12 in 4°. Written 1665.
3. Triennial Travels, Part 1. in 4° dedicat to Mr. Al. Symur.
4. Triennial Travels, Part 2. in 4° dedicat to Lo. Lovat.
5. Triennial Travels, Part 3. in 4°.
6. The History of Britain to 1678, 4°.
7. Meditations Moral, Divine, &c. in 4 4° dedicat to Margret Symmur.
8. Funerall Sermons in 3 Tract. in 4°, dedicat to Mr. Alexander Symmur.
9. Sermons preacht at Synods,in 4°,dedicat to Bishop Atkins.
10. Sermons uppon the Sacrament, 4°.
11. Sermons misselany on several texts, 4°.
12. Wiridarium Wardlaense Herbal., 4°.
13. Woorlds worthies, Tomb. i., in 4°, dedicat to Lo. Lovat.
14. Worlds worthies, Tomb. 2, in 4°.
15. Frasers Familiars Volum of letters, 4°.
16. Providentia passages of Provid. 4°, Tom. i.
17. Providentia passages of Provid. 4°, Tom. 2.
18. Christian Policy, T. i., in 4°.
19. Calendarium Catholicum in 4°.
20. Hibernilogia a volum of Irish verse, 4°.
21. An Irish Dictionary, in 4°.
22. Polichronicon, a General Geneology, in folio, dedicat to Lo. Lovat. Writen 1666.
23. Festival Sermons, in 4°.
24. Sermons of Humiliation, in 4°.
25. A of Sermons for the King, 4°.

[26.] Ministers Mirrour on Thes. 2, 7, 4°.

27. Lumbard, a book of sentences, 4°. Writen 1676.

[1] Hilled = covered.

28. A volumn of epigrams epitaphs anagrams in folio.
29. A collection of songs and sonets, in folio.
30. A booke of Jests, Ralleries, in folio.
31. A booke of Profaces, 4°.
32. Natures Treasur tryed, 4°.
33. Privacy preferrd to Publick, in 4°, dedicat to Mr. John Fraser.
34. Itinerarium Scripturæ, in 4°.
35. Theologia Cathollica, in 4°.
36. Homolies and exercises Theological, 4°, dedicat to Mr. G. Symmur. Writen 1670.
37. A Dyary of Weather Contingencies, in 4°.
38. Anthologia his own life, in 4°.
39. Sermons upoñ the Lords Prayer.
40. Sermons upon the Creed.
41. Sermons upon the Commands.
42. Institutio Puerorum, instructions for Children.
43. Catollogue of Bookes, 4°.
44. Penitent Prodigal, Luke 15, 4°.
45. Fruitless Figtree, Luke 18, 4°.
46. Bill of Mortality, 4°, containing all yt died Natives and Strangers in 46 years.
47. Catechumenoi, L. i., *ab anno* 1663 to *anno* 1683, twenty yeares, inclusively.
48. Catechumenoi, L. 2, *ab anno* 1684 to *anno* 1700, sexteen yeares.
49. Catechumenoi, L. 3, *ab anno* 1700.

The Benefit of these bookes is this to know exactly what Heretor, tacksman, tenant, Master, servant man or Maid, child or stranger, happened to live In every town and famely within Wardlaw Parish since *Anno* 1662.

50. Nomenclatura; calling and describing the and Name of Countries, Cities, townes, villages, hills, dales, Rivers, Mountains, Churches in all the Kingdom.

[51.] Index Universalis; containing a catollogue of Emperors Popes Kings of Europ Commonwalths &c.

[52.] Chirurgo Modicus including experiments of phisick and chirurgery.

[53.] Vade mecum; misselany.

POLICHRONICON SEU POLICRATICA TEMPORUM

many Histories In One, or nearer,

THE TRUE GENEALOGY OF THE FRASERS

Shouing clearlie their original rise in France under

CAROLUS II EMPEROUR

Anno creationis mundi 4874 Incarnationis Xristi 916

With their translations thenc and setlment in Scotland under and in the reign off King Malcolm II in anno D. 1057 with their entry to and right in the Lordship of Twadal more particularly the Kings donation and possession to & of

THE LORDS FRASERS OF LOVET

under King Alexaander the Second anno 1250

With their several successive matches, branches, allyes, contemporary Kings, clans, countries, abyes, churches, convents, changes, contingencies, alterations of government in Church & State, Popes, Princes, prelats, regents, conflicts, and battles intestin, conflicts and Invasions, Purged off error & Phoppish tradition and writen in one Volume, By a lover of truthe & antiquity

Master James Fraser, Ecclesiastes Montis Mariæ.

Historici est, ne quid falsi audeat dicere, ne quid veri non audeat.
Polybius in v. 2.

Gentium nunc floret fortuna, nunc senescit, nunc interiit.
Mat [? Paterculus ii, 77.]

Illi mors gravis incubat qui notus nimis omnibus, ignotus moritur sibi:
Nec potest quisquam beate degere, qui se tantum intuetur!
Senec. Epist. 48.

Entered and begun at the desire of The H. F R.
annō æræ Christianæ—1666.

POLICHRONICON SEU POLICRATICA TEMPORUM

PREFACE AND EPISTLE LIMINARY

γενεαλογια Genealogy; Sermo de originе generationis.

GENEALOGY and antiquity is the glory of a name or nation, and seing nighbours and conatives seldom or never agree in the decision of what is debeatably controverted as to the originall antiquity and continued line of their own, much lesse of our name and famely, it is most just that we all rest in the determination of learned knoweing strangers who were exact and impartiall antiquaries amongst us, for no history admits nor requires a mathematical or legall proofe, but rests satisfied with such moral certanty as is inferred from probable tradition, old manuscripts, credible historians and persuasive reasone, a proofe sufficient in such cases.

The Annals of our monks is a very good historicall foundation to owre own history in lustur and splendour to all succeeding generations and posterity. That we have a *vitum dominium*, a right conveyed to us by our ancesters for 400 yeares preceeding anno 1650 bypast, and, *jure prisco*, now ancient posesors here in the North of Scotland, and tearmed Frasers of Lovat, by an uninterrupted succesion from father to sone, never falling to a daughter or collaterall line dureing the aforsaid space, is unquestionably evinced, and that in a punctuall methodicall directory and description, deduceing the true chronology or chronologicall legend, pedegry, and lineal descent of the most honorable and ancient famely of the Frasers of Lovat, without breach or conveyance to collaterall lines, nor femalls to bring in strangers, continuing in a streight and evin line, course, and trackt of succession, untill our dayes from Sir Simon Fraser * Genearcha or cheefe of all that stock. And now, although

γεναρχυς Generis Princeps.

in processe of time the ancient Lord Fraser of Kinell and Olivercastle (so tearmed) his famely be decayed time out of mind, we have set up a genarchy by ourselves, and, by the ordinary rules of heraldry, our very armes do sufficiently declare our cadency; the ancient arms of the house very single, viz. three Phreezes, and, the interest of Lovat being the King's immediat donation, he added three crownes to make up a compleit shield and coat of armes to the Lord Fraser of Lovat, to distinguish him from other famelys of the name, such as the Thane of Coy, Dorris, Philorth, etc. Of old and yet in our Irish [Gaelic] language, the Lord Lovat is called MackHimy [Mac Shimi] *i.e.* the sone of Simon, and this for the more quick and expedit delivery in the vulgar expression of those who, without regard to true syrnames, are pleased to design men by their patronymicall titles, a scurvy custom too much cherrished in many parts of both Scotland, England, and Wales, with their Macks, Aps, Fils, and Sones, etc., so that under the designation of Mack before the name, as Mackdonald, Mackdugal, Mackleud, M'Klean, Mackenzie, Mackinnon, etc. which, either at christnings or lustrations, have been accordingly given to their ancestoures of the male kind, for which translatitiously both in England and Low Countries of Scotland we, by an inveterat custome derived from thence, doe say as yet Anderson, Jameson, Johnsone, Donaldsone, Davison, Robertson, Watson, Williamson, etc., and, vicecognomentally distinguishing such persones by an especial syllable in the reer of the word that represents the syre or progenitor, nott much unlik the manner of the Greekes whose fashion it was to denominat the successores of Eacus Eacides, of Hercules Herculides, Philippus Philippides, and such like patronimicalls. Certain it is that our corrupted Diminutives of Hutchies, Petries, Jamies, Wats, Willies, Renies, Norries, etc., and many mo mongrels have creept in among us thus.

It is beyond peradventur that the history of our nation was first preserved by the Druids in time of paganism and those used to transmitt the historys of their own time in verse, which was taught by them to their schollars, and those Druids, being converted from the Pagan religion, whereof they were then the priests, becam our first monks, being thereto much

inclined by the severity of their former disciplin, as the Therapeutæ did for the same reason become the first anchorits in Ægypt, so that it was easy for them to inform the monasteries of what they knew so well of former times. And also, as the history of this nation was preserved by our priests and churchmen Christians, so our churchmen the *monachi Vallis Collium* of Beuly, to oblidge our lords under whom and upon whom and our people amongst whom they lived, by writing their annalls, actings, and genealogies, the deat of our lords burried and interred within their church and charnels, of which they keept bills of mortality.

That sure we were very early Lords and great benefactors to the church, we had our ancient history recorded and written very acuratly by our churchmen, besids that which we warrantably pretend to have been transmitted to us by tradition, and the charters, contracts, and services of our lords successively entered. And each monastery had three bookes, the one called their Register or *Chartularium*, containing the records and rights relating their privat securities and mortifications; the 2 was their Consistoriall Records of testaments, confirmed onely of old within the Abby or priory and no where else, for there were no commissary courts then; the 3 was called their *Codex Diurnum* or Diary, containing an exact account of the most memorable things which occurred, conflicts, battles, sieges, death of great men, day, month and year, as our Chronicles cite the Black Booke of Pasly and *Liber Pluscardensis* on such heads. Of the later I saw an old manuscript of an old date, *Scriptum Bunchriviæ*, beareing the exact date of the death of all our lords and gentlemen for 200 yeares, for by tradition among us there was a cell at Bunchrive [Bunchrew, near Inverness] of heremits of which I saw some vestige, and the cawsay from the high road down to it, and who will question but these devout men, leadeing a recluse, monastick life, haveing no occasion to be diverted, nor cause to be corrupted, wrot ingenuously and without byass *ex incorrupta annalium fide*. *anno* 1440.

He that hath the bloud and spirit of his ancestors running in his veines cannot be so much turned into a statue or idle spectator, to stand still and admire the different fortunes, this

man's greatness or that man's lowness, so as not onely to reflect on the tributary brooks of the former matches of a noble famely, but also to looke to mater of fact, what our predecessors have been, as well as what ourselves at present are, lest, falling short of the imitation of their immortall actions, we so strangly degenerat as not to understand what we ourselves ought to be. The clear fontain flowing from the true nobility of late being so disturbed, it is the office of an honest and true historian, if not his duty, to have so much of the herald as to register the descents, issues, worthy acts, atchievements, managements, of our of late so litle imitated ancestors; of the several alterations in nobility we may observe three principal actors on the theatre of great families, the beginner, advancer, and ruiner; in all these our uncivil troublesome times we have heard of more of the later than of the other two, and truly it is no less than a prodegy that our Scots gentlemen should of late be more exact and refined in knoweing the religion, lawes, government, genealogies, and fashions of forreign countries than of their own wherein themselves are natives, which caused a deserving pen to sigh out this expression—What pity is it for a proper gentleman to have such a crick in his neck that he cannot so much as look over his shoulder to know his own history, much lesse so farr behind him on actions so long since performed, and so undergoe the blot of being *peregrinus domi*, and which is worse * *se nescire.*

Now degenerat into D . . . and D. . .

Quid noscis si teipsum nescis.

Some men are so churlish they will not hear of genealogy lest thereby yow reckon some relation to them and thereby be a burden uppon them, which is a base and peevish temper unworthy of a man, much lesse of a gentleman. Another sort there be who are so cowardly that they had rather have history burried with them than that the least part of civil truth should be writ whilst they live, as if they deserved no chronicle or were onely to be suffered in libellous pamphlets which wise men scorn to cast their eyes upon: as Cato to Catalin so say I * *Ego meis majoribus prœluxi tu tuos defamasti.* A third I find invidious that any other should be the relator of genealogy and not themselves, and thinks therefor it cannot be well done since not their own. The wirp of the poet is for

Ego meis majoribus virtute prœluxi tu tuis vitiis defamasti.

these—*Carpere vel noli nostra vel edo tua.* A fourth, blown with emulation or contempt, loath and vexed to hear of the extract and honour or antiquity of other famelies which their own can never reach to nor equal, when enquiry is impartially made into their descents and origen, of whom it would be found true what the poet doth observe in such a case:—

Majorum primus quisquis fuit ille tuorum,
Aut pastor fuit aut illud quod dicere nolo.

The first of all their ancestors of yoore,
Was but a sheepherd, or I say no more.

A fifth sort, and of these not a few, will criticise and carpingly enquire, Where be those old manuscripts on which we found our antiquity? Sure no man is curious to preserve any old record after he has formed his history by it, or else no historian could ever be secure, if the not being able to shew their warrand after many ages might discredit their history.

A sext will charge us with vanity and singularity to vent our genealogy as an unusuall thing. To answeir this cavil I want not precedents in the best authors I ever read for my warrand. 1. If we run to the fountain, the pure oracles of sacred scripture, where we shall find the booke of the generation of Adam to Noah, the genealogy of the sones of Noah to Abraham, and of Abraham to Moses, exactly doon by himselfe inspired by the Holy Ghost, nay a booke of the Chronicles of the patriarchs, priests, prophets, princes of Israel, nay more a Roll or Register, a catalogue or kalender, cyphering and summing up the genealogies of our Blissed Saviour, Jesus Christ, touching his humanity which S. Mathew and S. Luke writs the one his naturall the other his legall extract tearmed in the Hebrew (ספר) Cepher Toledoth or ἡ βιβλος γενεσεως say the Septuagint. 2. We find the same practice also among the historians of all ages ancient and modern. The Babilonians, the Persians, the Grecians, and Romans, contended who should be exacted in it if we consult Steidanus *de quatuor summis imperiis*, nay, the Egyptians were so carefull to preserve their antiquities, genealogies and monuments that they slighted the Grecians, accounting them no better than children for their neglect herein. History is

Gen. 5. 1.
Gen. 10.

the generall treasury of times past, present, and a lively patern of things to come, as it is rightly tearmed the work mistress of experience and mother of prudence, reinforcing antiquity from her ruins, and make the gray head of time whit again; and what more noble than this, nay what more pleasant, than to look back on that which is not, and make my fathers grand-sire tell me what he did; also to see and know the glorious acts of our renouned ancestors and imitat them, as Alexander did Achilles, Cæsar Alexander, Themistocles Meleciades, and Selimus the great Turk caused translat the actions of Julius Cæsar for his coppy, and Alexander Severus consulted with the historians of his time that could inform him of the famous acts of the heroes. Stephanus sayes that Laertius wrot the lives of the Philosophers *in aureo illo libello* in that golden booke of his age, *non loquimur de iis quantum debemus sed quantum possumus*, we speak not of them so much as we might but so much as we can. And Paterculus Sipio, Aurilius his life and ancestors, also Lamprid the life of Severus the Emperour and his descent, Sir Thomas Moore wrot the life of John Picus Mirandula and haveing wrot it lived it; as Constantius sones did their fathers, preaching forth his praises in their perpetuall practice. What esteem had Pompei the great for Theophanes for writing the worth of the famelies of Rome; and Titus Vespasian for Josephus, though before he was his deadly enemy, and what honour did Julian the Apostat conferr uppon Aurelius Victor the Roman genealogist. All those lye on record.

For my part I expect not, I desire not, I deserve no such reckoning or reward for my paines, it being sufficient for me that I have fullfilled the desire of those whose breath can fill my sailes and blow me where they list; their request is my rule and their command my conduct in maters of higher consequence—*jussa sequi tam velle mihi quam posse necesse est.* And thus — *Non perdam præmium tanto labore quæsitum.* Meanwhile, in the whole course my conscience cleares and acquits me of partiality, credulity, vanity or flattery, so that in frameing this *tabula gentis*, I fetcht not any feud, fabelus antiquity, or traditional fables, it being below my spirit and genius, and derogatory to the great subject, to depend upon

frivolus vagnes. And as it is not my custom to condemn another man's well meant design so nor commend my own, but refers it wholly to the examination, correction, censur, and test of those who gave it birth and being.

And as to the undertakeing, I am not unacquainted that judgement and signalised impartiality eternises an historian. That oyl is judged the best that hath no tast, that author should be the most preferred that hath the least tangue of interested affections, considering the critical times we live in—*Tempora novissima omni modo pessima*—Some compatriot clanes I know cope and compeat with their fellow collonies, and that not onely in comparisones but disparisones and derisiones, yet, after search and inquery, I find nothing of those recorded in story but for villany, disloyalty and mischeefe. Others there are whom history thought not worthy to name or so much as mention; yet who will more vainely bragg of their own antiquity then those; but let them first agree among themselves at home as to their originall and lineal succession, or they come abroad to impose an implicit credulity on others, and then I shall agree and concent to give them some credit; till then *problema esto*, for in such cases I am still a *non liquet*.

I could also condescend upon clans and famelies who now, though great and numerous, yet have been mean and few for a while, and fell upon no other course to advance their interest and enlarge their territories but by force and fraud, sword and scourge, expelled and disspossesset their nighboures that themselves might succeed, like Ahab to Naboth's vinyard, useing Matchavils maxim *divide* and *impera*, divide and destroy, and so raised themselves upon the ruins of others, quhom they cruelly disspatcht, and so came in upon their breaches, and may fear—*dum peritura parcis per male partu peris*. But this honorable famely began great, remains so, and which for 16 several descents and some hundereds of yeares have continued in the same stay of estate, not incroaching upon nighboures nor acquireing ane foot of land either by match, purchase, extortion, circumvention, or fraud, or any indirect paction, gift or otherwayes, to their ancient patrimonies. A famely wherein the eminency hath equaled the antiquity

thereof, being Lords in King Edgar's days, *anno* 1098. Some clans, like the Gibeonits, who though by their mouldy bread and clouted shoes they did pretend to a long peregrination, yet were but of the vicinage, so most of our gentry, notwithstanding their specious claim to antiquity, will be found to be but of yesterday, and of one descent low enugh in themselves, did not stand on the vantage ground of other men's interests, or hightned on the rubbish of the ruins of monasteries. Some famelies as to their sirnames have deposed their old and assumed new names on severall occasions. 1. For concealment in time of civil warrs, a name being a kind of face whereby one is known, therefore takeing a false name is a kind of vizard by which men disguise themselves and that lawfully enugh when not fraudulently done to deceave others but discreetly in danger and that to secure themselves. Thus dureing the contest tuixt York and Lancashire, Carrington in Warwickshire assumed the name of Smith, La Blunt, the name of Crooke, Vois tooke the name of Wotson; so in Scotland in time of Edward Longshanks his invasion and transcursions over the nation, as Rues who were Stuarts, Whites were Lesslies, Cumins turned Buchans. 2. For advantage and advancement when adopted into an estate, as Newport in Northamptonshire, the names of Hatton, Throgmorton in Surrey, the name of Carrew, Seaton, Gordon in Huntlyes famely, Sutherland also, Wardens, Ogilvies, Grayes, and Gutheries, etc. 3. By slaughter they have removed into other counties where they altered their sirenames. 4. The same sirname continued hath been variously altered in writing, time teaching new orthography, altering spelling as well as speakeing, but this holds not here, sirname and armes for above 600 yeares being the same. 5. Some have surnames (for sirnames they were not) or supernames, becaus superadded to those given at the font, from the place of their nativity, a good evidence to prove where they were born, as if we had the deposition of the midwife and such are foundlins; as Turras, May, Milton, Midletoun, Aberdeen, Newtoun, Threpland, Newland, Freeland, Dollas, Dalkeiths, Lieths, etc., and hundereds whose originall I cannot warrand; but wheresoever they fecht their life here they found their best livelihood.

The Latins have a proverb, *Non ubi nascor sed ubi pascor*, makeing that place their mother not which bred but which fed them. The Greekes have but one word Bios both for life and livelyhood. The Hebrewes accounted that place was to give a man his native denomination where he had his longest and most visible abod from his infancy, by which common mistak Jesus was intituled upon the crosse, of Nazareth, insted of Bethlehem. Yea, I have observed in our history that, though generally our English and Scots clergy were denominated from their birthplaces, yet some few quited them to be nammed from those places where they found their best preferment in convents and dignities of signal note, as Henry of Huntington, not born but being archdeacon there, Mathew of Westminster, William of Malmsbury, John of Creil, Andrew of Pasely, Duns Scotus, William Newbotle, not so much natives but monks of the monasteries therein.

So also we have many surnames of clans in Scotland from the places of their abode, or nativity, as Rosses from that country, Sutherlans, Murrayes, Buchans, Mackullochs, Ferns, Calders, Fordices, Dennûes, Peebles, Abbrachs, Airds, Peebles, Finlaters, Reedfoords, Causefoords, etc. Some others from their trades, as Taylors, Cupers, Wrights, Smith, Collier, Cooke, Masons, Macer, Weaver, Tenant; some from their complections, as Armstrong, Baines, Brounes, Reeds, Dunes, Blacks, Whites, etc. Some from acts and accidents, as Hays, Scrimgers, Kemps, Cloggies, Blacklock, Whitlock, Whitside, Bleareye, Cenmores, etc. Some famelies there are whose nativities we cannot recover, with any great probability, neither by help of history, or heraldry, or tradition, or record, or registers, or printed or writen bookes, which hitherto hath come to our hands, for those who would trouble themselves with them. Let obscurety evin goe to obscurety, when we find no great note in them we take not any notice of them. But in case some of them appear men of much merit, though their nativity be obscure and concealed by some casualty, we are loath, and pitty it is their memories should, who whilst liveing were worthy and now dead, prove vagrants reposited in no certain place. Other famelies there are of whose origen and nativities we cannot give a list; they are so ancient I know not where to begin, and so many I know not where to end.

Some think that an instance can hardly be produced of a sirname made Christian in Britain save since the Reformation, before which time the priests were scrupulous to admit any at font except they were baptised with the name of a Scripture or legendary saint, such as Gilchrist, GilIse, Gildonich, Gilmichel, Gilmoir, GilBride, Gileaspig, GilPeuder, Gileandries GillEan, Gileinan, Gillealan, Gilmartin, Gilcallum, Gilpadrick, GilCoane, etc.[1] This indeed hath been a comon practice among our ancestors, and, though some say they have noted many of those unfortunat, yet the good success in others confutes the general truth of the observation; and it is a maxim amongst Italians, *uno fiore non fare prima vere*, one flour makes no spring.

This work cost me time: it was a serious subject, and I lookt or I leapt; for heast makes wast, and I remember the poet—*Nonumque præmatur in annum*:—

> Eight yeares digest what you have rudly hinted,
> And in the ninth yeare, let the same be printed.

If anything be wanting, according to my generall motto, a blank is better than a blot, for I resolved not to put in *quid pro quo*, nor would I bottom my profit upon another man's prejudice as to what I have set down. I had rather my reader should arise hungry from my booke than surfited therewith, rather uninformed than missinformed therby, rather ignorant of what he desireth than haveing a falsehood or at best a conjecture for a truth obtruded upon him. A setled position it is and warrantable, *Frustra creditur quod sine agnitione originis creditur.* It is vainly beleeved which is beleeved without the knowledge of the original thereof, for properly it is no rational beleefe, but an easy, lasy, supin credulity. For me to give in the particulars whence I have

[1] Gaelic names common in the Highlands in olden times. Gilchrist means servant of Christ; Gilise, servant of Jesus; Gildonich, servant of our Lord; Gilmichael, servant of Michael; Gilmoir, servant of Mary (the Virgin); Gilbride, servant of Bride or Bridget; Gileaspig, servant of the Bishop; Gilpeuder, servant of Peter; Gileandris, servant of Andrew; Gillean, servant of John; Gileinan, servant of Adamnan; Gillealan, servant of Fillan; Gilmartin, servant of Martin; Gilcallum, servant of Columba; Gilpadrick, servant of Patrick; Gilcoane, servant of Coan, a saint worshipped by the Macdonalds of Glengarry and Knoydart.

derived my information, knowing full well *quantus author tanta fides*, these may be referred to four heads. 1. Manuscripts and charters in our own possession. 2. Church Registers and Records in publick offices. 3. Printed history. 4. Instructions receaved from the Bard, and nearest nighbours and allyes. I know not whither more to commend the care in secureing, dexterity in finding, dilligence in peruseing, curtesy in communicating such coppies as my design and occasion required.

All our historians rely most upon churchmens information, these being the greatest secretaries and most carefull researchers into and recorders of antiquity. Nay, our monks being reputed men of best learning and most leasur, our kings alwayes choose one of their order to writ the remarkable passages of their time, passing by the name of *historicus regius*, the kings historian.

I observe an omen generally true of many gentry in Scotland and England, that being *in continuo fluxu, labitur et labetur in omne volubilis ævum*, where the stream thereof runneth most rapid to make more speedy room for succession, so that some gentry seem to be sojourners rather than inhabitants therein, *accolæ non incolæ—Accola non propriam, propriam colit incola terram.* The brevity of such gentry is imputed to the vicinity of London or Edinbrugh to them, or rather of them to it, yet were men of known and grown estates equally eminent for the rootes whence they sprang and from the branches springing from them. *O quantum est in rebus inane!* O the uncertanty of all humane things. A famely to sink down into a plebeian condition! But the sparks of their gentle blood, though covered for a time under a mean estate, have since blazed again with their own worth and vallour, yea as if their currage had been hereditary, or for their martiall merit advanced to a high degree their motto, *Sub mole resurgo.* But my eye cannot be entertained with a more welcome, or more charming and lovely object, than to behold an antient name, not onely still continueing, but eminently flourishing too in our own age, on which account I cannot but congratulat the happiness of this famely, expecting a dayly accession of repute from the hopefull branches

thereof, for the merits of this ancient house are known to be so many and great that ingrossed they would make ane country proud, which divided would make two most happy. Therefore Providence parted the name twixt Tuadale [Tweeddale], Gallaway, Buchan, Merns, Marr, Murray, and many mo; and though haply the name failed and decayed in one county yet it flourished in another. Northern gentry, transplanted into the south by marriage, purchase, or otherwayes, do languish and fade away within few generations, whereas southern men on the like occasion removeing northward acquire a setlement in their estates, with long continuance. This is the observation and experience of many, and Vitruvius tells it, *Aquilones ad orientem migrantes non possunt durare sed disolvuntur*; northerns transplanted southward cannot endure the heat, but their strength melteth away and are dissolved. *E contra orientales ad septentrionem non modo non laborant immutatione loci valetudinibus sed etiam confirmantur*; sutherns comming north are not onely not subject to sickness through the change of place, but are the more confirmed in their health and strength. Some peevish natures, delighting to comment all things into the worst sence, impute this to the position of their country as secured from sale by their distance from the metropolis, a staple place of pleasure; whilst I would willingly behold it as the effect and reward of the pure temperat air, abstemiouseness, their discreet thrift, and moderat expence. We were happy when our country was *Terra suis contenta bonis*, neither proud of the pelfe nor covetous of the court gaytie, they enjoyed themselves and possesst it of a long time.

This being the genious of this great famely, liveing frugally and thriftily, content with their own interests, never falling upon that rude ravenous revenge and rapin which made up in any of their barbarous nighboures, which signalised them in the reput of all honest ingenuous persons with whom they had dealeing, yet bred them enmity among others their envyous opposers and supplanters who were not a few, emulating their grandeur and greatness, their gallantry and generosity, their polit parts, reputation, and preferments, being in credit at court and still in favour with kings, very

loyall subjects. The Mackdonalds and the Cumings mainly concurred together to ecclipse them and contrive mischeefe against them, being still thorns in their sids, which moved the poet to give the Lord Lovat this distich:—

Natus hyperboreos, inter Fraserius Heros,
E spinis docuit surgere posse rosam.

So that it might be said of this famely what was said of a greater, *Ut lilium inter spinas ita amica mea inter filias*, as the lilly among thorns so is my love among the sisters or daughters, and even as our Saviour declared to his disciples sent upon the mission, so might King Alexander say to Sir Simon Fraser, sent north—Behold I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves, be ye therefore wise as serpents and harmless as doves. Christ was not in such danger from Herod, that fox, as from those wolves, the Pharesies, who would make it their work to worry the flock. Let meekeness then be mixt with wariness, for as we must labour for columbin simplicity, so for serpentine subtilty too, that we cast not ourselves upon needlesse dangers. The Roman rule was *nec fugere nec sequi*. Christianity calls us not to a weake simplicity, but allowes us as much of the serpent as the dove; the dove without the serpent is easely caught; the serpent without the dove stings deadly. Religion without policy is too simple to be safe; policy without religion is too subtil to be good. Their match makes themselves secure, and a serpents eye is a singular ornament in a doves head. The harmless dove neither provokes the hawke nor projects revenge, but when pursued they save themselves if they can by flight, not by fight:— Cant. 2. 1. Mat. 10. 16. * *Nota.*

Felle columba caret, rostro nec lædit et ungues
Possidet inocuos, puraque grana legit.

It is notarly known, notwithstanding of many provocations, their cautious proceedings prevented, and their prudent practises preserved, them still from these men's rage, so that for the first 300 yeares we never matcht nor mingled with those Highland clans which often galled and incensed these cannibals against us; yet it pleased God that we increassed and they dayly decreased, like the chammomel, the more yow

tread it the more yow spread it, our motto being *Crescit sub pondere virtus*, and as it is said of the palm-tree under the heaviest weight:—

Ponderibus genus omne mali, probrique gravatus
Vixque ferenda ferens, palma ut depressa resurgo.

Evin like the palm which heaviest weights doth trie,
Vertue oppresst doth stand more streight and highe.

Of mens memoires of fame I would faine see that booke of Boys [Boetius] entituled a double immortality, whither intending thereby the immortality of soul and body, or of the memory here and soul hereafter. I could wish to deserve the name of antiquary to transcrib and preserve the ancient names and monuments in our country, and drain them from the deluge and oblivion, and perpetuating their antiquity to posterity, for I am very sensible of the prodigious antiquity of Scottish
Judg. 8. 18. pedegrees, so that what Zeba and Zalmunna said of the Israelits slain by them at Tabor, each of them resembleth the children of a king, all our chiftens derive themselves from kings and princes, as M'kdonels from Irish kings; M'kleuds from Olaus, a Danish king; M'kleans and M'kenzies from Garrald, an Ulster king; Moncrifes from a Scotish king; MackRhy, *i.e.* Moncrife; M'kintoshes from the great Thane of Lochaber; the Duffs from the famous M'kduff, Thain of Fife; Murrayes from a prince of Moravia, etc. Many are *nobilitatis portenta*, as in a tympany their very greatness was their disease, boasted immoderatly of their high extraction that it were needfull Helias Rubeus were Redevivus, who wrot a booke *contra nobilitatem inanem*; of many ancient famelies in Scotland we may conclud, as one did of the
1336. Franciscans entering Bury, there hapened a hideous hurricane, levelling trees and towres and whatever met with it; the bost was though they came in with a tempest they went out with a calm at the time of the dissolution. The aplication is plain. A thing very strang that ancient names in famelies who have stood hundereds of yeares, yet even in their prime yow would not find 20, nay of some hardly ten, of that syrname in the kingdom, and some of them wholly evanished in my time. The Turin, Scrimager, Olephant, Udney, Guns,

Bards, Kinards, Gudge, Boid; this may reach the Cuming, and the Chisholm also in a case. It is an epidemicall dissease to which many ancient surnames are subject, to be ill spelled and variously disguised in writing, such as Sinklar, Belfure, Shives, Chisholm, Stuart, Steward, Rosse, Rose, Frazer, Fraser, Frisel, Froisel, Thurslo, Frishel, yet but *de caseneto*, a name so noble in the catollogue and list of lords it is harder to miss than find it in the Chronicles of Scotland. I have seen a manuscript written by a monk of Melross, giveing an exact account of all the mortifications, donations, bishopricks, churches, chappells, cells, and the name and syrname of every benefactor, *nomina monasteriorum cum prioritatibus et collis monialium claustris preposituris et aliis monachorum ordinibus in regno Scotiæ una cum provinciis ubi sitæ sunt eorundemque fundatoribus*; and subjoines a tractat of all the ancient names of Scotland, their original, etimology of the word, the sillabication and orthography of each name, citing each author from whom he had his information; and it is truely the commendation of a historian, *unicuique suorum authorum honorem integrum servare.* In modesty to confess himselfe with Ruth the Moabit, to have gleaned after the reapers, for we see by other mens eyes, and what I writ is *fide historici* for *Baleus non vidit omnia.* It is reported of our Boetius that he destroyed the manuscripts after peruseing them; God preserve us from this impudent malice and envy, as the mind of the Italian Polidore Virgil, who haveing first served his own turn with them burnt all the rare manuscripts of history he could procure, so to raise the valuation of his own works.

Though my pen and pains as a patriot and homebred historian may be suspected of partiality, yet English authors as Holinshad, H. Boys, John Major, Dempster, Lesly and the brave Buchannan and Spotswood commandeth beleefe, who all with one breath gives our name and famely their due commendation in many heroick actiones, and as for the Frasers antiquity, loyalty, and numerous ofspring quher they fixt non but fooles do question; and indeed the earth hath nothing more glorious than ancient nobility when it is found with vertue. What barbarous mind will not reverence that bloud which hath untainted run through so large a succession

of generations? Besids vertue adds a new splendour which, together with the honour of his house, challengeth a respect from all. But bad greatness is nothing but the vigour of vice, having both mind and meanes to be uncontrollably lewd; a debauched sone of a noble famely is one of the intollerable burthens of the earth and as hatefull a thing as hell, for all know he hath made both example and precept floweing in his education both which are powerfull enugh to obliterate a native illnesse, yet these are but auxiliaries to his shame that with the brightnesse of his ancestores make his own darkenesse the more palpable. Vice in the sone of an ancient famely is like a clownish actor in a statly play; he is not onely ridiculous in himselfe but disgraces both the plot and the poet; whereas vertue in a man of obscure parents is like an unpolished diamond lying in the way among pibles, which, howsoever it be neglected of the uncivil vulgar, yet the wise lapidary takes it up as a jewell unvaluable, it being so much the more glorious by how much the other were baser. He that is good and great I would sell my life to serve him nobly; otherwayes, being good, I love him better whose father expired a clowne than he that being vicious in a lineal descent from him that was knighted with Tubal-Cains fauchion, which he made before the floud.

Finaly, as to the present desing in hand. 1. how honorable, laudable, and necessary a thing it is for kindreds and clans to know their own originall and rise, and to have their genealogie recorded by them, both for distinction and information, I referr to the wise and judicious to determin. *Num nosce teipsum*, know thyselfe, is both a binding and trying maxim. 2. When amongst my observes we mention and bring in nighbour syrenames and clans, it is becaus we march with them, we match with them, and they with us, our burriall and interment together, their antiquity and rise is mingled with our own, and computation as well as competition herein is expedient, and both ordinary and necessary. 3. That in our genealogy and *Tabula gentis* we cite and record the sentences as well as sentiments of historians and chronologers ancient and modern, forreign and domestick, is not so much for confirmation of our assertion and vindication of the truth,

but their concord and assent in tradition being aparent, and becaus histories may be out of print and quit decay/ as Raphael Hollinshad, Hec. Boetius, John Major, Bishop Lessly, and Dempster, are all rare, truly, to be found, and no hopes of ever reprinting them again, and in all the north I never saw but one torn volume of Boetius, another of John Major, a 3d. of Dempster, so that we expect not to see new editions; and how shall we have recourse to such bookes as are not to be found? It is true George Buchannans history is a compend of them all, and is reprinted in every age becaus of *jus regni apud Scotos* anexed to it. 4. That we mix with our history the transactions and occurrences of the kingdom extrinsick to our corner, it is becaus severall heroes of the name of Fraser have been engaged in the warrs and expeditions of severall ages, civil and forreign, att home and abroad, contemporary with themselves, so that upon either account we could not omit to mention them. 5. That we record the severall kings reigns, ages, and dates, coronations, continuance, and close, is becaus we have had great trusts off them, services severall times under them, frequent favoures of them, oftentimes our blood relation to them, and unquestionable loyalty, and lives lost in their quarrells and concerns. 6. That/ in the whole progresse of this history/ forreign kings, princes, and popes are often named is to shue our frequent traveling among them, our originall from their countries, the leagues of our nation with them, popes bulles often sent us for confirmation of our rights as superiours of our lands holden of them.

Now to forbeare further apologie/ and to bring all to a period, who reads this volum with an impartiall and unprejudicat eye and mind shall find it both profitable as pleasant, and may say of it as the poet legat—*omne tulit punctum nam miscuit utile dulci.* History being so germin and familiar to men of all estates, age, quality, sex, and condition, so agreeable to the inclination/ and suitable to the humor of all, so delightfull in the perusall, and profitable in the retention, affording content to the aged, pleasur to the young, and experience to both, comfort to the disconsolat, refreshment to the weary, and ease to discomposed minds; solaceing the

tedious houres of pensive watchings, or otherwayes charming anxious thoughtes into a sweet and gentle repose, being never out of season whilst men have life and the world a being, that among the many elogies it hath receaved from the learned pieces of ancient and modern writers it may be justly accounted rather the recreation than the application of a studious man. It is indeed that telescope by which we see into distant ages, and take up the actiones of our forefathers with as much evidence as the newes of the last gazette. It is the mirrour that represents the various transactions of times past, and shewes us the dresse of antiquity according to which we may rectifie or adjust our present fashiones. Its the products of gentle and easie institutions and laws which ought to oblidge us as much, if not more stricktly, than the perceptive sanctions of princes, seing the authority of the one dos but inculcat our duty, and the other gives us innumerable instances of the several rewards of vertue, and punishments of vice. It is, in a word, the last will and testament of our deceased progenitors, which, thoug it dos not expressly leave every one of us a particular legacie, yet it showes us how we may be possessed of their inheritance, and, according as we follow their example, live in reputation or ignominy.

In so much that the ruder ages of the world who were unacquainted with letters, and consequently ignorant of refined sciences, thought hystory, next to their religion, the onely usefull and proper study of mankind; and judging the forming of the manners and regulating the actions of man to be the chiefe duty and care of societies, they thought documents, precepts, and lawes too weake a meanes to work so great effect without they were confirmed and strengthened by the examples of their predecessors, to which prone nature even amongst the most barbarous dos willingly render an implicit veneration; and therefore, seing their liberaries were their memories, and word their characters, so songs and rud rimes were the onely bookes, whereby their bards and Druids instructed their children in the historys of former ages, makeing the famous actions of their ancestours so much the more the patern of their conduct and manners as it was the subject of their innocent melody and mirth; and this custom is at this

day in practice amongst the incultivat heathens of Africa and America.

But when the kind heavens was pleased to gratifie the industry of man with the invention of letters, no subject seemed to the ancients so worthy of the prerogative of being transmitted to posterity as that of antiquity in the relation of their ancestors. And, indeed, the most ancient that can be found of their writings is of that kind, whither it was that they knew no immortality but that of fame, or found no better way to provid with security for their ofspring, in whom they were to live to posterity, than by handing down to them the methods and honest courses by which some attained to honour, wealth, and command, whilst others, by the contrary wayes, lived and died in obscurity, poverty, and contemp. And the desire of perpetuating the memory is such a glimering glance of the primitive but effuscated light of nature that some think it a convincing argument to prove the immortality of the soul, it being a vain thing for any, especially a reasonable being, to desire that to which it hath no naturall capacity, and the rather that the greater and more elevated soules of all ages have aspired as much to the perpetuating of their fame as they have to the purchaseing of the same: witness *Nota.* in ancient times the great Alexander, who envied no man but Achilles for the happiness he had in having Homer for his historiographer; and since him Julius Cæsar, who, notwithstanding he was tired out with the fatigues of a continued and difficult war, yet, as he thought no man able to do what he had done, so he judged no man worthy to perpetuate his memory, and to writ as he wrought and fought, but himselfe. But what satisfaction soever dying men may have in the prospect of a lasting name, it is certain the living reap great benefit from the register of their actions. For would a prince have measures to govern, a subject how to obey, a statsman how to give consel, a judge and magistrat how to execut justice, a husband and father how to command and cherrish, a wife and child how to love, honour, and obey, and all conditions of men how to perform mutuall good offices in every kind of society, history, and especially the truest and most ancient of all, the Holy Scriptures, is that repository from whence

they may draw the truest maxims for all duties exemplified with the good or bad successes of those who have followed or transgressed the same. But as all histories are not of the same nature, so neither are they of the same usefullnes; and ancient poets are good in their way, fictitious Romanes, besids the satisfaction they give the authors inventing head, are of very little, if of any, use at all; others are reall histories, and are either ancient or modern, universall or particular of states or of privat famelies, forreign or domestick, and are all very profitable according to the severall qualities and capacities of the readers. In the writing of an history some authors affect an exactnesse of recounting maters with the niceties of the minutest circumstances that attend them, and of omitting nothing that can have any place in the booke, which looke [is] liker the depositions of a witness in a triall, or the breviat of a lawyer at the bar, than the annalls or chronicles of a nation or ancient famely. For it is enugh for posterity to know the memorable actions of a great person, and all his expeditions and transactions, with such circumstances as rander them most considerable in themselves and significant to the reader, though they be not told what kind of beard or garb the person wore on his wedding day. Many likewayes puzle both themselves and the readers with a too nice inquiry into the first originall of nations and famelies, and especially by what new flight of collonies or transmigration of people, islands, and countries discontinued from the continent, became first inhabited; and in this search, so soone as they transgresse the bounds of authentick records and monuments of antiquity, the rest is no more history, but the conjecturs and probabilities of the authors. It is true that, since we are taught by our religion that all mankind descended from Adam, and, consequently, as they increased in number by new generations, so they successively enlarged their habitations into remoat regions, untill the habitable world was possesst. It would be very curious for men to know from what branch of the stock they are descended, and not, with the ancients who understood nothing of the creation, beleeve those people whose originall was not known to be indiginæ, that is, started out of the country they inhabited, but that being impossible to be

attained to, since the memory of man cannot, and letters were not invented to, preserve the knowledge of the various changes and mutations of elder times, we should satisfy ourselves as men with what we find in receaved records concerning the beginnings, progresse, and changes of kingdoms, countries, clans, without troubling ourselves with our ancient predecessors who were not one drop of blood in kinn to Fergus or Achaius.

We therefor confin ourselves near home, for the fountain of civil honour is the king's majesty, which honour and priviledge he hath receaved from the King of Kings; and accordingly the word of a king was, What shall be done to the man whom the king delighteth to honour? Thus King Alexander the 2, Ester 6. 6. in whose mind the Lord (who turns hearts as the rivers off waters) did put to fix his heart and eye with his royall favoures upon that deserving person, Sir Simon Fraser, who convoyed his Queen, Mary of Caucy, over seas to her Scotish 1241. thron, and soon after gave him his honors. And truly that famely proved so gratfull for this dignity that it was demonstrated in its loyalty, still improveing the same to the glory of the giver, the advance of the king's interest, and the great good of the nighbourhood to this very day. And what more suitable reciprocation thatt the sone and heir of a royall confessor and martyr King William, [than] to bestow his bounty on him whose son and heir proved a royall martyr, even that immortall hero, Simon, the second of that name, of whom Buchannan gives the testimony and character—*Simon Fraserius et G. Loganus duo æquites Londini capite plexi*; and John Major sets it down in his history—*Circa idem tempus Simon Fraser et Galterus Logan aurati æquites cum multis aliis bellatoribus ad Londonios ducuntur ubi extremo supplicio mulctantur ante annum* 1306. Jo. Major, L. 4. p. 80. After this the very soul of this great spirit lived eminently in his surviving sone, which began early to shew its vigour for the king and his countrie in a confused time, the broiles of Baliol and Bruce.

From this fatall blow of Simons death our ancestors reckoned their æra. I say this without the imputation oft laid uppon Scotsmen to reckon from an ill houre, but in the account of time there must be *ἀφ οὗ* and *ἐφ ὅ* the *unde* and

the *quo.* Accordingly chronology whatsoever fixeth it selfe upon some certain term to which the reckoning shall referr. The most naturall term would be the worlds creation, from which the Jewes account their time, we Christians from the Redemption; *si origo mundi in hominum notitiam venisset inde exordium sumeremus*, saith Censorinus. Some of those who could not attain the worlds beginning reckoned from their own. So the Romans *ab urbe condita.* Others respect some great name or some notable event; so the Greekes account from their Olympicks, and the Assrians from Nabonassar. These terms of computation are most usually known by the names of Æras and Epoches, called Epoche ἀπο τοῦ ἐπεχειν. *Sistendo quod illis sistentur et terminentur mensuræ temporum*, saith Scaliger. Æra was first of all said off the *Æra Hispanica*, respecting the time of Cæsar Augustus recaving at that time the Julian form under this style *Annus erat Augusti*, or *A. er. A.*, which in time, for want of interpunction, was put together and becam the word *Æra.* Christman will have it *Æram æris*, that is, *Æris solvendi fisco Romano*, meaning a certain tribut imposed by Augustus, first upon the Spaniards, and afterwards upon the whole Empire; but Calvisius and others confirm that *Æram* old Latin signifieth as much as *Numerus* and its manifest from Cicero himselfe. The Æra of the Olympiads was 808 yeares before the passione of our Saviour, the 3173 year of the world; the Olympick games were instituted for the exercise of the Græcian youth by Hercules to the honour of Jupiter Olympus, near unto whose temple, they were performed in the Olympian field. The exercise was called Pentathlon or Quinquertium, from the fivefold kind. The victor was cround with an olive, and triumphantly carried in a chariot into his own city, and his name was publickly recorded. The Æra of the Romans, *Æra urbis conditæ*, they counted their yeares from the time of their first plantation, which was in the third year of the 6 Olympiad in the year of the worlds creation 3198, and before the Incarnation 750 yeares. The first foundations Æra then is called from the rites to Pales Pastorum dea, the sheepherds holyday, celebrated the same day the city was built, as the poet:—

Called *Palilia*, Propertius, l. 4.

Urbi festus erat dixere palilia patres;
Hic primus cœpit mœnibus esse dies.

Æra Dionisiana Philadelpi—this was set up by Dyonisius, the astrologer, in Egipt, for the famous Ptolemy sirnamed Philadelph, which began the 4 year of the 123 Olympiad 3665 of the creation. *Æra Hispanica*, Julius Cæsar, in the 4 of his dictatorship, appointed the correction of the Roman year, and in the beginning of the Julian account, called by Alphonso *Æra Cæsaris*, and this Julian account began *anno* 3905 from the worlds creation. Seven yeares after and 38 before the Nativity of Christ, the Spaniards being brought under the subjection of the Empire, makes their *Æra Hispanica*. *Æra Nativitatis Christi*, we have unquestionable, which answerreth to the 3950 from the worlds creation. *Hegira Muchamodia*, Mahomet haveing introduced a new superstition in compliance with the Christians, Æra Martyrum was called *Hegira Muchamodis*, *i.e.* διαγυος, or the flight of the persecuted prophet to Mecha, Friday, 16 of July 622 of the Incarnation. From *Æra fugæ Muchamodanæ*, the Turks reckon their yeares to this very day. *Æra Danica* from the date of the first foundation under Gotricius, *anno Xristi* 797, and the 2 was from the pacification betuixt Hemingus, King of the Danes, and Carolus Magnus, *anno* 880. *Æra* 1 *Gallica*, from Merovius called the Merovignian Trib. which had its original, *anno* 449. *Æra* 2. *Gallica Caroloviniana*, under King Pepin, began in the 751, and after this the 3 *Æra Capetina*, the Saxon from whom they becam Francks, under Hugh Capet, *anno* 985. And then the Vallois end in King Henery 4 Burbon, *anno* 1589, in which syrnam it now stands.

880. 449. 751. *An. Chr.* 985.

Æra Brittannica or *Anglicana*, from the Roman invasion under Julius Cæsar, *anno Mundi* 3912, and before the Incarnation 60. 2. *Æra Britannica*, under Constantius, *anno Christi* 433. *Æra* 3. *Saxonica* under Elba *anno Christi* 805. *Æra* 4. *Normandica* under William the Conquerour *anno Domini* 1067 which continued till the union of the kindomes under King James 6 *anno Domini* 1602. *Æra Teutonica*, the Germain Empire begun and founded by Carolus Magnus, King of France and Emp. *anno* 801. *Æra Scoticana*, the most ancient of all, begun and was founded by Fergus 1, King of Scotland *anno Mundi* 3641, befor the *Incarnatio Xristi* 330, the first year of the 112 Olympead, and in the 421 year after the building of Rome, about the beginning of the 3 monarchy of

A. M. 3912. *Anno Christi.* 1067. 801. *An. M.* 3641.

the Græcians, when Alexander the Great overthrew Darius Codomannus, the last monarch of Persia. The Scots monarchy stands now by true and infallible computation upwards of 2000 yeares; non else in Europ so ancient. Now the designation of time *secundum intervalla* the chronologers call canon, which, if it set the æras down singly, is termed Canon καθομαδα, if it make a connexion of them, κατπλατος; so that the creation fell out the 764 of the Julian period, the Flood came upon the earth *anno* 1656 of the Creation; our Saviour, Christ, was born *anno Mundi* 3949, *anno Period Jul.* 4713, Olympyad 194. This connexion of things is called synchronism; an error committed herein is called anachronism, and either saith too much and that is a prochronism, or too litle and that is metachronism. And as there are known, æras of empyres, monarchies, and kingdomes, so also of principalities, provinces, colonies, tribs, famelies, and persones; and ought we not to preserve our æra too from our first originall and rise in France under Carolus 4, surnamed Simplex, Emperour of the West, *anno* 900; or 2, our translation into Scotland and our arrival here in King Malcolme Kanmore's time, *anno* 1062; or 3, our setlement in the North, in Lovat, by donation off King Alexander 2, *anno* 1250, the inlargement, source, succession, and period regularly deduced shall *Deo Volente* be the subject and substance of the following history, which, with my intire respects to my candid reader, I offer as a tender of duty and information, and remaines ever unalterably—Youres, Mr. J. Fraser.

From my studdy at Mons Mariæ, July 9, *anno* 1666.

To the Highly honoured and truly Honourable, the signall Embleme of Scotlands pristine Gallantry, heroic Valour, and Braverie,

Simon, Lord Fraser of Lovat,

In and with this Dedication I wish all hapines, peace, and prosperity, health, wealth, wit, felicity, temporal and eternal.

My Lord,—The true splendor, noblenes, worth, wisdom, vertue, graces, and antiquity of your renouned ancestors

prompted me, finding all these venerable accomplishments centered in your excellent selfe, their surviving stem, to honor your remembrance, and bring my tenders to the test of your unbyassed and impartiall judgement, so that, my Lord, as I designed you the person of my dedication, you also beare the title of this ensueing tractat and history in your promising yeares and bloud. There being none in this nation in whom there is centered and running in your veines a nobler confluence of so many loyal purple rivolets of true honor, so that a mean herald, by the guidance thereof upward, may be led to the fountain of the Scotish nobility in their grandure and antiquity for many ages bypast before our times.

As to history and genealogy it selfe, it is the study of the Sacred Scriptures, and that becomes a divine; of ecclesiasticall history, a Christian; of the transactions and politicks of nations, that becomes a gentleman and statsman; of the British history, a Scotishman; of particular noble famelies, a peer and chiftan: of all which qualifications, in some measure meeting in your Lordship, gives me assurance to such a degree that this my undertakeing would not be unwelcome to you. And, my Lordship, he that hath the blood and spirit of his ancestores in his heart and veines cannot be so much turned into a statue as to stand still and admire the different fortunes, this mans greatness and that mans lowness, so as to reflect upon the tributary brookes of the former matches of the nobility, but also to looke back to mater of fact, what our predecessors have been as well as what ourselves at present are, lest, falling short of the imitations of their immortall actions, we so strangly degenerat as not to understand what ourselves ought to be. Of the severall alterations in nobility there are three principall actors on the theatre of great famelies, the beginner, advancer, and ruiner; in all these our uncivil troublesome times we have heard more of the later than of the former other two; but whoever hath raised our ancient famous famely, or whoever ruined it, I am hopfull God may make yow the happy instrument to restore and repare the same. Simon, I am sure, was the first, and I see that Simon is the last on our stage; it

being resolved, and your destiny had decreed, to set yow an apprentice in the schoole of affliction, and to draw yow through the ordeal fire of triall, the better to mould, temper, and fashion yow for rule and government. Thus, being seasoned with adversity, I hope fortune meant no more than to shue yow a piece of her variety and changeableness of her nature, so to conduct yow to your desteny'd felicitie. Motto, *Ut potiar patiar*, and, with Cæsar, to conclud, *Veni, vidi, vici.*

My Lord, some names would be so ancient as to derive their pedegree from Adam, the beginning and creation of history; but my triumphes receave not their rise from so early an original as the morning of time, but takes its levell from the later ages, wherein I shall exactly follow and keep be Polibius his precept, *Historici est ne quid falsi audeat decere ne quid veri non audeat.* Here, then, according to my promise, the desire and expectation of many, I shall set down the dawning and first origin of the Frasers in France in the dayes of Charles 4, surnamed Simplex, King of the Gaules, anno 900; next, their first translation to and arrival in Scotland in the dayes of King Melcolm 3, surnamed Canmore, anno 1062; thereafter, their setlement in Twadale [Tweeddale] under succeeding 8 kings for the space of a 160 yeares; and, lastly, the comming of the first Lord Fraser of Lovat to the North, his setlement, rights, and donations here; and, by a continued uninterrupted line, to reckon the succeeding Lords of Lovat, with their respective matches and ofspring, for severall hundered yeares, with their collaterall branches descended from them, as branches and tribs, with their cadents dispensed in privat famelies up and down the kingdom, with their contemporary relations, nighboures, correspondants, and contingencies for many ages. It truly cost me considerable time, search, and scruteny, travail, and toil, or I could put it in this regular method, order, and due dresse, all which with my selfe I humbly offer to your Lordship approved censor. I cannot say with Persius vein, *Nec S——? metuent mea carmina nec Thus.* For the laboures of the greatest merit have met with hard measure of severe and critick censorers, how then shall mine escape? To those I say, *Carpere vel noli nostra vel ede tua.* The moral,—

Cum tua prævideas oculis mala Lippus inunctus!
Cur in amicorum vitiis tam cernis acutum?

My Lord, all your predecessors are now off the stage; the sun is set, for we are under a hesperus cloud. *Sed mira cano, Sol occubuit nox nulla secuta est—Phosphere redde diem cur gaudia nostra moraris.* I have now ventered to let this lark fly out into the world, *Simoni venturo, Phosphere redde diem*, which I am hopfull your Lordship will take into your cage and volary, my design being *in olim inutilis videar vixisse*, that I would not be construed uselesse unto my country, *et ne videar ignorasse quæ scire debuissem*, seem and apeare to be ignorant of what I ought to know. 'Mongst all the maxims of the ancient sages, *Nosce teipsum* was applauded, and *peregrinus domi*, a stranger at home, exploded and condemned. I would gladly learn off and succumb to such as know more and can do better than myselfe. *Discat qui noscit, nam sic scientia crescit.* Had others ventured upon the stage this had never seen the sun. With Elihu, Dayes should speake and multitud of yeares should teach wisdom; but there is a spirit in a man, and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth them understanding. Great men are not alwayes wise, neither do the aged understand judgment, therefore I said, hearken unto me, I also will shew min opinion. Behold, I waited for your words. I gave eare to your reasones, whilst you searched out what to say; yea, I attended unto yow, and, behold, there is non of yow that convinced Job or that answeired his words. *Explicat ? ? quare hactenus tacuerit et quare num loquatur. Tacuit quia fuit junior et locum oportuerit dari senioribus. Loquitur nunc qui vidi amices non posse refutare Jobum, et quia ipse habet quod respondat. Sed accidit ei quod protribet* [?] *Horatius—Non fumum ex fulgore sed ex fumo dare lucem.* The same was my case and circumstance in adventuring and undertakeing this great genealogy, which now is come out to the light, and I must own it. Of our Simon I hope it will happily prove what the prophet saith in behalfe of . . . I will overturn, overturn, overturn it, and it shall be no more untill he come whose right it is, and I will give it him. Almighty Lord, bring his soul out of trouble, preserve and prosper him in his just pre-

tensions, and, with the prophetick poet in his behalfe, we may conclud :—

Nulli animis nulliq ausis nec Marte secundus!
Nec tibi Simoni Magne, secundus eram;
Cædunt fata tibi patriæ tu Maximus Auctor!
Invitis fatis conditor alter ego!

A panagirick eulogy to the master of this great task.

Now shall our syrnames bliss thee for this deed,
And with what envy shall our nighboures read;
With home-bred wants opprest we were of late,
For low at home with forreignors grown cheap;
Nor tread nor arms our antient fame maintain,
And we must sink if yow do's not regaine.
With admiration I have read thy booke,
Where art and sense appeares in every looke.
Each page hath something great and something new,
And I at first did guess its writ by yow.
Who forty yeares, by painfull search hath sought
What ne're before was to perfection brought.
Long we were silent, and our name forgot,
And we but read whom other clans had wrot.
Thus, when our ancient fame was almost lost,
Thow hast again made us to hear our ghost.
Yow did our dying patient to life restore,
And given that vigour it ne're had before.
Our name neglected, and by time oppressd,
Thow polisht hast, and fashionably drest;
Thus whilst yow wait and other names make known,
You build a lasting trophy for your own.
Welcom to light, thow healer of our name,
To raise thy countries honour and thy fame.
Our great historians of a long time ar dead,
And yow to those brave heroes do succeed.
Long have we wisht, but all this time in vaine,
To see our ancient genious wake againe.

In spite of malice yow will still be great,
And raise your name above the powr of fate.
Our sinking house, which now stoops low with age,
Yow show with newborn lustre on the stage.
Thus candles, crumbling in their sockets, lye
And sally out in flams before they dye.
Goe on, brave man, advance quhat yow have begun,
Assurd of this to be by none undone.

Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci. D. D. M.

Jacobus Fraserus. Anagram—*Facis in orbe rarus!*
M. D. F.[1]

Ad criticum lectorem.—
Cum tua non edas, carpis mea, carmina læti:
Carpere vel noli nostra, vel ede tua.

Being to give an exact account of the birth and beginning of the now numerous famely of the Frazers, I shall by way of introduction set down the short description of France where we had our first origin. Historians agree that this country was first peopled by Gomer, Japhets eldest sone, frome whome the Gaules are derived, whose ofspring were first called Gomerians, afterward Cimerians, at last Cimbri, first planting themselves in the mountainous places of Albania, where the Montes Cimerini long preserved his memory. After changeing that unfruitfull unpleasant soil for the plaines of Phrigia, where the city Cimeris retaines his name, his posterity afterwards filled the Lesser Asia and in long tract of time filled Germany and Gaul and Britains with his numerous issue. *Anno Mundi* 3500 one of their kings called Celtus haveing married Galata, daughter of Hercules, fixed a colony here *Anno Mundi* 3500. After this the aborigines or first fixed inhabitants hereof called themselves Celtæ, from the name of their king, *et matris ejus vocabulo Gallatas*, and Gallatæ from the name of his mother Galata.

Afterwards the country was called Gallia and the people

[1] Probably the initials of the author's friend and neighbour, Master Donald Fraser, minister of the parish of Kilmorack.

Galli by the writers of the Roman story, and vulgarly Gaules, Celtes, Galatæ. So that being originally of the Cimbri, haveing the bloud of Hercules, they proved a valiant and warlik nation, without hose favor no king could secure himselfe from imminent danger. And to enumerat their atchievements, they invaded Italy with a numerous army, under the conduct of Bellerosus, passed over the Alps, conquering the nearest parts of Italy called afterwards Gallia Cisalpina, overrunning all Germany, followed their successes as farr as Scythia, founded the potent nation of the Celto-Scythæ, and under the command of Brennius discomfited the Romans at the river Allia, sacked the city, besieged the capitol *anno Mundi* 3577, urbis conditæ, and finally under the command of Belgius ransackt Illyricum, Paunonia, Thrace, and Greece, in which expedition they plundered the temple of Delphos, for which sacrilege they were visited with the pestilence. Such as survived the plague went into Asia, and there gave name to that country now called Gallatia. Whereupon the poet give this panagirick: Calvus the Bald succeeded to him and reigned 38 yeares in broiles and wars in Italy. To him succeed Luduvicus Balbus, or the Stammering, sone of Charles for two yeares, and Lewis 3, base sone of Lewis the Stammerer, usurped the thron for five yeares; and Charles the 3, surnamed Crassus the Gross, called out of Germany and elected king, and at the 5 yeares end Odo, sone of Robert Earle of Aniou, by an opposit faction outed Carolus Crassus, and Carolus Simplex, the posthumus sone of Charles the Stammerer, is restored to the throne of his grandfather, Charles the Great, and reignd 27 yeares. He met with great troubles raised against him by Robert 2, Earle of Aniou, whom he defeat and slew in batle, and then got some quiet.

Anno Mundi 3577. *U.C.* 365.

anno 886.

anno 900.

About the year 916 Hugh de Arles, base sone to Lotharius, king and duke of Burgundy, made a strong faction to be king in the minority of his brother, Rodolph, Duke of Burgundy, beyond the mountain Jour in Savoy and Suitzerland, that the two estates might be joined in one, that with Burgundy this side Jour and the river Soan, comprehending Liones, La Bress, Dauphin, and Provance. The debat and contest turnd hot and very high, so that the countries were embroiled. In end

Pope John 10 of Ravenna, being incenced by this uproar, threatenes them with interdiction and excommunication if Hugh would not yeld to an accomodation. The French history declares that Clemens, Card. de Monte Alto, *Legatus Apostolicus ultimo ecclesiæ mucrone Hugenoni fulminavit et Burgundiorum regnum sub interdicto posuit Donec pacem miret.* This sentence proved so terribly astonishing to Hugh of Arles and his accomplices that a submission is given to Charles Simplex, king of France and Emperor, to join with the Cardinal Clemens and Albertus Bishop of Lions, who with a vast force pitches their tents close by the Soan, near Lions. Bodolph and Hugh de Arles *hinc inde* subscrib the submission, which terminats in a decision in favoures of Rodolph, duke, who is declared King of Burgundy upon the free resignation of his b. Hugh, to be held of the Emperor. By this the sentence is waved, and the agreement signed at Lions April 29 anno 916. *Nota.*

The King returns home with his nobles and piers, a vast retenue and convoy, and by the way at Auverc, near Burbon, he prepars a treat for the Cardinall sumptuous enugh, and, at the closur of the entertainment, one Julius de Berry, a gentleman liveing there, complements King Charles with curious sallats and fruites, but the main was dishes of ripe strawberries served in, which the Nuncio, Cardinal Mont Alto, haveing seen and tasted, declared that such fruit would certainly be a rarety in Italy, wondering to see such ripe strawberries, if not heastned by art. The King was so highly pleased with Julius service, done him so seasonablie, that he presently knighted him before his nobles and court, changing his syrnam Berry to Fraise, afterward turned to Frazer. The gentleman had 4 sones, Thaddeo, Baruc, Jacomo, and Pedro, two of which the King takes into his service, and parts with the Cardinal and the Bishop of Lions, who return home with a generall acclamation and joy for their success in the peace of Burgundy. The King would gladly have Julius Fraise with him to Paris, but the gentleman thanked his majesty in the words of Barzillay the Giliadit to King David, How long have I to live that I should goe up with the King unto Jerusalem? I am this day fourescore yeares old, and whey should thy

Fraise, a strawberry.

2 Samuel, 19, 34, 35, 36, 37.

servant be a burden unto my lord the king. Thy servant will goe a little way with the King, and whey should the king recompence me with such a reward? I shall turn back to die in my own city, and be burried with my fathers. Thy servants my sones shall goe with the king my lord, and doe unto them what shall seem good unto thee, etc. I referr my reader further to that dialogue. This gentleman, Julius Berrie, descended of the Bituriges in the division of Old Gaul, by the Emperor Constantin; but now he is Frazer, and his two brothers, Antonio and Willelmo, change their syrname also, the King giving them three Fraizes or stalked strawberries for their arms. From thesse issued a most numerous offspring up and down the kingdom. One of these sones, Thadeo, was governour of S. Denis, and his sone Bishop of Amians, Alexander Frazer, one of the daringest churchmen in All France in the dayes of Robert 1, King of France, of the Capetin race; this bishop, in his own time, is said to have reckoned 200 Frazers in France. One Jacomo Fraser, sub-marashall, purchased curious Lengovil in Normandy. I saw the arms of the Frasers in an ovall shield over the palace gate, and one Michel Male, whose mother was Fraser, in my own heareing anno 1657,[1] declared this full story of their originall to Doctor Alexander Fraser[2] (very curious to know these things), and averd moreover that to his own certain knowledge there were 150 Frasers in Brittany and Normandy, and that Duke Fulvio of Guyse acknowledged himselfe lineally descended of Pedro Fraizer, so called because he was born upon St. Peters Eve, devouted to that saint. But I leave them now becaus they will fall frequently in my way.

Michel Mala, marchant at Diep, 1657.

* * * * *

anno 1017. Canutus is sole king of England and Denmark, but Edmound,

[1] In which year, as he informs us in his unpublished 'Triennial Travels,' the author was in France.

[2] Of the family of Durris. An eminent physician who practised in France, and was thereafter physician to Charles II., by whom he was knighted.

surnamed Ironsid, sone to Ethelred, a most valiant prince came over to England to possess himselfe of the kingdom, but, not recovering his full title, at last divided with Canutus and next year was treacherously murdered by Edward, surnamed the Outlaw, his eldest sone, and so Canutus married the widow of Ethelred, Emma, daughter of Richard Duke of Normandy, and reigned peaceably for 20 yeares.

In Scotland all this wheil maters went well, for to Constantin 3 succeeded Melcolm, sone to King Donald the 6, a valiant prince. He added Cumberland and Westmerland to the kingdom of Scotland. This king, setling a profound peace, and suppressing outrages, was treacherously killed in Murray, the 10 year of his reign. Indulfus, sone to Constantin 3, succeeded; he vanquished the Danes and Norwegians under two princes of that nation, Hagen and Helrick, and was killed by stratagem the 9 year of his reign, and, after him, Duffus, sone to Malcolumbus, succeeded, a good prince, traiterously killed by one Donald, Captain of the Castle of Forres, and his wife, and burried at the Bridg of Kinloss, over quhich place sun nor moon never sheined for 6 months till he was found, and Culenus, sone to Indulfus reigned 4 yeares, a vitious prince, killed by Rodardus of Moffan for defloureing his daughter, and to him succeeded Keneth 3, brother to Duffus, a most wise and valiant prince and severe justiciar; in the 4 year of his reign a great fleet of Danes landed at Taymouth, overrun all Angus, destroyed Monross, besieged Perth where the King came against them with a great army, and followed a cruel fight. The Scots giveing way, a husbandman ploughing with his two sones persues the Danes with yocks uppon their shoulder, which incurraged the Scots to return and renueing battle vanquished the Danes. The King gave this man the name Hay, and a falcons flight of ground twixt Tay and Arroll, 6 miles long and 4 in breadth, to the Falcons stone, and this is the originall of the famous famely of the Hayes, *anno* 980. This King appointed the lawes of regencies in the Kings minority and tutors and curators for minors who at 21 is a major. King Kenneth was killed at Fettercarn by an engine image quhich Fanella, lady of the place, had cuninglie set in the wall with a golden

Scotland, *anno* 943.

anno 952.

anno 970.

The originall of the Hays.

anno 980.

apple in his hand, quhich the King takeing was instantly shot through the heart.

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anno M. 4967, *anno Chr.* 994. To Kenneth the 3 succeeded Constantinus Quartus usurping the crown *anno Mundi* 4967 *anno Christi* 994; he was killed in battle at the town of Cramond in Louthian at 2 yeares end, and Grimus Duffus his sone succeeded. He was also a vicious usurper of the crown, killed by his successor Melcolumbus 2, sone to Kenneth the 3, *anno Xristi* 1004, a wise and valiant king. He married Robert Duke of Normandies daughter; he repared the city of Aberdeen and was often victorious against the Danes south and north; he surprised their army once with a few of his courtiours, and one pretty fellow near the King heareing that a Danish chyften lay in ambuish to kill the King cried out in Irish, *Cā Kā Kāte weil ē, i.e.* let me see him quher quher is he,[1] running forward heastely killed the Dane before the King, who for this act knighted him, calling him Khe or Keth, and this is the originall of the surname of Keith Marshall, an ancient noble famely. This brave king was killed by a conspiracy of his nobles in the Castle of Glames *anno* 30 *regni*, but the murtherers, flying in the night, happened to run over the Loch or Pool of Forfar frozen and covered over with snow, thinking it to be firm earth, were all drowned therein by the just judgement of God.

The original of the Keiths, Robert. *anno* 1006.

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anno 1034. After the death of Melcolme 2, succeeded Doncanus primus, *anno Mundi* 5004 *anno Xristi* 1034, a just good and modest prince, kept the kingdom in peace, and good lawes on foot. He had two principall men whom he employed in all maters of importance, Mackbeth, his own neare cousin, and Bancho, generall of the King's forces. These two being sent north as farr as Inverness to setle maters there, in the return at Forres, these two travelling together, through the wood a mile be-east the town, at Cullyburn, as yow go for Elgin, they were met by three fairies, or weird sisters as we call

[1] *Cà, Cà, Càite bheil e?* Where, where, where is he?

them; the first makeing obeisance unto Mackbeth saluted him Thane of Glames, the 2 saluted him Thane off Cawder, and the 3 salutes him King of Scotland. This is unequal dealing, saith Banquho, to give my friend all the honour and nothing unto me, to which one of the weirds made answeir that he indeed should not be king, but out of his loines should come a race of kings that should for ever rule the Scots, and having thus said they all suddenly evanished. Upon their arrivall to the Court Mackbeath was immediatly created Thane of Glames, and not long after, some new service of his requireing new recompence, he was honoured with the title of Thane of Cawdor. Seeing then how happily the predictions of the three weirds fell out in the former, he resolved not to be wanting to himselfe in fulfilling the third. As the historian saith of him: *Erat enim Mackbethus acri ingenio animo prorsus excelsor et magnarum rerum cupida cui si moderatio accessisset, quamvis magno imperio dignus erat.* Mackbeth being a man of a smart profound wit, ambitious spirit, aiming at high maters, who were he moderat was worthy of an empire. Therefore he first killed the King, and after, by reason of his great comnd among the souldiers and common people, he succeeded in his throne, but meanwhile called to mind the prediction given to his companion Banqho, quhom hereupon suspecting as his supplanter, he caused him to be killed with his whole posterity, onely Fleance, one of his soones, escapeing with no small difficulty, fled into Wales. *anno Christi* 1040.

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King Melcolm 3, *anno* 1057.

Melcolumbus 3, surnamed Canmore (as Hugh Capet king of France was so called) *ex magno capito*, a great pate a great wit; he began his reign Aprile 20, *anno Mundi* 5027, *anno Christi* 1057, after the reign 1387. He was great and good, religious and valiant, and being cround at Scoone, *multi nobiles præterea pro suis erga rem Scoticam meritis novis titulis honorati.* He changed the titles of Thanes into Lords, Earles, Barrones, Knights. The Mackduff *et merito* from Thane is Earle of Fife, so of Lennox, Monteith, Athol, Murray, Caithnes, Anguis, Rosse. The first thing the King did was to erect the Recross of pure stone standing in the midle of Stanmoor, the onely monument in Britain with the King of England's *Intimite crux lapide a statuta quæ regum statuas et insignia utrinque haberet.*

image and arms on the one side, and the King of Scotland's on the other side. This stone cross was a march between the two realms, standing in the midle of Stanmoore as aforseid, centricall. This excellent king that came through many tribulations and trialls is now so universally respected and beloved that King Henry I. of France sent over his ambassador Count Chartere to congratulat his health and setlement in his realm, with true gratitud for and sentiments of his victory over and deliverance from his usurping predecessor and cruel tyrant M^ckbeth, now destroyed and suffering the same stroake he shaped for others.

Cæde furit, cæde ergo perit; sors ilicet æqua,
Cædium et artifices arte perire sua.
Discite quam sceptris non tutum fidere, Princeps,
Esse volo, Jam de principe nullus ego.

Fraisers, Boys, Bisets, Beatons, etc.

In company with the ambassador, Count Chartre, from France came Frasers, Boys, Beaton, Bothūel, Campbel, Boswel, Moutray, Montgomery, Taylifer, Bisset, whom the King most respectfully receaved and treated as pledges of his dear brother King Henry's affection to him. King Edward of England, his foster father, sent his ambassador, also with intire wishes, and a complement of a massy heart of gold richely enameled and opening had both their pictures live draughts one on each side closeing/kissed one nother. And Pope Benedict 9 sent hither his envoy/Cardinal Camelo with his paternall benediction to King Melcolm, and a curious coronet of gold and precious stone with a golden chein and this verse:—

Petra dedit Romam Petro tibi Papa Coronam.

This good King erected the Bishop seas of Murray and Cathnes, repaired the Bishop seas of St. Andrewes, Galloway, *anno* 1060, and also Aberdeen. The King being allarmd with an insurection in Murray, and some Danes landing, repares thither with his army, and, saith the historian, *Paucis inde castris ventum ad Spœam* (*omnium Scotiæ fluminum rapidissimum*) they come to crosse the cruell rapid torrent of Spei, and the ensign bearer who carried the standard seming there to shrink, the King pull'd the banner from him and delivers

it to Sir Alexander Carron, who as it is in Irish *Chaw Greim Geir*,[1] held it fast in his fist, and crosses the river, whence he got the name Scrimger, from *Greim Gere*, by his new office obtained the constablary of Dundee and his lands. The King with his forces returnes through Murray, and sees at Forres where the Danes had erected an obelisc, with hierogliphicks, would not suffer any to touch or demolish it.[2] One Olaus who was their leader, being killed at Murthlack or Mortlich, got its denomination thence, Murt Olaich, or Mortlich, Olaus his death. There the King caused erect a monument of a pretty church and mortified a donation for it.

King Melcolm returning home in peace and safety gratefied his faithfull friends who convoyed him, especially the strangers who came out of France. To the Bisset he gave Hadonia in East Laudian, to the Frasers much more, to John Fraser the eldest of 3 brothers he gifted Tuedall a vast estate matching him with Margret Sloan, the heretrix, with the title of Lord Twadall. To the 2d brother, Alexander, he gave Inverkething, and the 3d brother, Francis, he kept in his retenue and court, a great musician and poet, and an expert swordman, and such indeed King Melcolm loved with all his heart. The shield and coat of arms he gave the Frasers is azur, and triangle field with the crown, as here yow see, beareing the Freises within, the ancient and originall coat. The Campbels and Montgomreys seated in the west, the Boyes, Bothuels, and Bosuels, in the Mers, Moutries, Beatons, and Taylifer in Anguis; of all these we shall have occasion to treat at large hereafter. The King now vigorously sets himselfe to promove peace and piety, vertue and good manners throughout the kingdom. He caused to be built from the ground the great church and abby of Dumfermeling, his own palace there being finished, and ordaind from thenceforth the same church to be the sepulture of the kings of Scotland, as it continues.

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[1] *Ghabh greim geur*, took a sharp or fast grip. [2] Still standing.

For princly exercise and recreations, manly acts of fencing, riding, jumping, wrestling, arching, tilting, and all strangers resorting to oures, quher was there such a court; and whileas former kings were rude and unpolished, never getting the advantage of education our King Melcolm was inferior to no prince of the world, for he was 17 yeares at the court of England, his queen an Englishwoman. Formerly, Latin and Irish was the language spoken at our Scots courts; now a nursery of all languages, arts, and sciences; the French spoken here as at Paris, the Latin as in Italy, the English scoole set up, and yet the Irish still in esteeme at court. Franciscus Fraiser was master of the languages at the Court; the Scots who spoke onelly Irish called him Frishalach Francach;[1] and for musick he was a chorister, serving both the court and convent vicissem. The hospitall being near the palace, the Queen diverted herselfe visiting the sick, dressing their sores with her own princly fingers, visiting widowes orphants, poor strangers, supplying them as their need required, and spent third of the day in devotion privatly and publickly in the great church quher the monks served. If we can trust Hector Boyes, the historian, he declares that there were twantieth surnames started up in the Kingdom under this King's reign, such as Lessly, Locquart, Gordon, Calder, Seaton, Kenedy, Lauder, Schaw, Meldrum, Waran, Straghan, Lermont, Liberton, Cargil, Dondas, Ratry, Cockbourn, Menzies, Morton, Abercromby, etc. This blissed religious Queen Margret bare unto King Melcolm 10 children, viz. seven sones, 1. Edward the Prince, 2. Edmund, 3. Etheldred, 4. Edgar, 5. Alexander, 6. David, 7. John; and 3 daughters, 1. Mathilda vulg. Maud, 2. Agatha, 3. Helena.

annô 1089. King William Conqueror died.

Now after 20 yeares reign in England, King William the Conquerour died in a great disturbance, leaving his sone William Rufus to succeed him, who, having the same gum at Scotland that his father hade, thinks it his onely game now to pick a quarrell with Scotland, *causam belli adversus Scotos ferens, arcem Anvici cæso præsidio fraude intercepit*, he resolves by stratagem to take the Castle of Anvick in Nor-

[1] The French Frissel or Fraser—Friseil or Friseileach is still the Gaelic for Fraser.

thumberland, being now in the possession of the Scots, for Northumberland, Cumberland and Westmorland were within the Scots dominions. King Melcolm, haveing setled an universal profound peace in Scotland, invades England with a mighty army which put William Rufus to his push, feareing that London was his aim. The King besieges the Castle of Anwick, the garrison within was brought to extream penury and no help or suply. As the historian declares, *Custodes arcis pene ad omnium rerum penuriam redacti de deditione collocuti*, and [illegible]ying to rander the castle and calles the King to receave the keyes, *easdum ad lanceæ cuspidem suspensas.* The governour, Robert Mouberry, reach the keyes (unarmed uppon a light horse) with a lance in his hand, the keyes upon the point of it, the King uncontiously receaving them the said Robert run the King through the left eye and escaped into the next wood. Brave Prince Edward, to revenge his father's death, rushing inadvertantly forward, was killed in the croud. *Filius quoque ejus P. Eduardus dum salutis suæ negligentior vindictæ cupiditate in hostem incautius irruit, ex vulnere brevi moritur.* There followes a cruel slaughter and non of the English left alive except a few that got quarter to give the Scots army intelligence. The King's funeralls are solemnly set about, his own and the princes corps interred in Tinmouth Abey.

The Scots army return, and the nobles, to setle affaires after the King's death, the English prisoners being delivered to on Captain Sinclar. Among other contingencies several of the prisoners were Sinclars and Beatones, useing freedom with their guard, told their names, and that they, with many mo of their name, and of the Campbels, Bizets, and Frasers, came over with William the Conquerour, and were now spread through England. Well, saith the Captain, I see England could not be conquered without us, Frasers, Sinclars, Beatons. To confirm this, I remember in the 1657, when I was at London, I met with severall Fraisers, and some call them Froisels. One of them, Mr. Thomas Froysell, a preacher, told me that his predecessors cam over with the Conquerror, and their true name was Fraiser, but by the vulgar dialect of Shropsheir, where they lived, they called them Froysels. He

gave me a litle booke which I keep still in my liberary, entituled ירורוה or the Beloved Disciple and the Gate of Oportunity, being sermon preacht at funeralls by Thomas Froisell, minister of the Gospel at Clun in Shropshire.

Famous Queen Margret called a convention of her peers at Dumfermling and ordered the King's corps and the princes to be transported *a Cœnobiæ Tinæ* to Dunfermlin church which was accordingly done in a most splendid and royale maner with a solemn funerall.

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To King Melcolm 3 succeeded Donaldus Banus, usurping the crown by a faction, and within the limits of the year was expelled by Doncan 2, Bastard sone of King Melcolm. Had Donald Bane been prudent to carry the Queen and nobles consent with him, he would have been elected regent, being the Kings brother, dureing the minority of Edgar the prince, but precipitated himselfe to his ruin. Duncan enjoyed the crown but a very short time, with great trouble from England, quhen he is killed by M'kpeuder,[1] Thain of Merns, by the former Donalds procurement, who, to strengthen himselfe in his kingdom, conduced with Sueno 2, King of Norrowy, for assistance to recover the crown, he gave him the north and west Isles, which his race possesses to this day, viz. the Mackleuds. For Leodus, the sone of Oliverius Norwegie, possessed the Lewes, called so from Leodus, who had 4 sones, Torcil, Tormoid, Teah, and Teascil, who divided the country among them, Torcil possessing the Lewis, Tormoid the Haris, and the other two, parcells among them; upon them 4 the poet in that language gives this distich on

Originall of Mackleud.

Shlichd Oliver shin nach duair baistig, tha buōn maslig;
Ta Tormodich, agus Torkil, Teah, is Teaskill.[2]

[1] MacPeter.

[2] *Sliochd Olbhair sin nach d'fhuair baisteadh, tha buan masladh;*
Ta Tormodaich, agus Torcuil, Teah agus Teascuil.

On the race of that Olvir who never received baptism there is lasting reproach;
They are the children of Norman, and Torquil, Teah and Tesquil.

See Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, iii. 460, 482, for the Macleod genealogy. The reputed descent of the Macleod chiefs from Olvir (a Norse name) was known to the sixteenth century bardess, Mary Macleod, who repeatedly refers to it. See

The clan Torkil in Lewis were the stoutest and prettiest men, but a wicked bloody crew whom neither law nor reason could guid or moddell, destroying one another, till in end they were all expelled that country, and the M'Kenzies now possess it. The poet gave them this satyr:—

She mi varrell er Chland Lēod gir cossvil eād re
** Pōir i Dūse*
Thē shin mis ī is mō, Ichis i tē is Ōig Tūse.[1]

* Picks [pikes] in a pond.

All this whil Prince Edgar was in England, and by the advice of his uncle Edgar, a great favorit with King William, Rufus procures him men and mony, comes to Scotland, then Donalds friends forsaike him, escapes to the Isles by flight, being taken is brought prisoner to his brother sone.

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[Here follows account of affairs in England, France, Germany, Hungary, Bohemia, etc.]

To return to Brittain, England is in great peace under King Henry the 3. and Scotland most hapy under our blissed King Edgar, who lived a celibat life, never married, and left no issue, and finished his dayes in peace the 30 yeare of his age and 10 of his reign, as the historian records, *Regnavit Edgarius in summa pace annos decem bonis omnibus carus et verendus, obiit anno* 1108, and was burried at Dunfermlin. *Edgarus sine liberis defuncto successit ejus frater Alexander cognomento acer.* Alexander 1, surnamed Fierce, succeeded his brother *anno Mundi* 5077, *anno Christi* 1108, after the reign 1437, *vir sui nominis*, a *anno* 1108.

Beauties of Gaelic Poetry, 22, 25, 28. Norman and Torquil are common Macleod names. Teah and Teaskill are not known, but may refer to the Mackays and Macaskills, connected with the Macleods.

[1] In part obscure. The following rendering is offered, not without doubt:—

'S e mo bharail air Clann Leoid, gur cosmhuil iad ri pòir an t-uisge;
An te is sine, màs i is mò, ithis i an te is oige diubhs'.

It is my opinion of Clan Leod, that they are like pikes in water [literally the water's progeny];
The oldest of them, if the biggest, eats the youngest of them.

Compare the Gaelic adage:—*A' bhèist is mò ag ithe na bèist is lugha, 's a' bhèist is lugha 'dhanamh mar a dh'fhaodas i*, the bigger beast eating the lesser beast, and the lesser beast doing as ~~it may.~~ best it can

man of a fierce and forward spirit, valorous and vertuous, a great justiciary, striving above anything to suppress the traiterous factions of his brother Doncan and his uncle Donald Bane. He married daughter to William Duke of Normandy; he built the Castle of Beledgar in Anguis, to represse robbers and theeves; he minded often his mother Queen Margrets advice, and his brother King Edgars, to gratify and own their true loyall subjects and servants; he confirmed Sir Walter Stuart in his great office, and gave him severall lands, especially the Isle of Boot, being the first interest of the Stuarts; and to M'kduff he gave all Fife, and made him Earle of Fife. He died the first yeere of the King's reign, leaveing a good ofspring; of him descended the Weemeses and Mackintoshes in the North, who after him were called M'kintoshich, the Thanes sones.

Originall of Weimes and Mackintosh.

MACKDUFFUS.

Baledgar, *hoc est Edgari villa*, Edgars toun; *hibernicé* Bail Edgar.

Famous King Alexander lived at the Castle of Beledgar, being centricall in the kingdom. On a certain night a number of traitors entering the Kings chamber by conduct of the chamberlans, being bribed and corrupted, on purpose to have killed the King in his bed, who by Providence started and catching a sword, first killed his chamberlan, and by his singular manhood run fast after the rest and killed 6 of the traitors; the rest escaped and being persued and apprehended confessed that severall noblemen had conspired against the King (*hæc tragicam cognominis caussam asserunt*). This tragicall act its is said was the cause of the Kings surname Acer or Suift. The King raised an army and persued the traitors. *Cum ad Speam amnem constitissent ac freti rapiditate fluminis transitu regem prohibere conarentur.* Comming to the River of Spei, which was so impetuous that they indeavour to keep the King from passing, Alexander Carron ventered the fluid, and with a crooked sword killed many of the traitors. *Alexander Carronus, Alexandri cujus supra meminimus filius.* (This Alexander was sone to that Alexander who passed through Spei with King Melcolm.) The leaders were all taken *et ad regem aducti laqueo strangulati*, being brought to the King were all hangd. The King

proceeds *in ultimam usque Rossiam fugere molientes eos et secutus*, persued them to the borders of Ross. Passing through Murray land, the King fixed one Ramsay constable of the great castle of Elgin, and one Barr governour of the King's house at Forres, on Sowles at Narden [Nairn] Castle, Boyes constable of the Kings house at Invernesse, and Gillchrist Mackilvarnich, GRAME, constable of the fort of Lovat; he [Grame] digged the outer ditch or trench and the rampards, the rud era of which we see 5 square yet extant about the place, and built the tower and front wall and great gat of Lovat, with his armes over it yet standing; whither he or his sone was killed at Glachkillchrist in Ross, Connin persueing the Mackdonels *me latet*. The King settled on Barregy constable of the great castle of Donny, called Beufort, and one Beaton governour of Dinguall. The King in his return setled Calder of that Ilk, the old possession of Murrayes and afterwards Thane of Calder; it is said that he discovered the traitores and incendiaries to be Mackdonels, Murrayes, and Cumings; and as the historian saith, *hæc expeditio ex illo ad finem usque vitæ pacem ei præstitit*, that by this valiant expedition King Alexander was ever afterward all his life feared by his subjects. *Post hæ ad pacis opera conversus Fanum Michaelis ad Sconam a fundamentis extruxit*, he built St. Michels Monastery in Scoone, and adorned the Abey of St. Andrewes with donations. Once passing over the firth of Forth, in *Œmonam Insulam tempestate Delatus*, he was cast upon a litle island called Emona, now St. Colms Inch; the tempest continued so long that the King was brought to extream famin, but that there was an Anchorit cell there, and the hermit suplied him with the scant victualls he had by him. The Historian saith, *Cum nullum per aliquot dies nec rex ipse nec comites victum habuissent nisi quem apud solitariæ vitæ cultorem* i. e. *eremitam invenerunt*, for this singular delivery the King out of gratitud to God, *ibi fanum in memoriam Divi Columbi extruxit*, built there a monastery dedicat to St. Columbus [Columba] and mortified rents for it, being to this day called St. Colms Inch, and the rudera of that work seen there extant to this day. He finished the edefices and monuments of Dunfermelin, begun by his father,

perfected the great church, and set a famous marble tomb upon his mother Queen Margaret, yet seen within the rudera of that great fabrick. I went purposely to see it anno 1661, and much grieved to see that princly magnificent monument neglected. The King much taken with the loyalty of his good peeres, gratefied them with gifts at home and abroad. The good Queen Sibilla was not wanting to prompt him to it, seing these that convoyed the King in his expedition north acquitted themselves gallantly, and such as were the Queens guard and retinue at home pryed into the plot and discovered the leading rebells. The Earle of March, Dunbar, was generall of the Forces, and the Queen being (as she thought) singularly oblidged to her French friends, the Fraisers, she got the Lord Twedall, Jo. Fraiser, made Chancelour at the meeting and convention att Forfar, and Francis Fraser captain off the Kings guards and principall chamerlan, so that now they have served three kings successively and successfully. This great king reigned 17 yeares, and died *anno Xristi* 1124.

Dunbars and Frasers promoted.

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David gets an eulogium from the historian that, *erat enim cuivis regum in omnibus virtutibus par, in augendis proventibus ecclesiasticis longe superavit*, in all regal virtues he equaled any of the former kings, but in promoving the church he excelled all that went before him. For to the former 6 Bishopricks he added other 4 which he erected from the foundation, viz. the Bishop see of Ross, Brechen, Dunkelden, and Dunblain. He also builded 7 abbyes, viz. Holyrood house, Kelso, Jedburgh, Melros, Newbotle, Holmoultran, Doundrannan, Camboskenneth, Kinloss, Dunfermlin, and Holme in Cumberland; one nunnery at Carlile, the other at North Berwick; two monasteries at Newcastle, one of St. Benedicts Order, the other of the Whit Monks of Cumaldulæ. John Major the historian concluds, *cum reliqua hujus regis acta magnis laudibus prosequatur hanc profusam ejus in monasteria largitionem gravi oratione incessit*, etc., when he commends the king in all other laudable acts he condemns this profuse expense upon religious houses and by inriching them, *posteros reges pene ad inopiam redegit*, he brought this successive

kings to extream penury; so that King James First, visiting his tomb, being canonized S. David, called him a Sore Saint to the Crown. He secured his marches with England, and was a great terror to King Stephen, for finding him approaching with his forces to Newcastle, King David raised a formidable army and enters England, till King Stephen's ambassadors met with him pleading for peace, which was soon obtained. He settled all quarrells and commotions in Scotland, evin among rude Highlanders, reformed the whole kingdom from vice and excesse, nay, all extravagancie. *Ænœa Moraviæ comite cum suorum magna multitudine cæso conquievit.* Æneas, L. of Murray, being mutinus, cut him off, and Milcolm Mackbeth, attempting a new sedition, he commits him prisoner to the castle of Roxbrugh in perpetuall restraint. There arising stirrs in the West, he calls for John Campbell of Lochow, creats him knight and gifts him braid Albin, committing to him the care and conduct of that countrie. His greatest trouble on earth was the death of his excellent Queen, Maude, as saith my author *Quam vivam unice amavit et in ætatis flore mortuam, ita desideravit, ut plus viginti annis non modo cœlebi sed expers etiam veners superfuerit*, his greefe was so great for her that he would never mary, no nor kisse a woman, but devouted himselfe wholly to piety, charety, relieving the poor, that his court was rather an oratory or religious house than a king's palace. At her own desire the Queen was interred at Scoon *anno* 1142. By her the king had but one sone, Prince Henry, an excellent vertuous youth; he married Adama, daughter to William, Earle of Warren, who bare unto him 3 sones, Milcolm the Maiden, William the Lion, and David, Earle of Huntingdon, and two daughters, Adama, wife to Florentius, Earl of Holland, and Margret, wife to Conanus, Duke of Britain. This good prince died long before his father, to his great griefe, as well as the lamentation of the whole realm in generall. The King, being overtaken with melancholly three yeares before his death, called for a convention of the estates at Scoon, where he not onely told and exhorted each in his station to their loyall dutys, but in particular thanked each of them for their honesty in the trust put upon

them, and gratified some of them with new honors and benefices. Alexander Fraiser of Inverkithin, being his trusty and had gone in with him to England, being now dead and leving 3 sones, Peter, James, and William, he gave the eldest a plat called the Newland for his interest and title, and to the other two service about his court, and pensions for each of them yearly. As for his brother, Francis Fraser, he served 3 Queens successively as Master of the Languages and Music Master of the Court, a person of a noble and gallant spirit, died but a year before the Queen, haveing lived a celebat life, and never married. If I were not myselfe of this name I could say much to the commendation off these excellent persons, having deserved so well off all, especially of their princess, serving both Kings and Queens with singular loyalty and honesty.

The Lord Twedall, John Fraser, left good ofspring, 3 sones and two daughters. Simon, Lord Fraser, his eldest sone, got his education at Court, a sollid wise man and a gallant spark, married Anna Flava, surnamed the Grave, Queen Sibillas halfe sister. The King finds the greatness of his spirit fit for action, nam'd him the great Lord Fraser, and made him *custos castri*, constable of Oliver Castle, and so were call'd afterward Lords of Oliffer Castle; his second sone, Andrew, was maid Laird of Freed or Froit, and the 3d sone, Peebles. The Earle of March married the eldest daughter, and the youngest to Warren Graham in Merse, with very good portiones.

Lord of Oliffer Castle.

This Lord Fraser could do much at king and queens hands, and, besids his own worth and merit to deserve it, he had two uncles, Alexander of Inverkithne, and Franc, still at Court, to act for him besides. King David survived his queen full eleven yeares, and died in peace and tranquility, haveing reigned 29 yeares.

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Melcolm 4, surnamed the Maiden, because he never inclined to marry, he succeeded to his grandfather David 1. *anno Mundi* 5123, *anno Christi* 1153; *impubes magnam tamen de se spem omnibus præbuit*, all had hopes of him, being educat

with his excellent grandfather. In the beginning of his reign a cruel famin overrun the whole land to the great loss of men and catle. The 3 yeare Sumerledus, *i.e.* Sovirle[1] M'kdonalde, Thain of Argile, takeing advantage of the calamity of the times and the King's youthhood, makes an insurrection and raises an army to usurp the kingdom. *Cui et fortuna supra genus et supra fortunam animus erat*, saith the historian; his spirit, above his fortun, did great mischeefe. Donald, the sone of Melcolm M'kbeth, takes up armes also at this report, but was apprehended by the Earle of Mers and Lord Fraser, and brought to the King who sent him to the same prison with his father. To compose those broiles Gillichrist, Thane of Anguis, is sent with a great army against Sumerled, whom he soone dispatcht with his force, and himselfe narrouly escaped to Ireland, most of his rebells killed, so that it was a wonder to many this sudden victory, as the historian saith, *Hæc victoria preter omnium spem, tam lito parta, domi tranquilitatem foris invidiam peperit*, as it bred envy abroad so peace at home. King Henry of England begins to controvert about the counties taken asaid of him. King Melcolm meets him at Carlile. They agree that Cumberland and Huntingdon shall remain in the Scotish possession, and Northumberland passed from, for a vast soume, to England. Dunbaris Fraser.

At this time a turbulent man Aneas Galovidianus, *homo quidem potens*, rises in rebellion, and the king instantly sends out Gillichrist the Thane against him, but er they rancounter in conflict a comission comes from the king calling him back to conduct his forces north, to suppresse an insurection got up in the North by the Murrayes and there accomplices geting up in armes there; the historian words it thus—*In septentrione parte regni Moravienses homines inquieto semper ingenio se a rebus novis continuerunt, Gildominico Duce non modo regiones omnes circum circa depopulati sunt sed feciales ad se missos barbarica crudelitate interfecerunt.* In the North a revenus rable, cruell with their leader, *Gildominic Adversus hos missus est Gilchristius majore quidem cum exercitu (dispari fortuna).* Gilchrist is sent with a great army and cuts them

[1] Gaelic, Somhairle.

of with a great slaughter, so that the Earle of March is ordered with his concurrents to proceed against Eneas of Galloway, whose fate was no better. Thus ar the Murrayes killed and banished out of Murray, and, to be sure, it was not for building churches. Thus had Melcolm peace all his time, a peaceable mild prince and a severe justiciar, repressing very many rebells all over the kingdom. He built the Abey of Couper in Anguis, and founded the Abey of St. Andrewes, a magnificent. He died in Jedbrugh the 12 yeare of his reign, and was interred at Dunfermlin.

Murrayes killed and turnd out of Murray.

* * * * *

[Here follows account of affairs in France, Germany, Hungary, Bohemia and England.]

Scotland.

To return now to Scotland. King William, surnamed the Lyon, succeeded his brother Melcolm 4, in the year of the world 5135, in the year of Christ 1165. His first enterprise was to send an embassy to Henry king of England to require Northumberland back. *Negotium majoris momenti videretur quam Northumbriam ab Henrico Anglo repetisset.* The King of England invited King William to London for an accomodation herin, which being denyed, jarrs and warrs ensued. English armies came to the Borders, and the Scots incursions upon them made them retire often with losse. The Earle of Marchs good conduct, and the forwardness of our brave generalls Gillchrist and Rolland, repulst them. The historian saith, *Angli Cumbriam invadunt sed a Gilchristo et Rolanda Scotis ducibus acriter sunt repulsi*, and in end the French affaires diverted Henry and all terminat in peace. King William in the interim married Emergerda, daughter to D. Beaumont, by whom he had good children. At an instant rebellions in the North alarums the King. *Interea Gilielmus expeditionem adornabat in Moraviam adversus latrones Æbudenses, quorum princeps Donaldus Banus qui etiam nomen regis assumpserat*, saith the historian; the king convocats his nobles and barrons, the floure of all his clans, and makes up an army, his leading men Grahms, Keiths, Hayes, Frasers, Weimes, Beatons, Campbells, and forward to the

Anno Christi, 1165.

Donald Bane, the rebel defeat.

North surprises the rebells and disperses them, takeing many of their leaders and bringing them to justice, and for the time composses this rebellion. At this time Haraldus, Comes Orcadum et Cathanesiæ, this barbarus cruel man apprehends John, Bishop off Cathness, a favorit of King Williams, and cuts away his tongue and pulls out his eyes. The King dispatches his captain and guards by sea, surprises the Earle, carries him to Inverness, causes pull out his eyes, and hangs him near the Castle. *Totamque stirpem ejus masculam emasculandam dedit, collisque a testiculis nominatus memoriam rei gestæ servat*; All the Earles ofspring male were guelded there, and the motte everafter called the Bage hill.[1] After this the King erected the Bishop see off Ardgyle, enduing it with sufficient rents; and the Kings mother, Maude, built the Abey of Hadingtown, and the King at the same time built the Abbey of Balmerinoch. But *nill omni parte beatum*, the King is allarumed afresh with an insurection in the west: *Eodem fere tempore Rex ducem rebellium ad septentriones spectantium Gothredum Makwilliam a suis proditum cepit; captus cibo constanter abstinuit metu gravioris suplicij.* This Gorry Mackwilliam is betrayed and delivered up to the King, but whither for feare of further punishment or not he never eat bit of meat till he died. This spread an universall terror among rebels, so that the King had peace.

Gorry M'kWilliam, a robber taken.

The King prepares now to build the great abbay of Arbroth, an extraordinary work, and all the while he was in erecting of this abbey he lived himselfe and his famely and court at Reed Castle in Anguis near the shoare. This house was built by the Auchterlonyes and is called Caistel Roy[2] in Lonan in the Irish language then current, for if you observe that bottom to the north it is all full of small pooles of water, in Irish called Lonan,[3] so that the Kirk is called Lunan Kirk, and also the river Arbroth, called Aberbrothock, either becaus the river Brothock runs there into the sea for Abar is a water mouth in Irish, but I think it rather Oir. Bruach[4] a bray or hill side. At this time David Earle of Huntingdone

This Abbey dedicat to Ordinis.

[1] The Bag Hill: a name not now known in connection with the Castle Hill of Inverness.

[2] Caisteal Ruadh, Red Castle.

[3] Lon, a marsh; lonan, a little marsh.

[4] Literally, the Brae's Edge.

sone to King David and brother to Melcolm the 4., a famous worthy and great souldiour, returnd from the Holy Land, and, in great danger upon the seas, arrived at length in Tay without ruther or tackle, Providence putting him in at Alectum now called Dundee, Ailleg[1] in Irish a cragg rocky place, and now Dune Tay a promontory near Tay. It is said that in gratitud he built the famous steeple and church off Dundee and the Abby of Lundores. After the King had finished all his great edifices and works of charety, Pope Calixtus 5 sent a legat to King William with a sword, and the sheath with hilts of gold set full of precious stones, with a hat or diademe, and termed him Ecclesiæ Catholicæ Defensor, *i.e.* Defender of the Church. Historians conclud his life, telling that he called together the prime and flour of his nobility, Campbels, Beatons, Grahms, Dunbarrs, Heys, Keiths, Ogilvyes, Frasers, Bizets, etc., and tooke a progress to England, and met with King John at York, where he was graciously accepted, and also himselfe and train admired for conduct and gallantry; there they renued their league and agreement, *Nam Gulielmi congressus cum janni fuerat Anglo ut fœdera essent renovata et tandem fœderis illis congressibus fuerunt sanctita.* Boethius tells us that when King William was at York with King John there happened a nobleman's child of singular beuty and parts who of a long time laboured under contrary diseases uncurable by any phisitiane, yet cured by King William as appeared by miracle; he was so pious holy a man.

That I may make up a history and account of the Frasers under these 6 kings bygone, I shall breefelie resume in order what is allrady recorded by takeing occasion to treat a litle of King William their great patron and benefactor, being so just and equall a man that he set doun methods for setling rewards upon deserving persones of all sortes and well merited men for their loyalty, trust, and honesty. He was a great friend to the present Lord Fraser of Twadal, terming him his trusty, his true and faithfull subject, dying in his quarrell and cause, when many whom his predecessors gratified had rebelled. About the year 1060 came the Frasers into Scotland;

[1] From *aill*, rock.

3 brothers came to King Melcolm 3d his court viz. John, Alexander, and Francis. This John shortly after married Euphem Sloan, heretrix of Twadal and had with her 3 sones and two daughters, the eldest sone Simon his heir of Twadal, his second sone Andrew, Laird of Frood, his 3 sone James, Barron of Peebles. His eldest daughter Sophia married to P. Dunbar, Earl of March, the 2 daughter Flora to Warram Graham of that Ilk. This John, first Lord Twadell, for his wit and great parts was created Chancelour under King Alexander 1. and for his great conduct and authority was called by the King the great Lord Fraser and Constable of Oliffer Castle, as yow find at large before. 1. Lord Fraser Twadal.

His brother Alexander got Inverkithin, with one Mavilda widow and heretrix. With her he had two sones, Andrew, who possest his interest and had office in the King's Guards still, 2. William, whom he mad a marchant and rich trader in the firth of Forth, going abroad as occasion offered. His 2 daughters, one setled at Allwa upon wealthy farm fewer, the 2 turned religious at Dunfermling, having attended Mathilda, Queen Margrets mother, into the cloister of nuns. This Alexander was Controuler to the King, and Custos Curiæ, as yow may find before.

The ofspring and successors of this Alexander possest Inverkithin and the lands about Caschilis, now called Queensferry,[1] for many ages, as we shall find instanced in this history afterward.

Frances the 3d brother, a great schollar, a musitian, and bold swordman, served Queen Margaret all her life, as musitian, captain of the Guards at home and abroad, and continued still at court serving 3 kings successively and successfully, lived a celibat life, never married.

The second Lord Twadall, Simon, married, as I set down before, upon Anna Flava, halfe sister to Queen Sibilla, at court with her, he had only two sones, John and Franc. This Lord Fraser, in a turbulent time under King Melcolm 4., surnamed the Maiden, employed to goe in that desperat expedition with the Earle of March against the rebells in 2. Lord Fraser Twadel. Married Margaret, daughter to Walter, the great Stuart.

[1] Elsewhere the author refers to 'Casschilis or Cilis Casse, *i.e.* Narrow Firth, now Queens Ferry.' Cas Chaolas, literally the Steep Kyle or Narrow.

Galloway headed be Malcolm Mackbeath. In this conflict he receaved a wound, the continued malignancy of which proving incurable, occasioned his death at last in the very prime of his age, much bemoaned and desired, especially by his King and sovereign, to whom he had done good service. His good lady, Anna Flava, called by the Irish Ann ni Fla,[1] continued a widow all her life, notwithstanding of many suitors. She educated her hopefull sones at a high rate untill King William receaved them into his own court and service. He could never forget that great Simon, their father, died in his quarrell. Francis was very usefull to him as a souldier and schollar, but, being a great mechanick and architect, did him no small curtesie and conduct in the building of Arbroat Abbey. They both convoyed him to England with many mo, going to meet King John at York, and his Majesty was pleased to give him the Fenda of Kinnell, and married Christina Lunan heiress.

3. Lord Fraser of Twadall.

Lord Bernard Fraser married Marjory, daughter to the Thane of Anguis, Gilchrist Ogilvey, and his Lady, her mother, the Kings own sister. The historian is punctuall here. *Non ita multo post, Gillichristus cujus sæpe meminimus uxorem suam eandemque regis sororem aduxit*, etc. With this Mary he had many children, Alexander, Peter, Simon, William, two daughters, also Fanella married to Campbell Lochow. *Helena cælobatam vitam vovit*, lived and dyed a maide in the nunnery Coldinghame. His sone, Peter, *patriam reliquit in Galliam peregrinatione aductus*, the French said to him, *Alle vow Pere a France pur voyer mon amis*, Goe, Peter, to France and se my friends. Simon 3 sone was married to the Bisset, afterward Lord Lovat, and William was a marchant venterer. Of these we shall have occasion to treat in King Alexander the 2. his life, and under King Alexander the 3d. We shal now take leave of good King William, *qui in periculum inexpectatum Berthæ opidi*; traveling on the road to Perth that night their chanced such an inundation of two rivers, Tay and Almond, that, through violence of the streames, the town walls were born down, and many people perished. King William narrowly escaped, his youngest sone and nurse

[1] Anna nam Flath: Ann of the Heroes.

perished. The King bestowed great priviledges upon the town, calling St. Johnstown, which before was called Ber Tha from Ber Tai *in vetustissima lingua, Bar, dorsum, Tai fluvius. Paulo post* 74 *annum agens vitæ regni* 49 *salutis humanæ* 1214 *decessit.* He dyed at Striveling the 74 year of his age, of his reign 49, year of Christ 1214, and was burried in Aberbrothock Abbey. I have been at his tomb, being grieved that by the wickedness of our times it was so defeaced that no vestige of it is seen but by tradition of antiquaries demonstrated. Bar, Tah, Perth

King William dying in peace, his sone Alexander 2. succeed in the 16 yeare of his age. *Sedecim erat annorum cum regnum iniit; is turbidis temporibus imperium adeptus omnia prudentius quam pro ætate composuit.* He entered in turbulent times, yet acted materes prudently beyond his yeares. *Anno Mundi* 5114. *Anno Xristi* 1214. *Regni* 1554.

* * * * *

This same yeare [1220] Gilespic M'kdonald made an insurrection in Rosse and prayed upon the country. The historian saith, *Rossiam Gilespicus indidem civis vicinas regiones fœde populabatur, Nessam amnem transgressus Ennernessam opidum captum incendit. Recusantes in verba sua jurar, crudeliter trucidabat*, etc. He ransact and brunt Inerness and cruelly treated every man that would not rise and range with him. At last John Cuming, Earle of Buchan, is sent out with forces against him, catcht him and both his sones, and cut off their heads. *Capita ad Rei gestæ fidem ad regem missa*, there heads sent to the king. This is the first exploit I read of the Cumings. At the same time Adam, Bishop of Cathness, was murthered and burnt in his house, which cruell act the King caused punnish with fire and sword. Gilespick R. raises a rebellion, crusht by John Cuming, Earl of Buchan.

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But the historian tells us, *non adeo diu post ejus mortem Rex cum liberis careret Mariam Ingelrami Cuciani Franci filiam accepit uxorem anno a Christo nato* 1239, in which year the King married Mary, daughter to Ingelram, D. of Cauci in France. This mariage was consumat at Roxburgh, where the King treated the French courtioures with royall gifts but not unmindfull of his own subjects, he knighted 9 of his young nobles in one day, among which Sir Simon *Anno* 1239.

Fraser who convoyed the Queen out of France, was one for whom the King had very great favour becaus of his own and the great merits of his father's famely, the Lords Fraser of Twedall, who had done him great service and loyalty, active against the rebels of Galloway and Argil: for about 4 yeares after the Kings return from France my authors

Jo. Major *et Dempsterus.*

sayes that, *Exortus est alia in Argathelia tumultus duce Sumerledo, Sumerledi superioris filio, sed is intra paucos dies per Patricium Dunbarrum et Johannem Fraserium victus, se in potestatem regis dedit atque ab eo veniam præteritorum accepit.* A tumult in the west raised by Sumerled, sone to the former rebell, which was suppressed by P. Dunbar and Jo. Fraser and got the Kings reprive.

* * * * *

King Alexander, as tradition hold, came north in devotion to visit S. Duthus shrine at Thain, and in his return mortified some lands to the Collegiat Friars at Invernes, amongst which was Markinsh,[1] a pendicle of Kinmilies,[2] and caused erect a cross in the mid firth, near Kossock Ferry, fixed upon an oaken great stock, whence that part of it was and is still called the Rood Pool, or *Hib.* Poule-i-Rōde.[3]

About the yeare 1247 * * * the Earle of Athol, Peter Cuming, an excellent youth, was burnt in his lodging house att Hadington, the King being there at the time. The Bissets were jealoused for this and persued criminally; the Cumings would have no ransom but lives, yet the counsel of State decreed to forfeit the Bissets and banish them all the kingdom.

Buchan. lib. 7. p. 244.

Buchanan saith, *Et quanquam Gulielmus familiæ princeps teste etiam regina probaret se ea nocte qua facinus id patratum fuerat Forfarœ fuisse, ultra sexaginta millia passuum ab Hadina;* William Bizet instructed that himselfe, sone, and brother were at Forfar 60 miles off that night, so that he had no hand in it, and the fire might be accidentall; *id minime creditum est fortuitum fuisse propter nobiles inimicitias Patricij cum Bisetorum familia.* Nothing would do, nor could trust be given to Bissets, so that they turned universally under a

[1] On which Inverness is now partly built.

[2] A barony near Inverness; belonged to the Church before the Reformation.

[3] Poll an Ròid.

generall odium, all the heads of their famelies forfeited and banished into Ireland, the very name of a Biset becam hatefull, especially to Cumings, the leading men off the kingdom. Major saith, *Anno sequenti Joannes Bisset, Dominus de Achin B. et T. simili fato periit*, the next year Jo. Biset infatuatly falls in the same misfortun, the King being certainly informed that he is ingaged in compact with the Macdonell of Isles and had receaved a Charter from him paying him homage for the lands of Achterles, Iden, and Moncoffer, the tenor of the short charter given is as follows:

Ego Donaldus Insolarum Rex tenore presentium do dono et concessio amico nostro dignissimo do. Joanni Bisset, D. de T. totas et integras terras de Achtirless, Iden, et Moncoffer, cum omnibus ad easque pertinentibus tam infra quam supra terram hasce in provincia Baniæ jacentes idque sibi et suis successoribus in perpetuum chartamque hanc firmam et stabilem iis tueamur quam nostro sigillo et chyrographo confirmamus et attestamur. Apud Castrum nostrum de Dingual coram consanguineis et consiliariis nostris charissimis Mackleod de Lewis et M'kleod de Harise die decimo nono Idus Junij anno a Xristo noto MCCXLV anno Pontificat. S.D.N. Gregorij IX. P.O.M. 1° Pontificis Optimi Maximi. S.M.P.

King Alexander, upon this report, orders the Earle of Ross to apprehend John Bisset and incarcerat him in the Castell of Inverness, and thence to transport him prisoner to Edinburgh. In the meantime Biset, getting some privat intelligence, escapes clandestinly to Achterless, where he remained obscure a whole yeare, till John Dempster, Laird of Muros, getting notice that a somme of mony was put upon his head, being his nighbour, convocats some armd men and apprehends John Bisset in the wood of Achterless, and from shire to shire carried him south, and, delivering his prisoner at Craigadi, receaved a reward, and John Bisset, conveened and convict, receaved his inditment, viz. an act of banishment into Irland, with all his male relationes, his whole interest and estate confiscat and put into the Kings hands.

Causam suam tueri cupiebat ea vero conditio cum ō accipere-tur cum multis propinquarum exulatum in Hib. . . .

Thus are the whole concernes and leading men of the Bisets put into the same category. The King disposes off their lands, the Cumins and Campbels got 7 barronies; all John

Bissets estate in the north was the royall gift of the King to Sir Simon Fraser, 3 sone to John Fraser, Lord Twadall, and also the fort of Lovat, then in the Grahms possession as constables, is given to Simon for his title Lord. Thus is the old error and tradition husted and confut, that Simon Fraser was Lord Twadall, and his famely falling low and divided among daughters, that the King gratified him with the title of Lord Lovat for his good service done him, and the house of Twadal extinct, a gross mistake, for in *anno* 1306 we find Jo. Fraser, Lord Tuadal, fought the Batle off Roslin against the English, as we shall show hereafter. So that of verity Sir Simon Lovat was 3d sone to John Fraser 3d Earle (Laird) * of Twadall who with his match and ofspring we mentioned before, and being with the King in England died of a malignant fever, and severall others beside. The fourth Lord Fraser of Twadal, Alexander, matcht Grasella, daughter to Alanus, Thane of Galloway, with whom he had 4 sones and two daughters. His eldest sone John, the 2. Alanus, 3. James, 4. Alexander, one of his daughters died young, the other was married to Jo. Campbell of Lochow, Alanus his sone married the heretrix of Knockmillerward, and was called Laird of Knock; James was prior of Melros; and Alexander first a great marchant then a souldiour and Captain of the Kings guard. The historian saith, *Circa hæc tempora decessit Alanus Gallovidianus Scotorum potentissimus, decedens, tres filias reliquit, primo genita est Alexandro Fraserio Twedeliæ Pot. matrimonio data, 2d et tertia posterius nobis erit sermo.*

Simon, Lord Lovat.

*Lord of Twedale, or rather Laird.

Alexander, 4 Lo. Twadal.

Historia, Jo. Major, L. 4. p. 80.

Sir Simon, Lord Lovat, had got the gift of Kinnell from his uncle Francis who married Christina Lunan heretrix thereof, and, dying without sone and heir, but one daughter, disponed of the Teind of Kinell to Simon, and after cost and trouble gained litle by it, and for this onely title he was called the Knight of Kinell. He came north *anno* 1249, and had no time but onely to marry his lady Mary Biset when he was called immediatly back by express from the King, his majesty King Alexander, who, as the historian hath it, *anno a parto virgineo super milesimum Alexander 2. R. voti seu peregrinatione causa Ionam petiit*, King Alexander being under a vow went in pilgrimage to Ih Collum kill, called Iona, and

1249.

haveing finished his devotiones died in his return at Karnari[1] or Carnazeith, and was interred at Melros, in the 38 year of his reign and of his age 58, sad death to the nation.

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[Here follows account of affairs in France, Germany, etc., and of Popes.]

King Alexander 3 succeeded his father *anno mundi* 5213, *anno Xristi* 1250, *anno regni*. . . . He was crownd at Scoona. Alexander 3us, *eodem anno Sconæ coronatur, puer annum octavum egressus*, saith. John Major declares, *Rex ergo Alexander licet puellus in solio cathedrali lapideo vertibus preciosis cooperto sedem a Gamelino Archiepiscopo Sancti Andreæ est innuitus, et interim ecce quidam Scotus Montanus quem Sylvestrem vocant, venerandæ Canitiæ in procerum presentia, Novum regem Alexandrum sua lingua vernacula salutat his verbis*, Beannachi Dē Rē Albin Allister MacAlister MacWilliam MacIllchallim MacDavy MackEdgar MacIlchallim MacDonchy Mac MacIlchallim MacGrimus MackKchinich MacDuffus MacIndulphus MacIllchallim MackChonstantin MacDonal M'kGrigor more MacEthus MacChonstantin MacDonal MacKchinich more MacAlpin MacDougallus MacCongallus MacAchainus MacSoluathins MacFergus MacEwin MacElsinus MacMordacus MacEwin MacAmbercilothus MacEwin MacMalduin M'kFearchar MacDonal MacFearchar MacEuin MacKchinich MacAidanus MacKinatillus MacCongallus MacEwin MacGorannus MacCongallus MacChonstantin MacDougardus MacEuin MacFergus MacEwin MacTethelmachus MacInnish MacRomachus MacFrocormachus MacCrathiluithus MacDonal MacDonal MacFindecus MacNathalocus MacAthrico MacAthodius MacDonal MacSalvael MacEthodius MacConarus MacMogallus MacLugathacus MacCorbredus MacDardanus MacCorbredus MacCaractacus MacMetalanus MacEuine MacEderus MacEwin MacGillus MacEwin MacDurstus MacFine MacJosina MacTherens MacReuth MacBeatherus MacNothatus MacMainus MacFeritharus MacFergus Cēad Rhi in Halbin MacFerchus Erinach.

Buchan. l. 7. p. 244.

Jo. Major H. l. 4. p. 65.

[1] Kerrera.

We may wonder how a mans memory and confidence in face of a convention could serve him to rehearse those nams succes„seively without hesitation, but that the custom of the Bardi habituated them to it from their childhood. The historian adds, *Et sic regis genealogiam ad originem primam deduxit in lingua Hibernica et non nostrum Scotorum meridionalium Anglicana Latine erat dicere. Salve Rex Albanorum fili Alexandri fili Gulielmi etc. Fili Fergusii primi Scotorum regis in Albania, dein dictam genealogiam ab homine in hominem, dictus Scotus Sylvicula continuanda peregit, donec ad primum Scotum Hibernensem pervenerat, qui ab Hiberno Hispaniarum flumine Hiberniam primus descendit.*

And I was curious for the honour of our nation and language to set this doun here, and also becaus not one of our historians touches this but John Major in his chronicles, which makes it the rarer and worth recording.[1]

King Alexander being young remained still with his mother, Queen Marie, sometimes at Scone sometimes at Dumfermling, being universally beloved of all, with a court and guards as royall as any king in Europ, but there was litle or no favour place or preferment procured at court now but by the Cumings faction, as the historian avers, *Omnium prope rerum potestas penes Cuminiorum factionem fuit*, and another saith, *Cumingiorum familia erat in comitibus et æquitibus nimis potens cui hodiernodie opinione mea in Britannia non est similis*, which moved most of the nobles to lurk at home, coming seldom to court if not called by the King. Simon Lord Lovat was in such favour with the Queen Dowager Mary, whom he convoyed out of France to Scotland, and her husband to his grave, for being with King Alexander at Iona, attended him at his death in Carnary, and attended his royall corps to Mellross, and the young King Allexander at his coronation, those and other acts of his loyall attendance the Queen was heard to say she would never forget, that as Sozomen said of Apolonius, *hic homo potuit apud Deum quod voluit*, so might Simon *apud Reginam etiam et Regem quod voluit.* He is

Buchan. l. 7. p. 244.

John Major.

[1] Fordun, earlier than Major, gives the genealogy. Compare the list here given with Fordun (*Historians of Scotland*, iv. 290), and with Major (Scottish History Society's edition, p. 184).

forthwith created the King's free barron with all priveledges thereto belonging; the title Thane was not judged so proper for him, and he declined the dignity of Earle, his brother Twadal being but Lord, and so tooke his patent, Simon Lord Fraser of Lovat, to distinguish him from I. Lord Fraser of Twadal. Being weary of the Court, resolves to return home and in toaken of the Kings favour to him he gave him three crowns to fill up his scutchion and coat of arms, with the former three fraizes which he wore, and to distinguish him from Fraser of Twadel, and for his strength and skill in hunting, having cut off a deers neck befor the King with one stroak of his shable, the deers head and neck from the shoulder for his crest, with this motto, *Je su prest*, that is, I am readie, which he beares still. The word *Prest* in French signifies ready, full dight, furnished, prepared, provided, prompt, near at hand, quick, nimble, fleet/wight; which, without vanity, he and his successors well deserved as will be found *a probatum* in our after history. But we shall now leave him in peace at Lovat, and return to King Alexander, who is troubled with the politick contrivance of the Cumings, who as it was jealoused, had a design to involve us in wars with England.

* * * * *

To introduce an entry to the first tract of my history of settling the Frasers in Lovatt, I have formerly narratted that in King Alexander the 1 time, comming north through Murray, he fixed one Ramsay constable of the Kings house in Elgin, one Barr constable of the fort of Forres, one Soules at Narden, one Boyes at Inverness, one Beaton at Dinguall, Gilchrist M'kilvarinch, constable of Lovat, and lastly one Barregy constable of the great castle of Beaufortt, called Douny,[1] and now in our writs termed Beufort in La Aird.[2] One Thomas de Fenton married this Barregies daughter, whose sone Dominus Willielmus de Fenton married Cicilia, daughter to

[1] Dunaidh: the place of duns, or forts. Caisteal Dunaidh is still the Gaelic name of Beaufort Castle.

[2] La Aird, the Aird: an Aird. An Aird (a promontory) was originally the low land jutting out into the sea between Bunchrew and the mouth of the river Beauly; but in time the name came to be applied to the wide district now known as the Aird.

John Bisset, who had the interest of Lovat, though Grahams possest the fort, and David de Graham and Patricius de Graham his sone are termed in the charters, Domini de Loveth, as the writes and rights given them by the Bishops of Murray, which I set down at length, declare. The Bissets being convict of treason, and all of them banisht in King Alexander the 2. his reign, the Frasers came north, and Sir Simon Fraser marrying Marry Biset, the eldest daughter of John, the King stiles him by his royal donation, Simon Lord Fraser of Lovat, as I have formerly set down in course. Patricius de Grahm, the last we find stiled Dominus de Loveth, renounces his right to Simon by the King's command, and is setled constable of the King's house at Elgin, so that Simon Fraser is now heretor of the lands of Lovat, as well as the fort, and is absolut, being stiled D. Simon Fraserius, Dominus de Lovet, which stile he and his successors to this day carry in their charters. Some barrones were here contemporary with Simon Lord Lovat, yet dependant one him, such as Arthur M'kchnun Tomson, Barron of Farnway, Gilbert Corbett, Barron of Tann Drumchardiny, Ewn Mackleod vick illeandris, Barron of Moniak, Gaspar Cristy, Barron of Foynes, and Alanus Haleburton, Barron of Cullbirnies; these vulgarly were called the Bissets Barrones, but as we shall afterwards narrate all their interests came in successively to the Lord Lovat; the Fenton, Lord Beufort, leaveing in fine but one daughter, heretrix Lovat, married her and therby got his estate. The

Mackrayes.

Mackrayes, a numerous clan, possest the Clunes East and West,[1] Obriachan, Cillinan [in Abriachan]. Corrifoines [in Abriachan] Cearrowgare, Cill St. Ninean, Drumbuy, and Achmony, in Urqhart; and by matching with the Mackrayes the M'kleans cam first to Urqhart. The Mackrayes were men of currage and conduct, very usefull to the Bisset in his expeditions to Glenelg and getting in his duties there yearly.

Church translated to Wardlaw.

John Bisset conduced with Bricius, Lord Bishop of Murray, about the transplantation of St. Mauritius his church in Dunbachlach to Fingasck *ad locum qui Dicitur Wardlaw vulgo*

[1] That is, Clune lying to the south of Moniack. The other Clunes in Kirkhill was known as Fingask until the late Mr. Donald Cameron gave it its present name after his old home in Lochaber.

Baitha[1] and there erected into a mensall. This paction was ratefied be the chapter of Murray and confirmed by the King in these words, *Convenit autem inter prædictos Episcopum et Johannem Bizeth quod sepe dictus Johannes hanc compositionem faciat confirmari per chartam Domini Regis et Dominus Episcopus prædictus eandem faciat confirmari per concessionem et cartam capituli Cathedralis Ecclesiæ S. Trinitatis de Elgin*, etc. This is at length in the charter, which may be read by itselfe, and finally closed thus, *Apud S. Cro. Capit. Frin: de Spinen : May vii. anno Salutis*, 1200.[2] Priory of Beuly.

After this we find the said John Bizet by vow and promise erecting a priory of monks in Beuly, and granting a donation and mortification, by charter and confirmation, of the lands off Stratchhalvy, and Achinbadi or Beuly, to the monks of the order Vallis Caulium there, in S. Durstan's Church, the limits of their possession about the precinct specified and designd from Inach tarridil [the moor or market place of Tarradale] to the east *ad rivulum de Breckach* [the Breakachie Burn] westward. *Anno* 1223. This charter is signed be the said D. Joan Biseth *apud cella in St. Durst, die ix mensis Julii anno Xhristi, miicxxiii.*

I find also the donation charter and confirmation of the halfe davach of Inach tarridil to the said monks Ord. Vallis Caulium mortified by Gillichrist a Rosse. This charter is granted and subscribed *in burgo de Invernish in mense martie anno Xisti, miicxxxv.* *Anno* 1235.

There is also a donation and mortification by charter of the multurs of severall lands within the parochin of Wardlaw and Kiltarlity, by John Bisset to the monks of Beuly, such as Loveth, Lussnicorn, Finasck, Monchitech [Moniack], *ex utraque parte rivulæ Fochinas* [Phoineas] *et dimidie davach de Beufort, et duarum davachs de Muy* [Moy], *et de Bruchack* [Bruiach], *et*

[1] This agreement, which is not accurately quoted here, is printed on pp. 15, 16 of *Registrum Moraviense*. There, for the words 'Wardlaw *vulgo* Baitha,' we have 'Wardlaw/ *Scoticé* [i.e. in Gaelic] Balabrach'—perhaps the Town of the Malt (brath). Wardlaw, on which the transplanted church was built, is a Saxon name meaning Watch Hill. The Gaelic people called and still call the hill, Cnoc Mhoire, the Knoll of the Virgin Mary—a name which our author latinised into Mons Mariæ. In English it came to be known as Kirkhill, which is still the name of the parish.

[2] This date is not correct. Bricius did not become bishop till 1203.

de Kinath, etc. And after this King Alexander the 2. his confirmation of all these donations to the forsaid monks of Beuly, *anno* 1231, as they are set downe at large be themselves.[1]

I find also a *controversia orta inter Andream Episcopum Moraviem et D. Graham de Loveth* about the *Esse et fluvio de Forn and Kiltarlety*, signed by the B. and chapter at Spiny 1242 yeares.[2]

Another controversie I find betuixt this Andrew, Bishop of Murray, and Thomas Thirlsten anent the lands of Abertarfe, signed and sealed by Bp. and chapter *anno gratiæ mccxxv.*[3]

Another controversie I find betuixt the said Andrew, Bishop of Murray, and John Bisset anent the right and property of the davach of Convent and the davoch of Erchiles, *anno* 1228.[4] These charters and decisions I have coppied out of the records of Murray, which I had a long time by me, and written in some sheduls apart for confirmation of the preceeding assertions.

The Bissets being off the stage, as I told before, and Lovet being the Kings gift to Sir Simon upon the forfetry of Jo. Bisset, and created Lord Fraser of Lovet by a charter of novodamus given him, signd and sealed at Dunfermelin as afterward in its own place shall be more fully narrated, the first enterprize of Lord Simon was to fix a march betuixt himselfe and the monks off Beuly, therefore he convocats the

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[1] Compare *Compositio* in *Reg. Morav.*, 59, and Chisholm Batten's *Priory of Beauly*, p. 14 *et seq.* Achinbadi is elsewhere called *Insula de Achinbadi* (*Priory*, p. 28). Chisholm Batten takes *insula* literally, and renders it 'island'; and so does Cosmo Innes, who identifies Achinbadi with Eilean Aigas. *Insula* is, however, here a translation of the Gaelic *innis*, which means not only 'island,' but also green pastureland, river meadow, inch. The appropriate rendering of *Insula de Achinbadi* is the Inch of Beauly. Beauly itself is *Beau Lieu*, beautiful place, as Beaufort is beautiful fort, both names given by the early French monks.

[2] This *Conventio* was entered into, not by Bishop Andrew, but by Bishop Archibald (1253-1298). See *Reg. Morav.*, 135. The Esse (Gaelic *Eas*, a waterfall) is the Fall of Kilmorack on the river Beauly. Forn or Farrar was the old name of the river. Hence Ptolemy calls the Moray Firth *Varar Æstuarium*—the estuary of the Farrar. The modern Farrar, and its glen—Glen Strath-Farrar, the glen of Strath-Farrar—recall the ancient name.

[3] See *Reg. Morav.*, 20.

[4] Apparently the *Ordinatio*, dated 1258, between Bishop Archibald and Bisset. See *Reg. Morav.*, 133.

whole country, and erects crives of wood and stone from one side of the river to the other above the foord at Dunballach, as a division betuixt himselfe and the monks. All that part of the river which was belowe the crives to the sea was termed vulgarly Avin ni Mannach or the Monkwater,[1] and as a tax upon the tenants of that barony off Beuly, tuixt Innach tarridell and River of Breckach, they keep up these crives yearelie. The Lord Lovat also fixes a ferry boat below these crives as the sea enters into the foord upon the land of Dunballach, which is called vulgarly Port ni Mannach or the Monks ferry. These monks came out of France, Ordinis Vallis Caulium, *anno* 1222, 6 of them in number, and one P. Jarom Baptista their prior with them. They landed at Lovat, and the country provided for them dureing the erection of the monastery; John Bisset in his time takeing care of that edifice, which afterwards was industriously carried on in Insula de Achinbady.

Simon Lord Fraser brought it a great length in his time, designing its march to the north at the brook Boitock near Ord, in the evidence termed *Rivulus ubi interfectus fuerat Joannes M'kIvir*, in the Irish Alt Boiteck, the marches in the mouth of Corricharby to the river of Connin. He went in person to Glenelg and was infeft in that country, giving tacks and possessions to very many. His only dwelling was Lovat, where he reseeded. All the interest and estate he had was Morvin or Lovet,[2] Dochinbunach, Bailbrea, Fingasck, Lussnicorn, Cingily, the two Moniaks, Fochiness, the two davachs of Muy, Dunins, and Glenconventh, and Glenelg, with the good river of Forn and fishing. This Lord had with Mary Bisset 3 sones, Simon, Andrew, and Alexander, 3 daughters, Mary, Anna, and Isabell. Simon, a great spirit, called south to Court with his sister Mary the Queen's goddaughter, who is setled at Court and married to Alexander, Thane of Fife Weemes. Simon was knighted by King Alexander the 3, at

[1] The Gaelic name is still *Abhainn nam Manach*. The district of Kilmorack to the east of Bleakachy Burn is called *Lethoir nam Manach*—the Monks' Hillside. Beauly is *A'Mhanachainn*, the Monks' Place, or the Monastery.

[2] Lovat is still in Gaelic *A'Mhor'oich*, the Sea-Plain. See MacBain's *Gaelic Dictionary*, v. *Mor'oich*. Lovat is the older name, and appears to be an appropriation by the Gaelic of a Pictish word, meaning 'watery-place,' from the root *lov* or *lou*, wash.

a tilting in Dounfarmling. Isabella was married to John Randalph; *Anna vitam cælebatam vovet.* His sone Andrew traveled abroad and at his return marryed Jean Sower, heretrix off Glenugh, Lithgow: and Alexander, a brave youth, being about 17 yeares of age, hunting in the forrest of Corricharby, after a burst of running, decaying dayly, dyed, *anno* 1269. King Alexander, as we told before, dyed by a fall from his horse at Kingorn. The newes of his death broak my Lord Lovat's heart, who dyed soon after him at Lovat, *anno* 1287, and was most solemnly interred at Beuly before the great altar which himselfe had erected, a stone off a prodigious length which I myselfe measured and found it 22 foot square. It was broken in 4 pieces by the fall of the oaken roofe of that church, and was as long very near as the church was broad, a noble monument. Willielmus Domin. de Fenton D. de Beufort married Cicilia the 2 daughter of the Bisset, and Andreas de Bosco, a Rubro Castro [Redcastle] in Rosse, married Elisabeth the youngest, and after this Andrewes death, Hutchen Rosse of Geddas married her, and with her the barony of Kilravock.

Lord Simon Fraser is now off the stage; he was indeed by a singular providence *suæ fortunæ fabrum*, the smith that hammered out his own fortune without patrimonial advantages; indeed he lived in an age which might be called the harvest of wealth, wherein any that would work might gett wages. His personall worth and valour purchased him a suitable value and esteem from his sovereign and all his fellow subjects. The Court was uneasy to him, for the camp was his proper element. We owe and must pay a great tribut of respect to this noble persons memory, being so highly endued with merit, and is *immortali dignus memoria.* I am not so accomplished an antiquary in record-heraldry as to give him his due as being so worthy a nobleman made up of all honorable accomplishments. He died in the 70 yeare of his age.

Alexander Dei Gratia Rex Scotorum Omnibus probis hominibus terre sue clericis et laicis Barones justitiarii Vicomites Prepositis presentes et futuri Salutem Clare sciant me dedisse et hac presente charta confirmasse Domino Simoni Frazerio militi et heredibus suis de me et heredibus meis in perpetuum

totum et integram terram de Loveth vulgo Morvin tenendam in hereditate per rectas divisas suas cum omnibus suis rectitudinibus et demandis quæ in dictam terram de Morvin in aliquo tempore predicto vell meis heredibus possunt demandari, et etiam cum omnibus suis pertinentibus libertatibus et asiamentis quibuscumque accommodatis aut quæ de jure in aliquo tempore pertinere potuissent in bosce et plano in pratis et pascuis et pasturis in moris et maresiis in aquis et stagnis in piscariis et molendinis in fœris et avibus in et montibus, etc., ita libere et quiete plenarie et honorifice sicut alii milites quicumque liberius quietius et honorific. terras suas in aliquo tempore posidunt vel tenere possunt, Nos insuper et successores nostri dictam terram de Loveth dicto Simoni Fraserio et heredibus suis contra omnes homines et varrantabimus et perpetuo defendamus in cujus rei testimonium et p. Donum hoc nostrum regium est signatum et sigillum nostrum est etiam appensum coram hisce testibus Doncanus comes de Fifa, Gilbertus Abbas de Dunfermelin, Jacomo Capellano meo. Thoma Forfar, Angusio Camerario, et multis aliis. Apud Dunfermelin anno gratiæ 1254. *mccliiii.*

2. Lord Simon Fraser of Lovat.

Simon Lord Fraser of Lovat the second of that name married at Court long before his father's death to Anna Weemes † Thane of Fifes one daughter with whom he had 3 sones and 4 daughters, Alexander, Simon, Hugh, Anna Margret, Mary, and Jean. This Lord was served and retoured to his father in the convention at Forfar, *anno Xristi* 1288. His eldest sone Alexander dyed at his return of a malignant fever in Lovat about the 7 year of his age.

† Daughter to the Laird of Weems and not Thane of Fyfe.

We must now leave off this subject a little and treat of the affaires of the kingdom, which will gradually introduce us again to my Lord Lovates concerns being ingaged in the Kings quarrell with the Baliol, an usurper.

* * * * *

[Here follows account of affairs in Scotland, England, and the Continent.]

After this unhappy fight of Fakirk, W. Wallace came to Perth and dismissed his army, giving place to that envy which he knew he could not resist, and from that day forward never

acted as a generall, yet ceased not, with a few of his friends who stuck to him, to take oportunity to destroy the English. Things remained about two yeares in this maner till in end John Cuming, Earle of Buchan, and Simon Fraser were elected governoures, who mustered 8000 valiant men together, when King Edward sent Ralph Comfrey to Scotland with 30,000 men divided into three armies, who pillaged all the country without resistance, and at Roslin in Lothian, 5 milles eastward from Edinbrugh, where Fraser and Cuming encountered the first ten thousand and defeat them, the next ten thousand advancing they defeat them too, the 3d ten thousand advancing the Scots, arming their servants with the spoil of the slain, made a formidable show and, being encurraged by their leaders and the glory of the former two victories, tooke fresh courrage and routed all the English. This victory and fight was the more famous that it was obtained by one army over three in one, and the same day, February 24, 1302.

Jo. Cumin Simon Fraser at Rosslin 1302.

What this Simon Fraser was, or if he was John, historians do not agree among themselves. Boetius, Major, and Dempster conclud him Simon, and onely Buchannan names him John. For it is certain that King Edward in rage resolved to ruin Scotland, and Jo. Major, the historian, saith, *Edwardus eligit novum exercitum xxx millium virorum quem Rodulpho Comphrigo viro strenuo commandavit et ad Rosslin pervenit quod cum Johannes Cuminius regens intellexit, secum Simon Fraserius, habens tum octo mille viros; unam Anglorum aciem vicit, secundo alteram aciem, et postea eodem die cum viris fatigatis ter pugnavit, et sic omnes xxx mille viros fudit.* These are John Majors words, that Edward choose 30,000 men in an army, and committed their conduct to Ralph Comphrei, a valiant stout man, and came to Rosslin, which when John Cumin, the regent, understood, took with himselfe Simon Fraser, who had 8 thousand men, with whom he foiled and defeat the first front of the English army, secondlie the next front, and afterwards the same day, the men being weary and faint, he fought three times and defeat the whole xxx thousand.

Jo. Major . . . . .

Dempster l. 4. p. 300.

Monipenny p. 93.

But Buchannan hath it thus, *Joannes Cuminius adjuncto sibi Joanne Fraserio Twedie longe potentissimo collectis ad octo milia hominum ad hostem ducit ut vel ab effusa populatione*

Buchan. l. 8. p. 264.

cohiberent vel si qua rei bene gerendæ occasio se obtulisset for tunæ non deessent, etc. John Cumin, with the assistance of John Fraser, the most potent man in all Twedale, gathered 8000 men together, and marched toward the enemy to abridge the limits of their plundering excursions, or otherwise if an happy oportunity offered it selfe for action not to be wanting to fortune, etc.

I am not resolved to controvert much uppon the mater whither he was Simon or John, but the oldest historians and nearest the time conjunctly conclud the first definitly, then certainly he was the Lord Fraser of Lovat, there being no Simon then of the house of Twedel; but by the former true computation of time the Lord Lovat was Simon, yet my being so positive is not to derogat from or ecclipse the famous Frasers of the famely of Twedal, who were valorous, loyall, and still renound for famous actions in former times, nor will I (as the Scots proverb saith) tirr the kirk to thack the cure, take from the one to give to the other, being interested in both, but may referr the final determination of it to the impartial reader, colating the series of the antecedent and consequent story of the Frasers of Lovat.

King Edward, to blot out the ignominy of his defeat at Fakirk, enters Scotland with a vast army, resolving to run over and subdue the whole kingdom, and meanwhile courts William Wallace by great promises of preferment to come over to his party; but his answeir was stout and steady as the historian words it: *Una ejus ad omnes erat oratio, se vitam quam patriæ Debebat ei devovisse, cui si aliam opem afferre non posset piis erga eam conatibus immoriturum.* His constant tone was that he had devoted his life to his country to which it was due, and if he could doe it no other service yet he would die in its defence. For he remember his school lesson, *Dicto tibi verum libertas est optima rerum: nunquam servili sub nexu vivit O fili.*

King Edward, following his fate and fury, overrun the whole kingdom with his forces, destroyed all our forts, the castle of Forfar, Dundee, Aberdeen, Elgin, Forres, Narden, Inverness, Beufort, Dinguall, all demolished. The last that resisted him with valour was the great castle of Vrqhart,

which he took in and leveled with the ground, putting all within to the sword. The English forces went west the length of Glenelg, there being a hill there called Inach Sassin[1] to this day, quher they retired. They long besieged Beufort or Downy Castle in the Ard, the bottom on this side being yet named Lag in Loncart, *i.e.* the leagger bottom.[2] Reteering, carried away all our records and histories with them, all our men of learning, and all memorable monuments, tooke away the marble stone and chair out of Scoon, in which, as it was said, the fate of the kingdom was contained. Edward, returning, left one Ailmer Valentin as regent behind him, and garrishoned all the prim forts in the kingdom. Now began Bruce and Joh Cuming, Ruber, the Reed, to discover the fraud and fallacy of Edward, who flattered them both apart with the hopes and vain expectation of the kingdom, being both equally related to the royall stock, and they deplored the lamentable misery of the kingdom in which they both had too greatt a hand, and therefore pactioned together to revenge the perfidiouseness of that king who cheated them both, that Bruce should enjoy the kingdom and Cuming should be the second next him; this, with other conditiouns covenanted, sealed, and swor betuixt themselves as a secret. Bruce, remaining secure, went to London; meantime Cuming repenting of his agreement acquaints King Edward of the combination and treason. Bruce is put under guard at court to be tried and execut; the Earle of Gloster Montgomry [apprising him] of his danger, [he] caused shoe his horse backward, and came to Scotland, yet hotly persued, but escaped; at his coming home he found the perfidious Cumin[3] in the Franciscan cloister in

[1] *Aonach Sasan*, the ~~Englichman's~~ Height.

[2] *Lag an Longairt*, the Hollow of the Fort or Encampment.

[3] The Gaelic has it—

Fhad's bhios maide anns a' choill
Cha bhi Cuimeanach gun fhoill.
(So long as there is a stick in the wood
There will not be a Cumming without treachery,)

Which the Cummings have rendered—

Fhad's bhios maide anns a' choill
Cha bhi foill an Cuimeanach.
(So long as there is a stick in the wood
There will not be treachery in a Cumming.)

Drumfreece, and confronting him with his own letters killed him in the church, and his kinsman Robert Cumins. This hapened February 10, *anno* 1305. At that same time was William Wallace treacherously betrayed by his own intimat friend, John Menteith, lurking in Glasgow waiting the event of things, and, sent to England, is execut in Smithfield. A pretty fellow called Alexander Buys, killing a boar by singular manhood, Bruce called him Fear Buys, whence is the originall of the Forbes, and his sone Ihe gave origin to M'Kyes.[1] 1305. Forbes and Mackye.

* * * * *

Robertus Brussius, by descent he was *nepos Isabellæ, Comitis Huntoniæ filiæ*: of Isabell second daughter to David, Earle of Huntington, King Williams brother falls in by line to the crown of Scotland. He lay under many imputations, such as siding with King Edward of England against his native country, his opposing and jealousing the famous and renouned Wallace, and the killing of Jo. Reed Cumin in the holy church. These and other things he was heard to bemoan and regreet; he was justly under ecclesiastick sentence by Pope Clement 5, till at length he obtained absolution from him, and in April 1305 he was crownd at Scoon. King Robert Brussius, 97 King 1306.

* * * * *

King Robert, notwithstanding of their [the Cummings'] power joining with the English forces, yet with a small party ventured at Methven upon the River Amon near Perth to try his fortun, and was defeat by Ailmer Edward July 20, yet with litle losse; again, at a place called Dalree, in his journay to Argile, the Cumins discovered him and was defeat by them, but with no great [loss]. After this the vulgar, upon his double discomfitur, drew thence discourraging omens, deserted him, and so went in disguise with 3 or 4 with him; Melcolm, Earle of Lenox, and William Hay of Arrill never deserted him; all the Brucian party friends and allyes taken or banished, his brothers Neile, Thomas, and Alexander taken and execut, his castle at Kildrumy betrayed by the governour, the King himselfe wandered here in the north and lurked a while. The report of his death then spread, so that they

[1] See the editor's *Urquhart and Glenmoriston*, pp. 11-13, for the origin of the Forbeses and Mackays.

searched no longer for him. In end he made some appearance, tooke the castle of Inerness and Dingual, with severall others; then his old friends began to flock to him, and the prid, imperious cruelty of the English had raised him up new ones, and in end tooke and secured all the castles in the kingdom benorth Esk, and came with his army to the heart of Merns, quher Jo. Cumin, Earle of Buchan, appeares in arms, but, seing the good management and conduct of his camp, durst not approach, but sent a herald to Bruce to treat off terms of peace. Meanwhile, under this truce he sent to the English for help, becaus the hearts of his Scotish souldioures were inclined to King Robert. Jo. Major hath it thus, *Robertus Brucius partes boreales Scotiæ petit, arcem Invernessæ vi capit, custode superstite relicto, paulo post Johannes Cuminius, Buchaniæ Comes, Angless et Scotess colligit et contra Rob. Bruseum apud amnem Esk vadit, ubi Simon Fraserius et Galterus Loganus Aurati equites cum multis aliis bellatoribus ad Londonios ducuntur, ubi supposio extremo suplicio mulctantur*, etc. After that the King had returned from secureing the Highlands, came and secured the castle of Invernes, and at the water off Esk John Cuming with his English and Scots invads him, where Simon Fraser and Walter Logan, knights, with many more, were taken and sent to London, where cruelly execut.* Buchanan gives this account, *Circa hæc tempora Simon Fraserius et Valterus Loganus equites strenui, et summa in patria, caritate a factionis Cuminanæ hominibus capti et Anglis traditi Londini supplicio sunt affecti, etc.* That at this time Simon Fraser and Walter Logan, brave soldiers both, and lovers of their country, were taken by some of the Cuminian faction, delivered over to the English, and put to death at London. And John Dempster saith, *Tunc Simon Fraserius qui regem Robertum Brussium a boriali parte Scotiae conduxit dolo Joannis Cuminij Comitis Buchaniæ est captus et cum aliis Londini est capite plexus, etc.* At that time Simon Fraser, who had convoyed King Robert Bruce from the north of Scotland, by the deceit of John Cumin, Earle of Buchan, was taken and with others execut at London.

John Major l. 4. p. 80.

Simon Fraser, Walter Logan.

* Buchanan here calls the same man Simon whom he had formerly called John of Twedale.

Jo. Dempster l. 10. p. 16.

No doubt this was the Lord Lovat who waited upon and attending the King here in the north, for whom the King had

great favours, and the Cumins envyed all such, but especially Simon was hated by them for his vallour at Rosslin battle, the conduct of that day being wholly the Frasers, of whom it might be said in competition and comparison as once in the Sacred Volum of two famous men, Saul hath slain his thousands and David his ten thousands; indeed, if John Cumin slew his thousands Simon Fraser slew his ten thousands at the battle of Rosslin.

At this time William Cumin acted a vassalage. When Isabella, King Robert Bruce his Queen, had gone in pilgrimage to St. Duthus his shrein at Tain, this William takes her captive and delivered her to the English, and kept prisoner till Banackburn fight, an act that should be recorded.

Now are all sorts flocking in to King Robert, among others one John Williamsone, coming out of France to visit friends, stayed at William Lambert, Bishop of St. Andrewes, being his relation. One night he tooke away Lamberts horse and some money, and came to Bruce quhom he served in many sharp stormes. In an onset where he behaved gallantly he was commended to the King under the name of Gill Dow ghlas, the blackish gray boy, and this was the first of the name of Dowglass.

Douglasses originall.

Rumors run to England that King Robert was prosperous. King Edward, alarmed, gathers a vast army and comes forward to Scotland. John Major saith, *quacirca grandem exercitum Edwardus Anglus coegit quatenus Robertum Brucium a Scotia ejiciat, sed prope Scotiæ limites veniens in morbum incidit, per quem universæ carnis viam ingressus est. Triginta annis Tyrannus hic Edwardus cum longis Tibiis nostri vulgariter vocant regnavit.* King Edward comming with his army forward, he died at Lancaster, after this tyrant had reigned 30 yeares entered the way of all flesh. Thus Edward, vulgarly named Longshanks, is of the stage, and his sone Edward of Carnarvan his sone succeed, and forward he comes for Scotland, but pretending great affaires returnd without any deed of honor. King Robert Bruce, heareing of King Edward's death, encurraged himselfe strongly. Meantime, John Cuming, being greedy of glory, gathers an army, placeing hope in the sickness of his enemy, King Robert, but

Jo. Major l. 4. p. 80.

Carnarvan, called from the place of his birth.

the King, to encurrage his men, caused put himselfe a horsback in the midest of his malady, supported by two men, which gave such heart to his men that they fought manfully and
Jun. 7. 1309. carried the day at Inverury in Garioch. John Cumin fled, and all his men came in to the King, who, as this victory recovered him from his disease, so it was the omen of his future proceedings, for, from that day forward he succeeded in all that he attempted, for God was with him. July after, he carried the battle of Die in Galloway, quher Donald the
1310. Islander was taken prisoner. Next year he marcht twice to England, returnd with great spoiles without any rancounter at all. The next two yeares he recovered all the strong garisons in Scotland—Drumfrice, Lanrick, Aire, Boot; Sterlin Castle capitulats under Philip Mowbrey; Thomas Randolph recovers the castle of Edinbrugh; Roxbrugh was taken by James Douglas; the Isle of Man, a receptacle of the English, surrendered. King Edward 2. comes in to Scotland with an army of 100,000 men.

Bannackburn batle. King Robert prepares an army farr inferiour in number, but in heart and courrage beyond them, being about 30,000, inured to hardship, and who carried the hope of their lives and fortunes on the point of their swords. With this army he sat down on the left bank of the River Banock two miles from Sterlin. The King, how much the weaker and fewer, adds art and policy to make the passage o'er the river more difficult. He caused digg deep trenches and caused iron* caltrops to be casten in the rode in convenient place for piercing the horse foot, both which did great mischeefe to the English. The Scots army was divided in three brigads; the King led the midle main batle, his brother commanded the right wing, and Randolf the left. This battle was fought with such forwardness, manhood, and gallantry that 50,000 English fell in the field; two hundred of English nobles fell, and as many taken. King Edward first tooke the flight, and persued be Douglas, and had he not been receaved into the castle of Dunbarr by the Earle of March, and sent in a skiffe to Barwick, he had not escaped Douglas fingers, following hard with 400 horse. This victory was not unbloody to the

* Casta caltrop as ye will one spike turns upwards.

The first treachery known to the Dunbarrs.

Scots also, for they lost about 4000 men and 2 knights. I will set down Majors words anent the batle, *Fluviolus sive magnus torrens est in Fortha nobile flumen cadens; super hunc torrentem sunt molendina in quibus nonunquam panes sub cineritios quos banocks vocitant conficiunt, propterea torrens ille dicitur terreus Bannock prope Sterlinium. Edwardus 2. ingentem exercitum collegit ut Scotiam intraret et anno Strivelingum adivit cum in quadem planitie Robertus Brussius occurrit, a quo Edwardus victus est et Angli multi illustres viri illic cecidere. Hoc prelium in festo Joannis Baptistæ commissum est.* A brooke with a great torrent falling into the noble river of Forth upon which there are many mills set, in which sometimes there is a sort of bread beaken in the embers called Baocks, for which the litle river is called Banockburn, near Sterlin; here King Edward 2. with a mighty army fixt in a certain plaine where Robert Bruce came and in a pitcht batle gave him the foile and overcame him, and very many of the illustrious Englishmen fell. This batle was fought upon S. John Baptists day. 1314, June 23.

The next exploit was the takeing of Barwick from the English, after they had possest it 20 yeares. The Irish heareing of King Roberts fame sent him ambassadors to put themselves and their kingdom under his protection, and so sent over his brother Edward to Ireland, and by universall consent was saluted king. He drove the English out of Ulster, and King Robert himselfe went over thither in person, which the English heareing, King Edward sent his army to invade Scotland, and were defeat by Douglass shamfully upon the Borders. And their naval force, which came into Forth, upon which the Earle of Fife ceased with 500 horse, yet not able to encounter so great a multitud, retreated. William Sinclar, Bishop of Galloway, accompanied with 60 horse, meeting them and reproaching them for their cowardish, returnd with him, and valiantly repulsed the English with so brisk an assault that they fled to their ships, and 500 of them dround; and ever after King Robert called him his bishop. King Edward besieges Berwick, and Sir Thomas Randolf marcht another way into England, wasting all with fire and sword, upon which Edward basely brakes up his siege and retreates to York.

Anno 1316. At the request of England (as is thought) Pope Clemens 5. sent his legates to compose dissentions here betuixt the kingdoms. *Duo cardinales a Roma in Britanniam pacem inter Britanniæ Reges constituturi devenerunt, qui rebus suis prope Durem a Gilberto Miltone aurato equiti angi spoliati sunt, qui propterea capite mucltatus est et quadri fariam sectus, et ejus quar . . . ad quatuor regni primores urbes missæ*, etc. Major tells that two Cardinalls came from Rome to Brittain to agree the two kings, and were robbed of all their jewells near Durham by Gilbert Milton, a knight, for which he was hangd and quartered, and his quarters sent to the principall cities. These legates excommunicated the Scots, forbiding them the use of publick Divine service; but King Robert, valuing so litle the Popes thundering curses, gathers an army and invades England, following the legats at the heeles, and made havock with fire and sword. King Edward, to revenge this affront, entered Scotland with a great army, but for want of provision, and diseases raging in his camp, lost more men than if he were overcam in battle. At his returne he burnt the monasteries of Driburgh and Melross, killing the poor old monks. There King Robert Bruce, after him with his army, trod upon his heeles, makeing havoke as he went, and in a tumultuarry battle put him to flight at Malton, near York, and all his baggage taken.

King Robert Bruce becomes so famous that all Europ esteemed him; he is courted by France, who renue the ancient league with him, and is the subject of newes in England. At the King's Court, one Hampton, of noble parentage, spoke honorably of the valore and fortune of Bruces. T. Spencer, bedchamerman to King Edward, to curry favour with the courtiers, gave Hampton a slight wound in the body; next day Hampton tooke his oportunity and ran Spencer through the body and killed him, for which he fled to Scotland. King Robert courtiously receaved and rewarded him with the lands of Cadyow upon Clyde. Hence the Hamiltons are syrnamed, and their lands also named Hamiltone.

The originall of the name of Hamilton.

King Edward 2. died of a course sort of death (*fœdo mortis genere interemptus est*), his wife and sone, said to be the actors of this paricid, thrust a pipe of horn into his fundament, and

a hot iron convoyed through it, by which his bowells were burnt up, as his epitaph declares—

> A redhot spite my bowels through did goare,
> Such miserye no slave endured more.

After the death of King Edward, his sone Edward 3. *Anno* 1327. ambassadors came to Scotland for a pacification, but treacherously and by fraud they contrived a warr against us, which, King Robert discovering, sends an army of 20,000 brave horse to England, and no foot, under conduct of Sir Thomas Randolfe and James Stuart, who so wearied and wasted the English, not being able to fight or follow them, that they never met with harder mesure and affront, by the skirmishes and attakes made upon them by the Scots for a whole yeare, and lost more men by famin and sicknes than by a set batle. The Scots army returnd home, and the next yeare a peace in conclusion tuixt both nations.

King Robert reteered to Cardrosse upon Levin, where he made his last will and testament, left the affaires of the kingdom upon Sir Thomas Randolfe, his sister sone, and James Douglasse his good friend. He rewarded Robert Fleming, who assisted him in killing the Cumin, with the lands of Cumbernald, the heritage of the Cumings. John Baliol in France transferred his right of the crown of Scotland unto King Robert and his heires as most deserving. This king married first Isabel, daughter to the Earle of Marr, who bare to him Margret, married to Walter the great Stuart of Scotland. After her death he married Anna, daughter of Haymerus de Burk, Earle of Aulster in Ireland, who bare to him David the prince, Margret, Countess of Sutherland, and Maud, who dyed young. King Robert Bruce, a man of most illustrious parts, every way a person who can hardly be parallelld for his vertues and valure in the most heroick times, he departed this life at Cardrosse July 9, *anno* 1329 and of his reign the 24, all men bevaileing *Anno* 1329. him as being deprived not only of a just king, but of a loving father too. In his life he made a vow to goe over to Syria and there to undertake the cause of Christendom in the holy warr against the common enemy thereof, which, becaus of

homebred seditions, then broken with age and sicknesse, he could not performe. He left upon Douglass to carry his heart after his decease to Jerusalem and burry it there in Christ our Savioures sepulchere, which the gallant Douglass did, accompanied with Sir William Saintclare, Sir Robert Logan, and a great many nobles besids, and at his return assisting the King of Arragon in Spain against the Sarazens,
1330. being taken in an ambuscad he and most of his men were slain; but for his valorous expedition the Douglas beares the bloudy heart in their arms and coat.

* * * * *

After this long digression and account given of the intervall betuixt King Alexander 3. his death and John Baliols, and after him King Robert Brusse his contest and debate with King Edward, and his own reign for 24 yeares, I will now return to treat of the Lords Fraser of Lovat and their concerns as the line of our history leads me. I declared formerly that Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat, the 2. of that name, married at Court long before his fathers death, and with whom, what children he had, and how he was ingaged in the Kings service, that with John Cumin he fought the
Anno 1302. batle of Rosslin, and after that how he was betrayed by the Cumins with Sir Walter Logan, carried to London and
Anno 1306. execut, about the 49 year of his age. Left his lady a widow with 6 children, and also bigg with child and near her time at his death. King Robert knowing what good service my
2 Lord Fraser of Lovat. Lord Lovat had done him, and how much the Frasers merited of the Crowne by their loyalty, he recommends the Lady Dowager of Lovat to Hugh, Earle of Rosse, his care, the conduct also and management of her affaires, and indeed he proved a kind and noble tutor to that famely. The September after her Lord's death she was deliver of a 3 sone whom she called Hugh after the good Earle of Rosse his godfather, and perhaps this is the first Hugh Fraser we read off. This good and vertuous lady educats her children suitable to their blood and birth; Jean and Margaret were sent south to Weemes, Margret dyed a maid soon after, and Jean was married to James Fraser, barron of Knockmiller in Twadal. Alexander a brave youth, educat a while with the monks at Bewlen

[Beauly] and afterwards inclined to follow the warrs, of whom we shall have occasion to treat in another place; and Hugh, fostered with the Barron of Foynes, and afterwards taken to the custody of the Earle of Rosse, who matched him with Euphem Dinguall, Barron of Kildins[1] one daughter, and got a good interest in Rosse near himselfe about Thane [Tain], quher his ofspring continued. This Lady Lovat, continued still a widow, lived all her time at Lovat, which she bettered both in planting and building. She laid the foundation of the north tower at Lovat, a costly worke laid uppon a firm brander of oake towards the river, and saw it finished; it was called the Weemes Tower after Anna Weemes the builder, and she well deserved that memorial monument and more. There is nothing extant of it now but the vaults, which the late Lords of Lovat made their pits and prisones for malefactors, the one vault is called Gormack, the other Bridag, being the least of the two, nor was it out of vain glory that this building got this name, which the Psalmist challanges and condemns in the prosperous wicked—Their inward thought is, that their houses shall continue for ever and their dwelling places to all generations; they call their lands by their own names, etc. The tradition confirms her being at Lovat now above 350 yeares agoe. Psal. 39. ii.

We shall here mention also the continuance of the Lord Fraser of Twadall yet. For, besides that Buchannan mentions *Johannes Fraserius Twedeliæ longe potentissimus anno* 1302, I find that *anno* 1314 Alexander Fraser, a second sone of that Lord Twadall, married the heretrix of Mernes, Arthur Mackpeuder, Thane of Merns, his only daughter, a very excellent woman, with whom he had many children, a flourishing famely and ofspring; and, besides the great estate of m'kpeuder, Alexander purchased the great barrony of Couy, Fetteresso, Kinneffe, Dunotter, Stonhive, Glenmuick, Glenshie, Glentanner, Forlin, Glenbervy, Feddes, Newmills, and Monis, and was stiled Thane of Coy, a very great and mother famely, but of no long standing. Branches of this great house were, the Lairds of Dorris and Lairds of Philoroth. Frasers matcht Fraser Thane of Couy and Mernes.

[1] Kildin, near Dingwall.

also with Huntly, Gordon, and Pitsligo Forbes, who got much of this great interest divided among them, and beares the Frasers arms in their shields. Of all this we shall treat again in its own place. Meantime, sones of this Alexander, Thane of Couy, were John, James, William, and Alexander, the daughters, Mary, Fanella, Janet, and Isabell, the younger after her mother, Isabel m'kpeuder.

Succhronism. Now to treat of our correspondants and contemporaries abroad.

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[Here follows an account of affairs in France, Germany, Bohemia, Denmark, and Hungary, the Popes, England, and Scotland.]

Now after this long continued history of King David Bruce his reign and contest with his competitor Edward Baliol, the regency of Sir Thomas Randall, Earl of Murray, and his death, untill the death of King David, in all 40 yeares, I shall now return again wher I left formerly, treating of the Lords Fraser of Lovat, and that honorable family concerns. After the first Simon Lord Lovats death, his sone, the second Simon, succeeded, who, as we told, was taken by the deceit of the

3. Lord Fraser of Lovat. Cumins, and execut at London *anno* 1306. The 3. Lord Lovat, Simon, being about 20 yeares of age, served and retoured to his father, married Julia Ross, sister to Hugh, Earl of Rosse; they were truly Saintclares* or Sinclares, but now from the heritage country they assume the name Rosse. With this lady the Lord Lovat had 4 sones. 1. Hugh, by the godfather, Hugh Earle of Ross, who was fostered with the Mackrayes in Clune. 2. sone John, died in 6 yeares of age. 3. sone Alexander, proved an excellent spirit, traveled abroad, a great souldiour. 4. sone Andrew, educat with the monks in Beuly. The two daughters, 1. Julia, a hopefull child, dyed young. 2. Janet, married Patrick Dunbarr of Cantry. This Lord Lovat was in great favour with King David Bruce; and frequently with him, after his return from England, in most of his expeditiones, and it was said that the Lords of Lovat gaind nothing by their loyalty but honor and credit, which they ever studied to preserve. At his 2 expedition south he met

* He has formerly called them Leslys.

with his brother Alexander latly returnd from France and knighted by the king, and some thinks he was that Sir Alexander Fraser that was killed in that unhappy day of Duplin, but I must not contradict myselfe, having already asserted that this Sir Alexander was a sone of the Lord Twadalls. But it is sure, by true computation of time, that he was the Sir Alexander Fraser that accompanied Sir William Douglas, Sir Alexander Ramsay, Sir Thomas Waus, Sir William Saintclar, and Sir John Gordon, valiant knights who entered England with a vast army, tooke the town of Barwick, and returned with great vassalage and spoile. Whither he went, or quher he satled after this, is not certain, but sure he never returnd, and it is beyond peradventure that his brother Lord Simon was with King David at the batle of Durham and narrowly escaped with his life; for he went south with the Earles of Sutherland, Ros, Murray, who were all at that fight; and it is sure he would never part with Sir John Randalfe Earle of Murray, who died in that field. But it is sure my Lord Lovat returnd home, was cured of his wounds, yet died young, in the 47 yeare of his age, and his lady Julia never married, and was the first dowager of Lovat that lived at Kirkhill, Mons Maria[1] called be the monks of Beuly. And, to add to what I said of my Lord Lovat, my old manuscript declares that it was he that Simon Fraser who went in that expedition with William Douglas of Liddisdail and Sir John Randolf, with a 1000 horse, and surprised the Baliol at Maufett. Mair and Buchanan relat the story. As for his brother Andrew, he went also south, and perhaps we may yett meet with him in story.

Anno 1346.

l. 9. p. . Buchan. . .

As to the great house of Twadel Fraser, it is now low, for it was much weakened by the slaughter and death of these three excellent gentlemen, Andrew, John, and Simon Frasers, sones of the family, that fell in the battle of Hallidonhill near Barwick *anno* 1333, or as John Major, the historian, dates it, *anno* 1334; and now that great estate falls to the daughters, for, as it came by a woman to the Frasers, it is like by a woman to leave them; for a sone of the house of Arrol Hay matcht

[1] See footnote, p. 61

with that famely in King Davids time, for William Hay, *princeps Haiorum*, as he is named by the historian, fell in the day of Duplin, and left non of his ofspring, but his lady great with child, and that shee boar twins, John and Alexander, and that this Alexander, 2. sone of the house, married Helena Fraser, daughter of John Fraser, Lord Twadall, and heretrix to the estate. Others say that it was Alexander, brother to the forsaid Earle William of Arrol, that married her. But *parvo discrimine refert.* And now two scruples arising in tradition may be solved here. 1. whey the interest of Twadall might not rather fall into the Thane of Couy, a sone or grand child of the famely, and a portion to be given to the daughter with a stranger? But it is like in these dayes the law for heires male was not in force, or it fell out by the Kings word or favour, and the merit of the person who got her. 2. Whey the Hayes of Twadall do not carry the Frasers arms in their coat and scutchion. I am sure they once did it, and also fixt courts in the name of Lord Fraser of Twadall. The unworthy fabulous tradition that Simon Fraser of Lovat was the heir of Twadall, and, being abroad, the estate was divided among daughters or he returned, and, to gratifie Simon at his return, he disposed to him the estate of Lovat, but herein no truth but a fallacy, nor is there any but the ignorant or prejudicat that will averr or trust that forgery; it is so ridiculous a folly and error, nor is it worth my while to refute it, but refers my impartiall reader to the tract of the former unbyassed story. But to return to Lovat, this good lady of it, now dowager and widow, lived long, and spent her time in piety, vertue, and charety. She caused make that easter window in the church of Wardlaw, a well cut work, now closed up since the chappell is joined to that end, which is the burriall place of the Lords of Lovat. She also designd to erect a bridge of stone upon the water of Beuly, and in order to that she amassd a heap of great stones in the midle of the river, which is yet seen and is vulgarly called *Carn ni Baintearn*, the Ladies Pillar; and the Earle of Rosse was to join his assistance to promot that good work also, if death had not prevented both. She contributed liberally for building the second and midle part of the church of Beuly begun by Duvellus Mathewson, vulgarly

Duell Mackrory, Prior of that monastery after Jacomo Baptista, and saw it finisht. The beholder may discern if that work different from the first, which is eastward. She was also at the expense of glasing the great window in the east gavell with baken glass, a very costly work. In this that good lady imitated her ancestors, the Earles of Ross, as if charety were hereditary to that noble famely, for Farqhuar Earle of Rosse founded the monastery of Fern in Rosse, *anno* 1230, and his sone Hugh finished it. The records declare Fern in *Rossia Præmonstratorum ordinis a Farquhardo Comitis de Rosse anno* 1230; and this Hugh Earle of Rosse intended to build a cloister for nuns in Dinguall, if the towne had not hindered it. Nor was Julia Lady Lovat inferior to any of them in point of charety, according to her power, a pious holy woman, according to these dark dayes, of whom I shall conclud what S. Paul saith of Timothy, calling to mind and remembrance the unfeigned faith that is in thee, which dwelt first in thy grandmother Lois, and thy mother Eunice, and I am perswaded that in thee also. But I must now leave this subject and proceed to our contemporaries abroad.

Duellus Matheuson Prior of Beuly.

2. Tim. i. 5.

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[Account of affairs in France, Germany, Bohemia, Denmark, Hungary, Greece, and Scotland; and of the Popes.]

I am now landed from the ocean upon the shoare, from the court to the country, from maters abroad to treat of truths at home. I treated formerly of Simon, the 3. Lord Fraser of Lovat, who died young, and his surviving lady, no discredit to him nor discurragement to his ofspring, with whom she long lived and sincerely loved. Hugh, 4 Lord Fraser of Lovat, who entered young to his interest, I find him served and retoured to his father *anno* 1349 at Edinburgh, being at court with King David 2. At his return he married Jane Calder, daughter to Laurence Calder, Thane thereof. With her he had 4 sones and 3 daughters, his eldest sone Alexander, 2 Hugh, 3 James, 4 William; all well educat with the monks in Beauly. In that monastery, after the death of Prior Duellus Mathison, succeeded William Cuming, prior, a man off great parts and noble descent, sone of the Earl of Buchan,

4. Lord Fraser of Lovat.

William Cuming prior of Beuly.

kept an accademy for training youth in the monastery at Beuly. The Lord Lovats daughters were 1. Sicilia, who married Alexander Innes of Innes and Invermarky, 2. Mary was matcht with Andrew, brother to the Earle of Rosse, and 3. Isabel was married to James Hay, brother of Arrall. Lord Hugh being called by the Earle of Rosse, his uncle, to convoy Eufem his daughter south to be married to the King, went with other nobles in that retenue, and returned cloathed with a commission of Lieutenant of the North, the first of that nature that perhaps was bestowed upon any subject; and there was great need of it becaus of the feuds and commotions here among clans, and he well managed it as we shall declare. This was a vigorous man, full of sprightly currage and resolution. It was observable of him when with the King that his nature would not bow to courtly complyance, he could maintain what he spoke, and spoke what he thought, think what he apprehended true and just, though sometimes dangerous, and distastfull; one of an excellent temper, it being true of him what is said of the Caspian Sea that doth never ebb nor flow, observing a constant tenor, neither elated nor depressed with success. Had one seen him returning from a victory he would by his silence have suspected that he had lost the day, and had he beheld him in a retreat he would have collected him a conquerour by the cheerfullness of his spirit. This man improved his estate to admiration; the King, Kirk, and Country befriended him in his rights. I find Hugo Fraser Dominus de Loveth his homagium to John Pilmor, Episc. Moravien., *anno* 1367;[1] the same year I find the Bishop of Murrayes gift to Hugo Fraser Dominus de Lovat of the fishing of the Linn, de Pisc. de Esse, etc.,[2] and, though Lovats records were lost, yet all are recorded in the chartularies and Register of the see of Murray, being truly the nonsuch of the Kingdom.

This was the Lord Lovat that suppressed the insolencies of the Maclinnans, and drove them out of Rosse, and, in the absence of Hugh, Earle of Rosse, they had convocat in a

[1] The homage was to Bishop Alexander Bur. Pilmore died in 1362. See *Reg. Morav.*, 368.

[2] Compare No. 287, *Reg. Morav.*, 368. The fishings of the Ess were already Lovat's property.

hostil maner, with others of their accomplices, and haveing pillaged Chanory and Thain they encamped near Cessack [Kessock], where they lay secure in a leager. Lord Hugh, surprised them in a morning, killed most of them; the rest fled, and, setting upon them at Drumderfat, it is said to have got the name of Drum-dear, the hill of teares and cries. In the year 1374 there was an insurection made against Hugh, Earle of Rosse, by the highlanders inhabiting the Armanoch mountaines[1] called Clanfeir, Clangalrigh, and Clanleave; all these combining together resolved to sease on the Earle at Dinguall, who being awarr of the design, made such sudden expedition and search that he apprehended their captain and leader, Donald Garve M'kivir, and imprisoned him in the castle of Dinguall, which so incensed these highlanders that they persued the Earle of Rosse his second sone Alexander, and apprehends him at Ballnagown, and carried him captive along with them, thinking thereby to get their captain relieved by a fair exchange; the Earle acquaints my Lord Lovat, who by vertue of his place and authority in the North might have influence on them. He convocats 200 men, who, with the Monroes and Dingwalls and other vassalls of the Earl off Rosses, made up considerable forces, and persued the rebells with all possible expedition, and, overtakeing them at Beallach in Broig, betuixt the hight of Terrindouil and Lochbroome, where they had encamped, and yet in expectation of a persuit, so that there ensued a cruel conflict, valoursly fought on each side. The Clanivir and Clanleve were almost utterly cutt off; the Monroes had a sorrowfull victory of it, with a great losse of their men, but carried back the Earl of Ross his sone; the Laird of Cildin [Kildin] William was there slain, with sevenscor of the name of Dingwal and others; and divers of the most eminent of the Monroes fell in that conflickt. And among the rest there were killed eleven of the house of Forbes, that were to succeed one another, so that the succession of Forbes fell into a child at that time in the cradle at home. For this eminent stout service the Earl of Rosse gave diverse lands to the Monroes and Dingwalls, as

The battel of Beallach in broig.

[1] Ardmanach, in the Black Isle.

their charters bear to this day; and the conflickt ever since called in our Irish language Blāre Beallach in Broige.[1]

In the beginning of the next year a fragment of the former clans, with some surviving M'klinnans, to the number of a 100, lurcked in Coircharby forrest,[2] sallying out upon the adjacent nighbourhood, pilching and robbing, at last fell doun upon Beuly barrony in absence of the Lord Lovat at south. Their main design was to catch the Master of Lovat, then tabled with the monks in the monastery. The young youth Alexander, with the concurrance and conduct of William Cuming, the prior, a dareing bold man, convocats a number of pretty nimble fellowes on both sids the River, and, knoweing where these vagabounds lurcked, set upon them at Ardin-chrosk [Ardnagrask], killed many, persued the rest to Bearn-ni-skallag, south from Beuly, quher their captain, Gilbrid Mackivir was killed and sex more, the Carn quher they were burried known to this day, and the very place named Bearn ni scallag, that is, the Servants Gap, becaus the men who did the slaughter were servants and scallags.[3] From thence the remainder of that rout were persued towards Kilmorack, and a little bewest the church 7 of them got up in a thick tree in the face of a rocke; one of the persuers (a strock fellow) with a Danes ax cuts the bough, and down drops the seven in the Linn, and were drowned in the river; the same very place of the rock to this day is called the Beam-Ercis,[4] that is, a charitable stroake, it being a work of charety to destroy the wicked.

1378. About the year of God 1378 John Monro, Tutor of Fowles, haveing been at Edinburgh about his affaires, in his return home in June, he tooke a short cut over the hills through Strathardel near Athol. In his journay he happened to rest himselfe there, and to refresh his horse upon a meadow or lay ground near hand. The owners of the grasse, without any regard had to strangers or a person of his quality, convocated in a rude hostil manner, and, without reasoning or reckoning, cutts off his horses tailes, the custom then being to ride on

Blair
O 87

[1] ~~The Field of~~ Bealach-na-Broig—'the Field of the Pass of the Shoe.'
[2] In parish of Urray / ~~part of estate of Highfield~~.
[3] Sgalag, 'a farm-servant'; from old Gaelic *Scoloc*.
[4] Beum-Ercis, 'the mercy blow'; *coup de grace*.

long tailed horses, as their ornament. This dissaster and affront the gentleman is not able to resent at the time, not being equall party, but, after some rational altercations and variance, escape their fure [fury], dissembling his anger at the time, and went forward on his journay. Comming home to Rosse he appointed a day of meeting with his friends and kinsmen, and declares to them the mater how he was abused by the Strathardell men on the rode, and requires their advice, aid, and concurrance how to revenge his wrong. Instantly (*nemine declinante*) all *una voce* ingage to own and espouse his quarrell. So, mustering all the Monroes and his followers and clan, he singled out 350 of the stoutest and most resolut men among, and, with these himselfe in person, with necessary provision, marches south and over the hills, meeting neither stop or let in his expedition untill he came to the hart off Strathardel, and, declaring the cause of his comming to that people, he wasted and spulied the whole country, carrying away a vast spreath of their strongest cattle, such as horse, oxen, and cowes; and some men killed in the resistance. Return'd home with his pray peaceably, without any resistance or persuer. In the common rod, as he was passing by the Isle of Moy, the Laird of Mackintosh, cheefe of the Clan-chattan, dwelling then within the Isle, and at a meeting with his friends sent out two or 3 gentlemen to enquire what those were, and to require part of their purchase, which he craved and challanged as due to him by the country custom, going through his bounds. The Laird of Foules very discreetly and nighbourly ordered to chuse out of all the cattle a shear of each kind for the Laird of Mackintosh as a compliment and Stige-chrich[1] as it is termed. All these being set apart, of horses, oxen and cowes to near the third part of the whole, a present sufficient enough for the greatest peer in the realm, which being offered to the Laird of m'Kintosh, by some shrud advice he flattly refused to accept of it, and would have no lesse than the equal halfe of the whole pray for his share. To this impertinent and irrational demand John Monro replied that if m'kintosh would not rest content with what was

[1] Stiog-chrich, the boundary 'cut' or portion; a tax on crossing the march of an estate.

rational and practicable among clans in the like case, *Quod potuit capere capiat*, seing he slighted his good will and offer. Thus, without more parlying, he sets forward on his journay, with his people and pray. The unhappy Laird of m'kintosh, yelding to the bad advice of a few furious fellowes (which proved Rehoboams counsellours by the fatall event), convocats all his friends and followers, not a few, by a firie crosse, and persued the Monroes hotly and in hostility, and at the crossing of the foords of Ness, a litle above the Isle, perceaves an host of men in armes at their heeles. John Monro, being once over the river, and haveing short time to dallye or deliberat, sends off fifty men with the spreath over the hill of Kinmilies into the Lord Lovats country. These being dispatcht he marches slowely forward with his 300 men and pitches on a litle levell near Clachniharry about a short mile bewest Inverness, where he drawes up in martiall postur, takeing advantage of the ground with convenient conduct for fighting, and in a short harrang to incurrage his soldiers expressed himselfe as a chiften and commander, finding them all resolut and forward, carrying as they all expressed their fortun, honor, and lives upon the point of their swords; so that in a trice there ensued betuixt the Monroes and Mackintoses a most bloody battle in which at the first ingagement the Laird of Mackintosh himselfe fell, his brother and second sone slain with him, with the prime and most part off his host, and shamefully got the defeat withall. Diverse of the Monroes were also killed, but carried the day; it was computed that the M'kintoshes lost 200 men, the rest fled. John Monro, sorely wounded, was left for dead among the slain, but by a good Providence next morning was found in life by a woman, one Maild m'kray owt of Clunes, and after some refreshment given him, was carried forward to Lovat, where he was well cared for and cured, being well recovered of his wounds, was ever after surnamed John Bachklawach,[1] becaus he was mutilat of one arm, never able to stretch it straight; this accident laid a foundation of intire kindness betuixt the Frasers and Monroes to this very day.

The battle of Clachniharri, 1378.

Maild M'kray, John Monroes foster sister.

[1] Bac-lamhach, the 'lame-handed.'

The battle of Clach-ni-Harry, *i.e.* the Repentance or Pennance Stone,[1] happened June 27, 1378.[2]

About the year of God 1369, Anguis Macky of Strathnaver married Shivak M'kleud, Torkiloig[3] of the Lewis his daughter, by whom he had two sones, Anguis Dow and Rory Gald; Anguis M'ky dying he leaves the management of that estate and sol goverment of the country to his brother Hugh Dow, named Husten Du M'Kye[4] vulgarly. A flying rumor runns to the Lewis, and Torkill Mackleud, apt to beleeve it that his sister, the widow of Anguis Mackye, was unkindly treated by the Tutor Hutchendw, in Strathnaver, and so takes journay thither to visit her, accompanied with the primest persones of his country. At his comming to Strathnaver he finds by her own declaration that she is not friendly dealt with all; without challanging the Tutor Huchen (who gave him civil entertainment) he returnes home in a pet, malcontent, and in his journay he falls uppon the hights of Strathnaver and Breachatt, which most rudly he spulies and pillages, they not being able to make resistance. The report of this depredation presently spreading, Hutchen Dow is alarmd, and to his arms instantly. Robert Earle of Sutherland sent Allexander Sutherland of Skelbow with a company of resolut undoubted men to the assistance of Hutchen Dow, and all in pursuance of M'kleud of Lewis to recover the booty, joining together in one body followed the chase so suddenly that they overtakes them within two miles of the West Sea at Tivodale, in a glen, and invades them with great currage. Alexander Murray (whom I named Sutherland before) and Hutchen Dow, knowing that oportunity is as sone lost as acquired, fell furiously upon them, and, no doubt it being unexpected by the M'kleuds, the advantage was the greater to the Mackyes; the conflict was long and sharp, but rather desperat than resolut, with conduct in end the booty is all recovered, and John M'kTorkil vickleud with all his company are all killed upon the spot, non

[1] Clach na h-aire, 'the Stone of the Watching.' 'The Repentance Stone' would be Clach na h-aith reachais.

[2] The fight is said to have taken place in 1454.—Shaw's *Hist. of the Mackintoshes and Clan Chattan*, p. 147.

[3] Torquil the younger.

[4] Black Hugh Mackay.

The batle of Tuittime Tarvach, 1369.

escaping to bring home newes. This conflict gave the name to this glen where it was fought, then called in derison Tuittim-Tarvach, a fertill or plentifull fall, and so named to this day.

We have here a clear indication of the barbarity and inhumanity of our Highlanders, noted to be *duri, horridi, immanes, omnium denique pessimi*; rough, harsh, theevish, pevish people, and as bad as those that are worst, as if they were *sine rege sine lege*, without liege without law, which may be seen in their rude rapins and ravenous revenges, bloody, insatiable, and cruel, ane against another, whom neither King nor law, reason nor religion, could mannage or rule. The good Earles of Rosse are weary of their own situation near and among them, and the Lords of Lovat uneasie in such a bad nighbourhood—*Natus Hyperbores inter Fraserius heros, e spinis docuit surgere posse rosam!* was well said by the poet in our behalfe, who live as roses among thorns, and may say with David, Wo is me that I sojourn in Mesech, that I dwell in the tents of Kedar, my soul hath long dwelt with him that hateth peace. I am for peace, but when I speake they are for war.

Psal. 120, v. 5, 6, 7.

Men now may apt to wonder as well as censor how the Lords Fraser of Lovat, being now of so ancient a standing, about 140 yeares in the north, and yet did not spread their branches hereabouts. I can, indeed, give severall unansweirable reasons, though this might be a main one, the uneasiness of their nighboures, this was no tempting or charming countrie for them to live into. Moreover, I shall add (1) their great relations at south induced them alwayes when they got wings to take a flight thither where they were well treated, regarded, and advanced, as yow find clearly in the tract of my former history. (2) The singular affection which the severall successive kings had for this noble famely, and how well they deserved favour at their hands, is known to any verst in the history of Scotland; also being allyed and related to the royall famely so often, instance the late King Robert his offspring, and the Lord Lovat that now is being cousen germains out of the Earle of Rosse his famely, a very strong tye and obligation. (3) Their own inclinations to

Reasons whey Frasers did not soon spread in the North.

travell abroad, and their warlik genious, the Frasers born travelers and warrioures, as may be verified in their severall expeditions, without any further reason or addition. (4) The many occasions, diverting incursions, intestin warrs, and confusions, inviting and calling them and all brave martiall spirits from their country to the center in defence of King and kingdom, as now at the corronation of King Robert 3. Alexander, Master of Lovat, is gone to be present there, and brings his brother James along with him, whom he setles at Frendraught, of whom we shall treat hereafter; his second brother Hugh waiting upon his old father; and William, very fit for bussiness, keeps home, where we shall leave them till we return to them again.

Robert, 2. of the Stewarts and the 101 King of Scotland.

King Robert the iii succeeds his father, *anno Christi* 1390; he was crowned at Scoon June 2, under the surname of John Fernyear; he was christned John, till now that the decree of the estates turned his name to Robert; whither it was for the misfortunes and calamities of two kings called John, one of France, the other off England, or for the eminent vertues and felicity of two Roberts both in peace and war, lately reigning in Scotland, I forbeare to determin. After King Robert the firsts death tumults burst out quher they were least expected, for Alexander, Earle of Buchan, the Kings youngest sone by Elizabeth Moor, fell into a deadly fewd with the Bishop of Murray, Alexander Barr, upon a light occasion, and, when he could not come at him to kill him, he vented his furry upon the cathedrall church of Elgin, then one of the fairest of all Scotland, and burnt it down to the ground. One historian saith, *Alexander Buchaniæ comes ob levem causam Episcopo Moraviensi erat incensus: cum ipsum ad cædem nancisci non possit, iram in sacram Elgini kathedralem omnium quæ tum in Scotia erant pulcherrimam convertit eamque incendio delevit.* Another historian words it no worse, *Alexander Stuartus, Buchaniæ Comes, flagitiosus admodum anno a partu Virgineo* 1390 *ecclesiam cathedralem Moraviæ de Elgin totius patriæ tunc decus incendio delevit dirum facinus*, etc. That which was said of the Barberini at Rome takeing away the brazen cover off the Pantheon, which Goths and Vandals spared, *Quod non fecerunt Barbari fecere Barbarini*, so of the

Buchan. l. 9. p. 334.

Jo. Major l. 5. p. 104.

cathedrall of Elgin the ornament and glory of all the kingdom of Scotland, *Quod non fecere Dani quod non fecere Angli fecit Scotus, Alexander Stuartus Roberti regis filius.* This flagitius cruel man was ordinarly called the Wolfe of Badenoch, a fit name for him; this wickedness cost him paines and pennance, teares and heart racking tortur, and was in end reconciled to the church and died of meer griefe.

But his sone Doncan Stuart, every jot as fierce as his father, his grandfather being dead, thought he had now a fit oportunity for rapin and pillage, got a band of roisters about him, and descending out of Badenoch upon Anguis, spoiled all like an enemies country; but the Earl of Craford by the Kings commission was sent to restrain their insolence, many of them killed, severalls fled, most of them taken and put to death: these and others tooke advantage of the Kings mild and good temper of whom the historian saith, *Robertus Tertius cum vitiis magis careret quam virtutibus esset illustris, penes eum regium nomen, penes Robertum ejus fratrem, rerum gubernaculum permansit.* The excellency of this Robert was that he rather wanted vice than was illustrius for any vertue, so that the name of king was in him, but the management of all publick affaires rested on Robert his brother. The King married Anabil Drummond, daughter to Sir John Drummond of Stobhall, who bare to him David the Prince, and James his second sone.

A strange act fell out *anno* 1396 tuixt the two clans of Cahonus [Colquhouns] and Clanchattan, who of a long time exercised rage and cruelty one against another, refuseing to end their feuds by course of law or referr them to indifferent arbitrators. At last the King orders them to disceed it before him by a duell. So upon the North Inch of Perth they fought 30 for 30, with sharp swords, without armour. All the Cahounes were killed except one man who swam over Tay and so escaped, ij of the Clan chattans escaped with life but sore wounded; the rarest decision recorded in story.

Anno 1398 an Assembly of the Estates indicted by the King at Perth, who made his eldest sone Prince David, being 18 yeares of age, Duke of Rothsay, and Robert his brother (a vain ambitious man) being Earle of Monteith and Fife,

Duke of Albany. This was the first time that title of honor was celebrated in Scotland; we have many such now, a great encrease to vanity and ambition, but non at all to vertue, neither did it often thrive, nor any who enjoyed it, for grave and sollid persones absolutly declin it, being a nominall shaddow of empty honour to vice.

Anno 1399, Richard 2. King of England was enforced to resign the Crown, and Henry 4. succeeded him. August 13, King Henry of England came with a great army to Scotland, besieged the castle of Edinburgh in ostension onely with slight onsets, then raised his siege, returned home and did no dammage in his marches both backward and forward, gaining the commendation of a clement, mild enemy.

After this, great heates and jarrs about the Borders; Archibald Douglas with 10,000 men enters Northumbeland with fire and sword, Henry Piercy and George Dunbarr overcome them in a pitcht field, many nobles slain, Douglass himselfe, Murdo Earl of Fife, Thomas Earl of Murray, George Earle of Angus, so that the strength of Scotland was never weakned more in any battle as this fought at Homeldon, May 4, 1401; this defeat a forruner of a sad fate to Scotland. For after the death of Archibald Douglas followes the decease of the Queen Anabella and of Walter Trayl, Archbishop of St. Andrewes, which presage sad mutations. For the splendor of military disposall and maters wer upheld by Douglas, the ecclesiasticall authority and resemblance of ancient disciplin by Trayl, and the dignity of the court by the Queen, as hapend sadly after her death. Then did David, the Kings sone, take loose raines to all lasciviousenes and licentiousenes; the King recommends him to his own brother the Regent to oversee his conversation. The governour had now an opertunity put in his hand to effect that he most desired, to destroy his brothers issue and sate his ambition for the Crown, shuts up Prince David closse prisoner in the Castle of Falcland, and starves him basely to death. The King, overpressed with greefe and weakeness, reteeres to Boot, consults with his trustie friends how he might preserve James; the result was he is sent for security into France, and, with him, Henry Sinclar, Earle of Orknay, as his governour. The ship cast on up the pro-

Homeldon fight, 1401.

Nota.

montory of Flambrugh, King Henry of England cause bring him to his court, ther detained and well disciplind in all learning. His father, heareing of his captivity, shutes himselfe up in his chamber, and in 3 dayes died of hunger and griefe, at Rothsay, April 1, 1406, and at his own desire is inhumd at Pasly. The character given to this good king by an acurat pen was, *Fuit Robertus et proceritate et totius corporis forma et compositione nulli fere suorum æqualium secundus. Summa vitæ innocentia, et in qua nullum hominis privati virtutem desiderares ut vere de illo dici possit meliorem virum quam regem eum fuisse.* This King Robert, for tallness of stature and for the beuty and composition of his whole body, was inferior to non of his contemporaries. His life was very harmless, and there was no vertuous accomplishment fit for a privat man wanting in him, so that it may truly be said of him that he was a better man than a King. Poor Scotland, great is thy loss in the death of both thy King and Queen.

The Kings death.

The government is now by the decree of the estates entaled upon Robert the King's brother, haveing many things in him worthy of that office and dignity if out of a blind greedy ambition to rule he had not used many indirect course to heasten to the throne; but is now annoyed on each hand. Henry of England invades Scotland for the vexing incroachment of the Borderers; Piercy, suspect of a conspiracy, is taken and execut in England. The next yeare Donald of the Isles, pretending a right to Rosse, and that the governour detained it unjustly of him, convocats and rises in arms to maintain his own right, made a descend with his army into Ross who rise with him, reduce Murray to his obedience, proceeds in depredations through Strathbogy, threatens Aberdeen, alarmes the kingdom; Alexander Stuart, Earl of Marr, with many of the nobles, gather a formidable army and gives him batle at Harlaw in Garioch, a cruel and bloody day, quherin fell so many eminent and noble personages as scarce ever perished in one battle against a forreign enemy for many yeares before, and yet an uncertain victory.

A regent settled.

The battle of Harlaw, June 24, 1411.

At this time St. Andrewes is erected into an university. Henry the 4. of England dyed in March, and his sone Henry

the 5. succeeded and settles a truce with Scotland, being ingaged in the warrs of France. Auxiliaries sent to France, and John Earl of Buchan, the governors sone, is made generall of the forces sent over, and many eminent nobles with him; they are very successfull in France and overcom the English at the batle of Clarence, upon which Charles the Dolphin created the Earl of Buchan High Constable of France. September 3, *anno* 1420, the Governour of Scotland Robert died, and Murdo his sone succeeded in his place; the Duke of Clarenc dying in France Henry of England sent over John, Earl of Bedford, his other brother, thither in his place with 4000 horse and 10,000 foot, and tooke with him James, King of Scots, in the expedition, where we shall leave him in great credit and repute, and treat a litle of other maters.

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[Here follows an account of affairs in France, Germany, etc.]

Now it is time we return home and treat again of the Frasers, and begin here where we left formerlie. We shewed that Hugh, Lord Fraser of Lovat, went south in company with the Queen, and, not finding the Court agreeable to his conscience or constitution, he returnd home and lived in peace and quiet in his countrie, for he was very active himselfe to promot the peace of the Highlands, suppress the insolencies of the roisters and robbers that oppress the country, hence he was called *Latronum Malleum*, and *furorum flagellum*; it was ordinarly said he was feared and yet favoured of all. I need not add to the character I gave of him formerly. Now he goes of the stage, and died in peace in the 78 year of his age, 1397. Solomon, the wisest of men, declares, If a man beget many children and that he live many yeares and his soul be not filled with good, and also that he have no buriall, I say that an untimly birth is better than he. This could not be verified of Hugh, Lord Lovat. He lived happily in prosperity and honour, and had truly the buriall of a prince, and that which made his funeralls solemn and splendid was the concurrance of the clergy, whom he ever respected and relieved. The Bishop of Murray, Alexander Bar, and Thomas Tulloch, Bishop of Ross, with their dignities the

Ecl. 6. 3.

Abbots of Kinloss and Fern, the Prior of Pluskarden and Beuly, with all their orders, were present at his interment, so that his burriall was a procession of churchmen, and it should be so, being inhumed in a monastery, and Beuly Church dignified with his ashes in urne. His good lady survived him but halfe a yeare—*requiscant in pace.*

5. Lord Fraser of Lovat, 1400.

Lord Alexander steps now uppon the stage and in a turbulent time; he had been at court and yet wearied of it, and his fathers condition heastened him home, haveing setled his brother William very happily at Dundee, matcht with a rich heiress of the name of Scrimger. Of him descended all the Frasers there; one Alexander Fraser (or Frissell as they ar called), a substantiall marchant there, gave me an account of this *anno* 1657, and William Thursla, a skipper there, with whom I cam from London, told that he was Frisol, and his grandfather changed his name for an accident of slaughter.

Lord Alexander served heir to his father Hugh, 1400, at Invernish.[1] In June the Earl of Murray, as judge competent, was substitut by the King in that place for severall emergents of consequence. This Alexander was a man of a profound wit; he might be a statsman or a churchman. He resolved to begin where his father ended, in reforming the country; he assisted the Prior of Beuly much in adorning the church and cloister, and was at the cost and expence of the famous speer steple set up upon the wester pinacle, made up of carved oake, and a curious bell put there. He was offered great matches, but resolved never to marry. The Lord Fenton had such respect for this excellent man that he offerd his onely daughter to him, entail his estate upon him, and live with him. We find him in an old evidence chosen baliofe when

Anno . . . William Fenton, Lord Beufort, gave the right of Moniak *ex orientali ripa rivuli de Fechines*, of 2 aughten parts to Leod M'Killeandris, Barron of Moniak. Of this mans ofspring we shal have occasion to treat afterwards.

In this Lords time Donald of the Isles made an insurection, terming himselfe Lord of Æbudœ[2] and Earl of Ross, as the next heir being unjustly taken away from him by the

[1] Inverness, as pronounced in Gaelic.

[2] The Hebrides.

Governour. And when he could get no right, he levied a 1000 Islanders and made a descent on the continent, and so easely seased on Ross, the whole country being willing to return to the subjection of their own just master; but this facility in the Rossians, in submitting to him whose mind was greedy of prey, gave him incurragement to attempt greater maters; comming to the plain of Urray, drawes up his men, and, getting an addition to his number, musters at Killchrist in view of Lovat, sends an embassy of peace to Lord Alexander to rise with him and assist him in his just quarrell and pretence. He declined to be illegall, and disswads Donald to proceed further now after the Kings death, the young king in exile, the realm under a regency, England ready to step in uppon the least breach of our intestin jarrs, and withall that it was hazarding his own right by unseasonable timing, and especially by the sword. He, in a fury, on the contrare rejects the Lord Lovats advise and sets siege about Lovat, but all in vain, for it was well fortified and able to resist a flying army. M'kdonel, fearing to be seased on by other clans, who would espouse Lovats quarrell, and also that he would loose his oportunity by dallying, marches through, pillages and plunders all before him, attacks Inverness, burns the bridge, the famousest and finest off oak in Brittain, burns most of the town, becaus they would [not] rise and concurr with him. John Cuming, a gentleman burger in the town, putting on his armour and head piece and two handed sword, made such stout resistance at this nearest end of the bridge against the M'kdonels that Jo. Major the historian saith, *Si essent decem tales in Invernesia nec pons nec urbs comburerentur*, and if there were ten more like him in Inverness neither bridg nor brugh had been burnt. But they prevailed, and proceeded through Murray over Spey with fire and sword 'gainst all that would not rise with them, came to Garrioch, and there fought the battle of Hardlaw as I related before, and shall doe afterwards. But neither my Lord Lovat here nor yet the Lord Fenton stirred not for all his threatnings, and so were rid of that ingagement. I would say much of this Lord Alexander were he not my cheefe, and fearing to be taxed of flattery and dissimulation. He was a man memorable

in his generation, who for person, parentage, grace, gestur, vallour, worth, martiall feats, and many other excellent parts meet to accomplish a nobleman, one of the first rank in court or country, so that he by his vertue added worth to his extraction. In end, weary of the world, withdrew himselfe from all secular concerns, and spent the remainder of his dayes in privacy, without issue or ofspring, save one nothus a boy, who was called Gill Rewach Vickhimi,[1] of whom is come all the many M'kilrevich about us. It is pitty this choice person had not been a churchman, having often avowed that he would wave all worldly preferment and choose serving at God's alter before State employment. So pious his life that, as he was a coppy of primitive piety, so a patern of severity and sanctity to posterity, testifying his independancy on all others, he never mentioned the name of Jesus Christ but with this respectfull addition *Mon Matre*, my Master; next God the Word he loved the Word of God, being heard often to protest that he would not part with one line of lyturgy for the whole world. He was none of the nobles of Teko, who at the building of Jerusalem would not put their necks to the worke of the Lord, a lamentable complaint.

Neh. 3. 5.

This Lord Alexander was of great age before his father died, and long before his own death he had divested himselfe of all secular concernes, and divolved the whole upon his brother Hughs shoulders, who succeeded him in the estate. Lord Alexander died at Beuly, where he had reclused himselfe of a long time.

Hugh Lord Lovat entered *anno* 1417, who in his brothers time, and at his own earnest desire, married Margret, daughter to William Fenton, Lord Beufort, and was retoured as heir to his brother, Lord Alexander, in Brayes of Aird, Strathglaish, Erchles, the halfe of Glenelg, which the Lord Fenton had got before with Sicilia Bizet as patrimony in the division of the Lord John Bizets estat; and with this Margret Fenton he had 3 sones, viz. Hugh, Alexander, and James; Alexander married Janet Hey, with whom he got the lands of Gowart, Kinstary and Kinudy in Murray, and of him came the house

6 Lord Fraser of Lovat.

1430.

[1] The Grey Lad of Mac Shimi (~~Lovat~~).

of Farralin in Stratharick, and the numerous trib of Shlick Homais vickean vickallister,[1] a brave people. James married Anna Sinclar, sister to the Constable of Dingual Castle; of him came Alexander in Craigroy, and all the Frasers of Brea-Murray in the parochin of Edinkilly; of all which famelies, and this Lord Hugh, we shall have occasion to treat hereafter, and also we shall take occasion to declare how and when the Frasers of Philorth and Dores cam out of Couy, etc. Barony of Gowart in Murray.

* * * * *

[Here follows contemporary Scottish and Continental history.]

After this long digression, which was certainly of necessity, and not of choise or fancy, I now return from Italie to Scotland, and from Rome to the Aird, and give the connection quher I left of the Frasers. I treated formerly of the 6 Lord Lovat, being the 2. Hugh of that name. I spoke of his offspring and how they were settled, being himselfe contemporary with King Robert 2. first of the Stuarts, King James the 1. and King James the 2., and all their Regents. He was a man medled litle with state affaires, had no fancie for the Court in confused times. He improved his estate, and added the Lordship of Fenton to his own, nor was he unmindfull of the Church. He was at the expence of building the north work of the church of Beuly, erected that edifice called the Chappell of the Holy Cross, called vulgarly Sheppin Croish Nev, and got the right of a faire there May 3. called usually Cross fare. He also erected a famous cross bewest Beuly, above halfe a mile one the rode, which afterwards was translated to the town, where we now see it standing. He went in person with his kindred and followers to Glenelg, the M'krayes being his guids and guard de core, and fixt his marches with the M'kleods, takeing infeftment and ceasing [sasine] in his interest there, and he was so oblidging and universally beloved that non would/nay/nor could/inchroach upon him. He is in the records by charter from the Bishop of Murray tearmed portionarius de la Aird, D. Hugo Fraser, Lord Fraser of Lovat.

[1] The race of Thomas, son of John, son of Alexander.

and that becaus the Chisholms were then possessors there, as I find Willielmus Chiesholm portionarius de la Aird; the Forbes also were in Glenstrafarrer, his contemporaries, a numerous civil clan, did hurt to non whatever: hurt they suffered of others. The Frasers owned and defended them, keeping good nighbourhood with them. There was a most intimat correspondance and fraternity betuixt Lord Hugh of Lovat and Thomas Dunbar, Earle of Murray, that they made a mutuall compact thought upon deliberatly, and so farr ingaged *ut causa tua causa mea est*, the one mans cause and quarrell was the others, as may be seen by the following contract drawn up betuixt these two noble peers at Elgin 1422.

Contract betuixt Thomas Earl of Murray and Hugh Lord Lovat, 1422.

Att Elgin the 19 day of the month of August the year of God MCCCC and XXII betuixt an noble Lord and mighty Thomas Dunbarr, Earle of Murray, on the ta part, and an nobleman Hutchen Fraser Lord of the Lovets, on the other, that is tretit concordit and appointed in form and manner after following, that is to say, that the said Lord of the Lovit is oblisht, and by thir letters oblishes him that his sone and heir shall marry and take to wife an daughter of the said Lord the Earl of M. gotten, or to be gotten on Isabell of Innes, and the daughter to be gotten between the said Lord the Earle and the said Isabell of Innes failzand, as God forbid that doe so, the said Lord of the Lovit is oblist that the said his sone and his aire shall marry and take to wife an daughter of the said Lord the Earle to be gotten betuixt him and his spoust wife, and his eir the sone of the said Lord of the Lovit failzand as God forbid he doe, but that he have an daughter air or daughters eires, the said Lord off the Lovit is oblist as before to give that daughter his eir or his daughters eires to the said Lord, the Earle his sone or sones to be gotten betuixt him and his spoust wife, and that eirs male or female sones or daughters of the said Lord of the Lovit failzand as God forbid they doe, then the said Lord of the Lovit is oblist and by thir letters oblises him that his eires whatsumever they be shall hold and fullfill this treatty concordance and appointment as is before written to the said his Lordship the Earle of Murrays, the whilk marriage lellely and truly to be kept in form and manner as is befor specifeit to the said

Lord the Earl but fraud or guile, and the said Lord the Earl has given and granted to the said Lord of the Lovet and till his heirs the Barronich off Abertarch [Abertarff] in blanch fiew after the tenor of his charter propost and even in it selfe, and the reddend and the relieves of wmqhil William off Fenton, Lord of the Baky, and of Alexander of Shiesholm Lord of Kincossy, pertainand to the said Lord the Earl within the Aird, Strathglaish, the Shirrefdom of Inverness, within the Earldom of Murrasses, after the tenor of the said evident made to the said Lord Lovit hereupon, and fifty marks of the monny usual off Scotland, after the tenor of his obligation made thereupon; in wittness of the whole that the seales of the said Lord the Earle and the said Lord of the Lovets interchangeably are to be put, the place, day, month and year before written. The wittnes I saw at the principall paper were John Innes, Bishop of Murray, Henry Lighton, first Bishop of Murray and then translated to Aberdeen, Patrick Dunbarr, prior of Pluskarden, James Kinard servant to the Earl, and Jo. Rachin writer.

We see now all along the tract of our genealogy that the Lords of Lovat have still matcht with the best in the kingdom, if Lords and Thanes and Earles be such. They never inclind to curry the favour of the Highland chiftans and clanns so as to seek wives from them, but yet in their correspondance, carriage, and nighbourhood with them strive alwayes to polish and reform them in their manners and moralls, but all in vain. They could never tame nor train them, guid or gain them, and what the lawes of the kingdom could never effect it was an idle task for them to undertake; who can think to prevail with rude ruffians and barbarous bruits, to civilise them, either by precept or practice; the children proving every jot as fierce as the fathers, waiting oportunities for rapin and pillage. To this end they still keept bands of roisters about them, with which they descend into the plaines so as that it is hard restraining their insolencies; and, if at any time the law restraint stop the current and wickedness of those unquiet and turbulent men from brakeing upon the plain and champion countries, they fall out most grievously among themselves, refuseing to end their fewds by course of

law, or referr them to indifferent arbitrators, but a chilborn [1] ane competition tuixt chiftens as Mackleuds, Mackdonels, Mackyes, Mackleans, Mackenzies, as in the following instances appear.

Anno 1426, Anguis dow Macky, sone to Anguis Macky of Strathnaver, and his son Nile entered Cathness with great hostility, abuseing the country people, not onely in sorening, but depredation and plunder, and stayed a long time there, pretending for the ground of their quarrell that it was some Cathness men, the Beths, that informd and instigated the Mackleuds of Lewis to enter Strathnaver and occasion the battle of Tuitim Tarvach, a meer pretext to pick a quarrell. However, when they turnd insolent beyond measur, the inhabitants of Cathness assembled with all speed and expedition, and fought with Anguis Dow at a place Lem-Hairpisdall, where hapened a sharp bloody slaughter; and very many killed on either sides; the defendants being more just and innocent in their own defence, God succeeded their attempts so that Anguis and his train is forced to fly forst in hasard of life. At this time King James 1. came to Inverness in progress to preserve the peace of the Highlands, and to persue Anguis Dow Macky for that and other gross enormities and ryots committed be him. Upon the first rumor of issueing out the King's pleasur before any citation was fixt upon him or any else, Angus Dow came the length of Invernes with the greatest deference and dejection imaginable, and submitted himselfe to the Kings mercy, knowing that *nobilis est via levius*, and delivered up his sone Nile in pledge to the King of his good carriage and legall obedience in time comming, which submission the King accepted, and sent Nile Macky south to remain captive, and as prisoner in the Basse, where he was kept for some yeares, at last [released] upon bale and strickt conditions, and was ever after that dureing life called Nile-Wasse *i.e.* Neil of the Basse.

The battle of Lem-Harpisdil, in Cathnes, 1426.

In the yeare of God 1427 Thomas Macknil Macky, then possessor of the lands of Creich, Spanzadell, and Pulrossy, in Sutherland, had harboured ane old jealousy against Alexander

[1] Compare 'acherspyre,' to germinate, Jamieson's *Dictionary*.

Mowat, Laird of Freish-week in Cathness, a pretence of slaughter made upon a certain Macky landing there forlorn, off which Mowat was free, yet the jarr and threatnings continued and non to intermediat. The wicked man still waiting oportunity till that this All. Mowat, returning from the south, and coming by Thane, would pay his vow to St. Duthus, and being at his devotion Thomas M'kneil surprises them, and killed him in the very chappell, which he also burnt, to which Alex. Mowat retired as to a very sanctuary. The King, heareing of this cruel, barborous deed, causes denounce and proclame Tho. Macknil rebell, and promises all his lands and possessions to any that would apprehend him. Anguis Murray, sone to Alexander Murray before mentioned, understanding the weight of the Kings proclamation, kept secret correspondance and conference with Morgan and Neil Macky, brothers to this Thomas, and promised them that if they would assist him in apprehending Thomas (whom no man should own under perril of damnation) that he would give them his own two daughters in marriage, and procure them the peaceable possession of their Dowch [davach] in Strathnaver, ane old possession which, saith he, with litle or no resistance may be obtained, seing Neil Macky, the sone of Anguis Dow, their opposit, was prisoner in the Basse, and Anguis himselfe, being debilitat in body, was unable then to withstand them. Morgan and Neil closes with the bargain cordially, and without demurr they apprehend their brother Thomas, being secure in Spanzadel in Sutherland, and delivered him to Anguis Murray, who delayed not to present him to the King, is presently sentenced, and execut upon the Castlhill of Invernes, and his limbs dispersed, his right hand set up at Thain, a horrid spectacle; and the lands of Pulrossy and Spanziadel, which he did possesse, were by the Kings donation given to Anguis Murray for his service, which his successors possess into this day; and, according to his paction, gave Morgan and Niel his two daughters in marriage, and deale with Robert Earl of Sutherland for his attollerance to conveen a few pretty men in the county to accompany his two sones in law to enter their just possession in Strathnaver. Earle Robert grants his just demand, and so Anguis convocats

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a few resolut fellowes with which he accompanied his two sones in law into Strathnaver. Anguis Dow Macky, heareing of their approach, and being himselfe unable to resist them, employes his bastard sone, John Abrach, to conveen the country and be their leader, which he forthwith did, and encounters them at Drumincub, two miles from Tongue, M'kyes cheefe dwelling place, and there ensued a cruel and sharp conflickt, and valourously fought a long time with great slaughter, till there remained but few alive on both sids. Nile Macky, Morgan his brother, and their father in law, Anguis Murray, were there slain; John Abrach, having lost all his men, was himselfe left as dead in the field, yet recovered, but was mutilat all his life after. Anguis Dow M'ky, being brought there to view the place of the conflict, and searching for the corps of his cousins Morgan and Niel, was there killed himselfe by the shot of an arrow from a Sutherland man lurking in a bush, and sent after his dead relations. This John Abrach was so hotly pursued by the Earl of Sutherland that he was constrained for safety of his life to flye into the Isles, where, as some say, he dyed.

The battle of Drumincube in Strathnaver, 1427.

Niel Macky, sone to Anguis Dow of Strathnaver, was confined for 7 yeares in the Bass. Good and clement King James 1. thinking that by his long confinement he was not onely polisht but sufficiently tamed, upon his solistation and humble supplication to the King, he sets him in end at liberty. His releasement also granted under the Kings hand *anno* 1434, his father now being dead, the country in peace, and non from any place to mollest him; yet the cub of the old fox will retain his kind, and so waits his oportunity to do mischeefe, for, *anno* 1437, good King James 1. being traiterously slain by Walter, Earl of Atholl, and Robert Graham, with their bloody accomplices, Niel Wasse Macky takes occasion now in the interregnum, and invades Cathness that same summer with a band of loose villans, spulied all the country. In end the leading and courragious among that people convocats with their resolut followers to oppose, and if possible to expell him the country. His pretext at first was that it behoved to be a Cathness man who killed his father at Drum in Cube out of an ambuscad. The Cathness forces mett him at

a place called Sanset, where there ensued a severe skirmish and a considerable slaughter on every side. At last the country about being alarmd conveened from every quarter, and Niel necessitat to retreat. This battle was called Ruoig Hanset *i.e.* the Chase of Sanset. Niel, returning home with litle gain, and farr less credit, died of his wounds next October, so that, considering his strength of body, vigour of mind and spirit which he was endued with, he could have ontlived many, but the Spirit of God informs that the wicked will not live halfe their dayes, and fared Niele. Ruoig Hanset. the battle of Sanset.

In the year of God 1438 the continued jarres betuixt the Benes and Budges and other clans in Cathnes was now come to an hostile hight. The Beathes were the oldest natives in that country, and, mistrusting their own force and strength, they sent to Anguis Macky, sone to Niel Wass of Strathnaver, to come to their aid and assistance, which they easily yelded, so that Anguis, accompanied with Jhon More Mackean Rewich, and a great band of men, went in to Cathness and invaded the county, so that all the natives and inhabitants conveened in heast and manfully rancountered the Strathnaver men and the Beaes at a place called Blair Tanny, where ensued a cruele feight with considerable slaughter on either sides. The Beas indeed had the victory by the means of John More Mackean Rewich, their leader. He was an Assin man born and very famous in these countries for his manhood often shown, especially at this conflict, where two chiftens of the Cathness men were slain, with divers and many mo, the finest in the country, and the Baths got a sore stroake, but maters were at last conserted and agreed betuixt them and their nighboures. This Anguis Macky, not content with what outrages he had formerly committed, and the slaughter at *Cha blair Tannie*,[1] but resolves from thence to invade Rosse er he returned home, and, marching through Sutherland, crost at Port in Culternach, or the Meikle Ferry, with a company of rather desperat than resolut men, and, notwithstanding of the threates and interdictions of the monks of Fern (terrible enugh in these dayes to deterr any, nay the most barbarous, The battle of Blair Tenny in Cathness, 1438.

[1] Cath Blair Tanai, 'the Battle of Blair Tannie.'

from outrages) he runns over the whole country, purposeing to make a prey of all in a peaceable time; but he was briskly mett with by the Rosses, who, killing all his men, persued himselfe to the church of Tarbit, takeing sanctuary in the temple, quher they killed and burnt him. Thus the Rosses requitted him whom he often molested with incursions and invasions.

Now, haveing given an account of some exorbitant feates of our highlanders contemporary with our Hugh Fraser of Lovat, it is now high time I close with his character, and give him his due praise and comendation, er he goe of the stage. He was a man of a wonderfull thrift and success in all his attempts. He kept intire what his father left him, and enlarged his territories by the addition of the 10 davachs of Abertarfe in his paction with Thomas Earl of Murray. He was a man of an insinuating, winning, prevaileing temper with all men with whom he had business; non had confidence or countenance to deny his suit. It might have been said of this man, what was true of Henry 8 King of England, a man of an incontrollable spirit, carrying a mandamus in his mouth sufficiently sealed; when he put his hand on his hilt he awed all into obedience, which I might imputt to his skillfullness to rule or his subjects feeblenes to resist. His homebred abilities, travell perfected with forraign, and a sweet nature, set a glosse upon both. He was essentiall to the Court and country that they seemed maimed without his company. Being a compleit master of mater and language non did better know the secretary craft to get counsel out of others and keep them in himselfe; and this brought trouble as well as trust to him from his successive sovereigns, being their intelligencer in the north. Marvelous his sagacity in examining suspect persones, either to make them confesse the truth or confound themselves by denying it to their detection. Cunning his hands, who could unpick the cabinets in the Kings conclaves; quick his ear, who could heare at Lovat what was whispered at Holyroodhouse; numerous his spies and eyes of this Argus, as dispensed in all places; concluding that gold might, but intelligence could not, be bought too deare. This man lived to a good age, past his great climaterick, and died at Lovat

1440, *ætatis* 64 yeares, and was interred at Beuly, and that with a vast concourse of people, universally beloved, generally bemoaned.

The 7 Lord Fraser of Lovat, 1440.

Hugh Lord Lovat entered instantly after his father's interment, a mild pleasaint youth, and might well be surnamed *Hugo Sanctus*. His father would often say that he was shapen for the churche. It seemes the monks of Beuly had made such impressions upon him, being educat with them from his childhood, for then there were no schooles of learning anywhere but in the cloisters and monasteries, and Prior James Reed, his contemporary in Beuly, had a singular care of him, for he made him a good schollar, and a saint too. I find him served and retourd heir to his father in all the lordship, particularly *in terris de la Aird et Abertarfe*, which was his fathers purchase; and in the Bishop of Murrayes Records and charters to him he is termed *Hugo Fraser D. de Lovat portionarius de La Aird*, becaus others shared with him.

He married Janet Dunbarr, daughter to Thomas, Earle of Murray. His father, Lord Hugh, contracted with this Earl as I declared before, and had the contentment to see the same concluded in his own time; for he was at his sons wedding in the great hall of Tarnway, the nonsuch lodging of Scotland, for to this day that house hath no paralell within the kingdom. It was built by the Regent, Earl Thomas Randolph. Kings have been in it, and King James said that he had no such court or castle of his own. This marriage feast of the Master of Lovats in Tarnway was a rant indeed; for, besides the nobility and gentry present, there were 3 bishops present also, viz. Robert Strackbock [Strathbrock], Lord Bishop of Cathness, James Wood,[1] Lord Bishop of Ross, and Columba Dunbar, Lord Bishop of Murray, who solemnised the marriage. The Bishop of Cathness happened then to be in Murray, the Bishop of Rosse was our own, and the Bishop of Murray, Columba, was a great instrument in the contract and agreement made up tuixt the Earl of Murray and Lord Lovat, for whom the Bishop of Murray had a singular love, nay, he was heard to say that he had more of his heart than his own cheefe, for he was a true hearted

[1] This bishop does not appear in Keith's *Scottish Bishops*.

Fraser, and no wonder, his mother being a Frisell, and perhaps the inferr at Lovat was litle less when the master brought home his lady; and his father, Lord Hugh, lived with him till the day of his death, his own Lady, Margaret Fenton, being dead long before himselfe. Lord Hugh had ofspring and isue with Janet Dunbar his lady/viz. two sones and two daughters. Thomas, his oldest sone, by the godfather Earl of Murry, dyed young a child; Hugh survived; his eldest daughter, Elison, died about 6 yeares of age; and his second daughter, Isabell, was married to David Cuming of Earnsid, a gallant gentleman with whom she had great issue. It was John Cuming, this David's brother, who, as I said before, defended the bridg of Inverness against the Mackdonalds, being newly fixt at Inverness, and married therewith.

This excellent nobleman, Hugh Lord Lovat, the third of that name in the famely, and the seventh Lord, died young, did not reach 28 yeares, and great was the loss by his untimely death, being so happily married, so honorably allyed, and so holily inclind; but piety priveledges not from death, the righteous perish, and mercifull men are taken away, the prophets do not live for ever, and your fathers where are they? This sprig was cropt in the blossom, a youth of as great hope and expectation as any of his noble ancestors, but snatcht away of a sudden; and the immature death of this peer, in respect of the term to which by naturall possibility he might have attained, and in his innocent age, was the regreet of many. True he had not that favourable success in many attempts that was expected, so that his fortunat father might say of him what Æneas said to Æscanius in the poets language,

Isai. 57. i.

> *Disce puer virtutem ex me verumque laborem—*
> *Fortunam ex aliis.*
>
> Virtue and labour learn of me thy father,
> As for succese, child, learn from others rather.

Its true he mispent nothing, kept together what he got, and that is praiseworthy among the nobles, for the poet is plain and determines that

Non minor est virtus quam querere parta tuere
Casus . . .. ? ? . . . illic hic erit artis opus.

It proves a man as brave and wise—
To keep as far to get the prise.

This good man died at Kirkhill, and was burried at Beuly, left his good lady a widow, and one sone, Hugh, of whom we shal treat at large in another place.

* * * * *

[Here follow contemporary events in Scotland and on the Continent.]

The 8 Lord Fraser off Lovat, 1450.

We are now returned home and arrived in our country, and in course concerned to treat of the Frasers off Lovat. After the death of Lord Hugh, surnamed *Sanctus*, succeeded his sone, Hugh, the 4 of that name, and the 8 Lord Fraser of Lovet, *anno* 1450. He went south at the call of King James 2, and was educat a while at Court by meanes of his uncle, Alexander Dunbarr, Earle of Murray, in great favour with the King, by whose advice he marryed Margret, daughter to John Lyon, Lord Glames, and at Edinburgh served heir to his father Lord Hugh, *anno* 1458. This Margret was one of the Queens Marries, a woman of great witt and singular for currage and magnanimity, so that she was Lyon, *nomine et re.* With her the Lord Lovat had issue 4 sones and 3 daughters; his eldest sone, Hugh, bred at Court, with his relations the Lyons. King James 4 had great respect and favour for him, and, as he lived with him, so he diyed with him in the bloody battle of Floudon. Hathornden, the author of the history of the 5 King Jameses, saith that the Lord Lovat was slain with the King in that batle, litle difference it being the Master of Lovat for the Lord. The 2 sone, Thomas, who afterward succeeded Lord, of whom I shal treat at large afterward. The 3 sone was Alexander, educat with the monks of Beuly, and dyed young about 14 yeares of age, a most hopefull youth. His 4 sone, John, a man of great partes, educat at Oxford, where he got and passed his degrees, and after his return was Rector of Dingwall. The Lord Lovats eldest daughter, Margaret, died young, being a child; his 2. daughter, Agnes,

married to Kenneth Mackenzie, Lord of Kintail, of whom we shall have enugh to say afterwards. His 3 daughter, Janet, was married to Allan M'Kintosh, Laird of Torcastle, off whom there came a numerous ofspring, the house of Killachy Mackintosh, and his predecessors.

This Lord Lovat planted the first orchard in Lovat, haveing brought with him several species of peares and aples from south, and helped to plant and inlarge the monks orchard in Beuly. He also planted good ashes about the palace of Lovat, one of those formidable called Crive Weaden,[1] the meadow tree, out of which was sawen in square 8 great tables, all which I saw, as they were severally dispersed among the gentlemen here, and one gifted to Sir James Stuart of Kilcopy, two in Lovat, one in Moniak with Strachin [Strichen], one in Struy, and severalls besids.

Donald of the Isles turnd loose in King James 3. minorety, and, in his descent to the Lowlands, did great hurt to all the countries he passed through, raging everywhere untill he came
1464. to Athol, tooke the Earl of Athol and his lady prisoners, pillaged the whole country, burnt St. Brids Church, after which the Mackdonels never prospered. Alexander M'kdonel, the forsaid Donald his brother, was left with a party besieging Lovat, and their number dayly increasing, and destroyed the adjacent countries. Hugh, Lord Lovat, sallyed out upon them with the Mackrayes and Forbeses, and persued the retreat to the Mount Caplach and fought the batle of *Mām Cha*,[2] where many were slain; but the Mackdonells came no more here to trye their vassalage upon the Frasers.

This Lord Hugh keept peace afterward in this country. George, Earl of Huntly, resolving to setle at Invernes, makes his friendship with him, knowing how usefull such a nighbourhood as the Lord Lovat and the Frasers would be to him; and meantime Lord Hugh contracted with the Earle for his daughter to his sone Thomas, Master of Lovat, that afterwards their allyance might be the stronger; and in this contract a renunciation of the lands of Stratharick, which *verbatim* yow

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[1] Craobh' Mhiadain, Miadan, 'a meadow.'—MacBain's *Gaelic Dictionary*.
[2] Màm a' Chath 'the Moor of the Battle.'

see here—Be it kent till all men by thir present letter us George Gordoun, Earle of Huntly and Lord Badenoch, forasmickle as we delivered two hundered marks Scots siller to an noble Lord, Hugh Lord Fraser of the Lovet, for marriage that should have been compleited between Thomas Fraser, apearand heir to the said Hugh Lord Fraser of Lovet, and Margret Gordon, our daughter, and now, for the great love we have to the said Lord Lovat, and the great favour we have till our brother, Alexander Gordon of Achindown, and the compleiting of marriage betuixt the said Thomas Fraser, Master of Lovat, and Janet Gordoun, daughter to the said Alexander Gordoun, our brother forsaid, we quitclaim and discharge the said Hugh, Lord Fraser, his eires and executors, and assignayes, of the said two hundered marks, together with all right and title of right we the said George Gordoun had, has, or may have, or our heires, to the land of Stratharick, with their pertinents, lying within the shirreffdome of Inverness; and especially we the said George, Earl of Huntly, discharges and renounces all right and title of rights we had or has or may get fra Pitflures, or his eires, of the saids lands of Stratharick, for now and ever, together with the two hundered marks, as said is; and to thir our acquittance of the two hundered marks, and renounciation of the lands of Stratharick, with the pertinents of the same, we have affixed our proper seal at Newwark uppon Spey, together with the subscription of our hands the xi day of January, the yeare of God an thousand four hundred nintieth and three yeares, before thir wittnesses Alexander Cults of Wauchtoune, Laurence Cults his father brother, John Ogilvy, sone to Walter of the Boyn, and Peter Gordon, our servant, writer hereof, and divers others.—George, Earl of Huntly.

By this we may see the true nighbourhood and corespondanc begun and continued firm betuixt these two noble persons, Huntly and Lovat; for Thomas, Master of Lovat, long before his fathers death was contracted with Margaret Gordoun, the Earles daughter, who haveing dyed in the very week of the marriage, the Earle, glad to match with the Lord Lovat at anyrate, ingages him to marry his own brother daughter,

Janet Gordoun, Sir Alexander Gordon of Achindownes, the farr prettier woman by Providence, and to incurrage him keeps the . . .? of the former contract with him, and withall procured the right of Stratharick from the Laird of Badshores, which the Frasers formerly possest, but as tacksmen; now they got it in heritage, and have improven it to purpose, spreading their branches in it, and purgeing out all others. For there were many strangers then in that country, the Cearans, Grants, Thushes, Thrilstans, Cumins, Gordons; and in our time not one man of that name from Ald Aill to Comeinhine in Abertarfe.

This Lord Hugh had base born sones besids his legittimat children, viz. Thomas roy Macvaister, of whom are issued a numerous tribe up and down this low country, of whom we shall treat in another place; this sone was born to him, being a youth in his fathers house before he traveled south. Another sone he had about the time of his marriage born to him, called Hugh; some would averr that he begot this son after his lady Meg Lyons death, which is not probable, for we find that his lady survived himselfe. This Hugh, by an accident, escaped over to France, where he aboad near 7 yeares, and after his return he was surnamed Huchen Franckach,[1] of him came that numerous famely, the house of Foyer.

This Lord Hughs lady was a stout bold woman. A great hunter, she would have traveled in our hills afoot, and perhaps outwearyed good footmen. She purged Mount Capplach of the wolves; there is a seat there called *Ellig ni Baintearn*.[2] She lived in Phoppachy, near the sea, in a stanch house, the vestige whereof remains to this very day.

Kenneth Mackenzie of Kintail married Donald of the Isles his daughter, and after a while, for some emergent, did repudeat

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[1] French Hugh.

[2] Eileag na Baintearn, 'the Lady's Hunting Place.' *Eileag* appears to have been specially applied to great V-shaped enclosures, open at both ends, into which deer entered by the wide opening, and were shot down as they were driven through the narrow opening. The ruins of such a contrivance is still to be seen at Eileag Bad-a'-challaidh, in the parish of Kincardine, Ross-shire. Lady Lovat's *Eileag* was probably at or near the place now known as Carn na Baintearn (Lady's Cairn), Caiplich.

her, and, about the year 1476, made suit of love to Agnes, this Lord Hugh of Lovats daughter, and, being a handsome pretty man, prevailed with the young lady and gained her affection, but cross to the inclinations of her father and her brother Thomas the Master, yet, by a privat intrigue betuixt the two lovers by a civil rape convoyed her away over to Kinellan, and married her. But afterward by the law and practice *ut sic ferebant tempora* my Lord Lovat was necessitat to send Sir Androw, his own chaplain, and priest of Mons Mariæ, to Rome, and procured Pope Sixtus 4 his Bull to legittimat the marriage and also the ofspring.

This Lord Hugh was a man of mettall, a great spirit; and, to give him his true character, his going to Court brought him home well accomplished, and what he did at home and abroad his prudent genius consulted his own profit as well as the enlargement of the Kings authority and power. I am not so accomplisht an antiquary in record heraldry as to give him his due being so worthy a nobleman made up of all honorable enduements. He, without the least selfe attribution, might say as to the Kings side of northern actions *Pars ego magna fui*; and, as for his raiseing the M'kdonald siege, fealt before seen by the enemy, it will sound romanze-like to posterity, with whom it wil find *plus famæ quam fidei.* He was daubd knight by King James the 2, and got St. Andrewes bage of the Temple of Honour, being of due open to him who had passed through the temple of virtue. He was contemporary with 4 Kings, saw many Court and country changes, dyed in peace at Lovat in the 74 year of his age, and was burried at Beuly, *a multis desideratus.*

After that the Lord of Isles had resigned the Earldom of Ross into the Kings hands, the year of God 1478, that province was continually harassed with the incursions of the Islanders. Gilespig M'kdonell, nephew to Donel of the Isles, gathering together a great company of his vassals and followers, invaded the hight of Ross with great hostility. Kenneth Mackenzie of Kintail, living then in Kinellan, convocated the country people about him such as Dingualls, Denuns, Mackullochs, who came freely for their own defence. Lord Thomas Fraser, then Master of Lovat, sent over one Glashen

The battle of Park.

Gow Smith, in Donaldstoun or Ballbrā, with a 100 bowmen, to assist his brother in law, Kenneth M'kenzie of Kintale, which, with the other clans forsaid, made a considerable body. The Islanders camped about Contain, near Park, two miles above Braan, and, very numerous, being allarmed with the sight of the country people, got to their arms and made some formidable show. Kenneth Mackenzie asked Glashen Gow in Irish, Glashen, if yow had the conduct of the day how would yow carry? Glashen replies, Sir, if I had, be St. Mary in Kirkhill, I would be among them *Er moir si chrock, Viins ant srack*[1] so he got the front, *et merite*, a dareing fellow, instantly made the first breach with bowmen (having also the advantage of the ground) upon the enemy, which confused the Mackdonells, unacquainted with the country, were at a sad losse, and, surrounded with the country people on all hands, were so hard put to it that Gileaspy Mackdonel, being wounded, gave way, and was defeat, being so hotly persued that most of his men were drowned in the River of Connin, and a considerable slaughter made upon them besids the heat of the skirmish was soon over, the Mackdonels being infatually dispersed and never rallied. This conflickt was called ever after Blare ni Pairk, becaus it happened at a litle town upon the north side of the river Connin belonging to the Mackulloch. After this rufle given to the Mackdonels the Clanhinich [Clan Kenneth, or the Mackenzies] (a surnam till then mean and few in Ross).

Anno 1479 Mackdonel of the Isles, accompanied with some of his kinsmen and followers to the number of 600 men, made descent to the bottoms and invaded Sutherland and encamped closse by the Castle of Sibol [Skibo], whereupon Niel Murray, sone to Anguis Murray killed at Drumincoub as aforsaid, was sent by John Earl of Sutherland to resist them in cace they did offer any harm to the inhabitants, or at least to enquire what their bussiness might be to mollest a peaceable country. Niel Murray, perceiving them pillageing the places thereabout, surprised them unawarse with a number of resolut fellowes

The battle of Strathfleet and Skiboll.

[1] *Air Moire 's a' Chnoc, bhithinn 's an t-srachd*: By Mary in Kirkhill, I would be in the attack.

with him, and in the first rancounter killed one Donald Dow Phide, one of their chiftens, with 55 more of his soldiers. Mackdonell himselfe being alarmed with this onset, escaped, and rallying the rest of his men, and retired to the hills bagg and baggage till that frey was over, and, the people still increasing, sent back 500 men of the most resolut he could pick and chuse, who, comming to Strathfleet in Sutherland, pillaged all that part of the country, thinking thereby to repare, and reveing his former losse received by them and purposing to make a totall purchase of the spoil of that corner, but Robert Sutherland, Earl Johns brother, with Niel Murray aforsaid, convocats a parcell of pretty men, and unexpectedly rancountered them upon the sands of Strathfleet, so that after a cruel and sharp skirmish the Mackdonels were defeat, and in the overthrow the most of them were killed, and but few of the country men; so that this was cast still in the Mackdonels teeth *Strachk Skiboll agus Strath floid*, the stroak of Skibol and Strathfleet; after which they made few incursions on Sutherland, whence conclud the misfortune of the Mackdonels dayly increasing.

The very same yeare, in August, the groweing dissentions and competitions in Cathnes betuixt the Bethes and Clangun came to that consistency that a meeting was appointed for their reconciliation, and the Chappell of St. Tayre, uppon the coast near Girnego, to be the place, and twelve horse on each side to be the stint of their number on each side, which they could not exceed, *sub pœna causæ*. One Cruner Gun, the cheefe of that clan, with the most of his sones and cheefe kinsmen to the number of 12 persones, came first to the Chappell, and, finding none there before them, they went in to their devotion. In the meantime, while they are within church, the Laird Dunbeth of Invering and Acrigill alighted with twelve horse also, and two men riding uppon each horse, each rider haveing one behind him, thinking it no breach of paction to come 24 men, seing they had but 12 horse according to appointment, a meere trappan. The clan Gun bein within the chappell, the 24 gentlemen ruished in uppon them, invading the Cruner and his company at unawars, rudly and inhumanly. They nevertheless made manly gallant resistance and defence, yet after a

Chappell St. Tyres conflict.

bloody conflict the Clangun were all slain, and the Baiths to sex who went away wounded, and, as it is averred by eye wittnesses, their blood is to be seen yet upon the chappell walls of St. Tyre where they were slain. A long time after this William M'kheamis, Cruner Guns grandchild, in revenge of his grandfathers death at St. Tyres chappell, waited still an occasion which Providence put in his way, rancountered George Baith of Acrigill and his sone Alexander, with ten more attendants with them, at Drummoy in Sutherland, as they were traveling from Invering in Cathness, and fell upon them. The thing more remarkable in the meeting is that the Baithes, expecting nothing but death, desired as much time as to commend their soules to God, which William Gun flatly denied them, telling that his father interrupted his grandfather at his prayers in Gods house, and would grant him no time to close his devotion, and such mesur as they gave they should have, so cutt them all off. I find litle or no memory off Baiths in Cathnes now.

Lā Altchārrish the battle of Altcharrish.

That year also happened to be fatall for a bloody conflect fell out at Altcharrish in Brea Rosse upon this occasion. Anguis Macky being slain at Tarbut, *anno* 1438, by the Rosses, as was reported, John Reavach M'ky his sone came to the Earle of Sutherland, upon whom he depended, and desired his Lordships aid and concurrance to revenge his fathers death, to which the Earl of Sutherland as a bad nighbour, and a worse judge, yelds, and sent his own uncle, Robert Sutherland, with a company of men, along with John Revach to invade Rosse, they joining together, being furious and forward enugh, they fell upon Strathoikell and Strathcharron with fire and sword, brunt, plundered, and laid wast divers lands appertaining to the Rosses, the Laird of Ballnigown, cheefe of the Rosses, getting sudden advertisement of the attempt, a great losse, convocats all his fensible men, and at a randivous near Edderton, piled out 400 men, with quhom he marcht in person, and met Robert Sutherland and John Revach at a passe in Strathoickel called Altcharrish, and there ensued a dreadfull conflict which continued hot a full day with incredible currage and furry and much blood on both sids. In end the Rosses were worsted and put to flight.

Alexander Ross, Laird of Ballnigown, was there slaine, with 70 other landed gentlemen of his name, besids a considerable number of comone soldiers; also Robert Sutherland fell in that field and *merito* qho came theire to court his death. John Revach Macky escaped alive, and dyed soon after of his wounds. The manuscripts of Fern and Beuly nameth those following, 150 Mackyes and 6 genlemen of that name, Mr. William Ross, Anguis Mackulloch of Tarrall, John Vaus of Lochslin, Thomas Vaus, John Mickle Fern, Alexander Denune, Pitogarty, John Denun his uncle. This bloody day of Altcharish, where the Mackyes gaind so litle that they came not again to Rosse for vassalage.

A Fragment of the Frasers of Fruid in the North

The famely of the Frasers off Fruidt came north *anno* 1490.

After the death of famous John Guthery,[1] Bishop of Ross, *anno* 1485, that see vaiked about halfe a year, then John Fraser, sone to James Fraser, Laird of Fruid in Twadal, and Abbot of Melross in Tividall, *ordinis Cistertiensis*, succeeded Bishop of Rosse. This John Fraser was elect of Galloway, but, seing his name and famely decaying in those parts by the rigour and oppression of Twadall, chused rather to goe north, where the Frasers flourished, and so was preferred by King James 3, to the Bishoprick of Rosse, where he setled Jan. 1486. His first wark was to finish the Cathedrall, and next to build the Bishops house. It is certain that, haveing prepared materials for that fabrick, he payed a visit to the Lord Lovat, his cheefe, and offered to build a castle in Lovat upon his own cost and expense, onely to set up his name and arms for a memorial. Whether it was Lord Hugh, or Thomas, the Master, that declined it becaus of the * miter set over their arms, whoever or however the miss, a free heart offered it, and a fool refused it. This great and good man continued above 20 yeares bishop of that see, saw that colledg of canons advanced, built and finished the castle of Channory, a statly

* Miter, *Mitra vox Syriaca* ι μιτρα, αμιτος *filum ex quo feret Et tunicæ manicas et habent Ridimicula Mitræ* Virg.

[1] Not mentioned in Keith's *Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops*.

well contrived commodious house. *Anno* 1492, by the cruel and fraudulent useage of William Hay Lord Twadal, Anna Wallace, widow of John Fraser off Fruidt, came north by the invitation of John Fraser, Bishop of Rosse, with her 7 sones and one daughter, the youngest of all. The sones were 1 Paul, 2 Almond, 3 Alexander, 4 John, 5 James, 6 Duncan, and 7 Robert. The Bishop, by Bull of Pope Innocent 8,

Popes Knights. being translated to Ross, and a priveledg to knight Priests, he placed Sir Paul at Roskin, and Sir Almond[1] at Alnes, both chaplanries of dignity, quher they were incumbents, and quher they lived and dyed, men of singular good lives, and eminent parts. 4 John Fraser the Bishop fixt as chamberlan

The 4 sone John setled first at Nuig. at Nuig [Nigg] and lived in the Bishops house, married to Jean Mackullach onely daughter of John Mackullach Laird off Catpoole [Cadbol] with whom he had 4 sones and two daughters, his sone Alexander dyed a youth, Donald was Archdean and Theasaurer of Rosse, married Elspit daughter

John married Anna Dingual. to John Ross, Ballivet, with whom he had 4 sones, John, in Inshrory, of quhom came Donald Fraser in the Leyes, [Leys near Inverness] married to Barbra Lindsay, who boare to him John Fraser, Watrish Moore, and Androw Fraser of Bannanie, and 6 daughters, Anna, Helen, Janet, Margret, Kate, Mary. How these were setled and macht will come in to be treated off *alibi*.

Mr. Donald his 2 sone James Fraser, in Tamach, who

Agnes Bouerman. married Agnes Downy, and had one sone, James Fraser, in Dunballach, married first to Mary Fraser, daughter of Alexander, Barron of Moniak, who had issue to him, Alexander, and two daughters Isobell and Anna. James married again Margret Fraser, daughter to Belladrum, who boare to him 4 sones, Mr. Thomas, Mr. Andrew, Mr. Hugh,[2] and William, also 5 daughters, Kathrin, Elisabeth, Magdalen, Janet, Mary, all married honestly here, of whom afterward,

5 sone James, Mr. Donald his 3d sone Hugh, his 4 son Alexander, vulgarly called M'knargidiches, here in the Aird, men off good reput, whose ofspring are spread at home and abroad.

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[1] *Sir* indicated that the person so styled had taken the degree of Bachelor of Arts, a lower degree than *Mr.* or Master of Arts.

[2] *Mr.* = Master of Arts.

5 James Fraser lived in Thain a wealthy pretty man who married Anna Hay with whom he had * Mr. William, John, and Agnes. Mr. William married Anna Carr, with whom James and Andrew. James married Janet Denun daughter of John Denune of Pittogarty, with whom 2 daughters onely, Elison, who married Mr. William Fraser of Phopachy, and Elspit, who married Mr. James Mackullach, minister at Fern. James died young at Inverness, left the tutory to Andrew Fraser, his brother, who was provost, commissary, and shirref clerk of Invernes, and married Janet Cuthbert, with whom Mr. Thomas, who married Kathrin Gordon, Sir Robert Gordon off Anbolls [Embo] daughter, who boare to him John Fraser, chamberlan to the Earl of Sutherland, Mr. Michel, minister at Daviot,[1] Mr. Robert, advocat, and 3 daughters Jean, Anna, Isabel, of whom we shall treat *alibi*. *provost of Thain.

Andrew Frasers 2 sone Andrew, his 3 sone Doncan, his 4 sone William, all went abroad. James Fraser in Tain his 2 sone John died young, and his daughter Agnes married John Ross of Arly who had no issue but one sone, John, who went to England.

3 Alexander lived with the Bishop all his lifetime. After the Bishops death he married Anna Oliphant, who boar to him James, John, Alexander, and two daughters, Janet and Anna. His eldest sone James married Janet Dunbar, daughter to George Dunbar of Avach, and lived in Golspy in Sutherland; his sone James lived with his aunt Janet, spouse to Andrew Monro off Miltoun, and, *anno* 1590, came to Lord Simon Fraser off Lovat his service, and, *anno* 1599, he married Elisabeth Fraser, daughter to William Fraser of Struy, tutor of Lovat, and then purchased Phoppachy. With Elisabeth he had 8 sones, Mr. William, Thomas, Hugh, Alexander, who died a child, and 2 Alexander, John, James, Abraham, and three daughters, Agnes, Margaret and Isabell. Mr. William, his eldest sone, was minister at Kilmorak, Killernan, and Inverness, successively from 1630 to 1659, The 3d sone Alexander.

[1] For Mr. Michael Fraser's career, see *A Famous Minister of Daviot*, Transactions of Gaelic Society of Inverness, vol. xii.

and married, as aforsaid, Elison Fraser, daughter to James Fraser in Thain, who boar to him 24 children, of whose names and setlement we shall have occasion to treat again. Alexander his 2 sone, John, married Anna Gordon, and lived still with Earl John of Sutherland, and then came to the Aird, and married Mary Fraser, daughter to Kilboky,[1] with quhom no issue. Alexander his 3 sone, Alexander, traveled over to France, and died abroad. Alexander his two daughters Janet married John Murray off Vppet in Sutherland, and his daughter Anna, who married John Sinclar, and lived with Alexander Gordon, Earl of Sutherland, all their dayes.

James Fraser of Phopachy his 2 sone, Thomas, married Janet Fraser, daughter to Mr. William Fraser, minister at Kiltarlity, and lived in Inshbery, had a numerous issue, and died there, *anno* 1664. James Fraser his 3 sone, Hugh, was a sea captain in France, never married, never returnd home. James Fraser his 4 sone, Alexander, died a child. His 5 sone, Alexander, married Mary Fraser, daughter to Donald Fraser, Leies, with whom he had issue, and both lived and dyed at Inverness. James Fraser of Phopachies 6 sone, John, was a Dutch captain, and died in Arlena in East Indies. James Fraser his 7 sone James, a most statly yowth, served Lord Lovat, and died at Lovat, *anno* 1644. James his 8 sone, Abraham, died at the birth, and his mother, Elisabeth, died of him, *anno* 1632. James Fraser of Phopachys eldest daughter, Anna, was married to Mr. John Houstoun, minister at Kirkhill, Margaret married to Alexander Fraser, Foines, Isabel married to James Cuming in Inverness. 6. Doncan Fraser, a strong, vigorous, witty man but no good man, 1. married Janet Irving, relickt and widow of Andrew Juner, of Monlochy, with whom he had 4 sones and 2 daughters. His eldest son, John, dyed a youth, his 2 sone William, being heir, married * Janet Rosse daughter of Hugh Rosse in Fern. His 3 sone, James, lived in Channory, and married Anna Williamson, whose ofspring is there successively yet. His 4 sone, Alexander, a stout souldiour, went abroad to Germany. William of Monlochy, Doncan's eldest sone,

I have the last letter that John sent from Arlena in the East Indies 1644.

6 sone Doncan

*Agnes Mackulloch daughter to John M'kulloch off Park.

[1] Fraser of Guisachan and Culbokie.

lived there happily, and got that few confirmed by law, and had with Agnes M'kull 3 sones, William, Doncan, and Donald, two daughters, Janet and Isabell, both married with Vrqharts in Cromerty, and had issue but none of them extant. William his eldest sone married Anna Rosse, Invercharrans daughter, with whom he had William, Doncan, Andrew, and James, and one daughter, Anna, who married John Innes in Chanory. Doncan, 2 sone to William off Monlochy, a wicked, vicious, man, married Kate M'kenzie, daughter to Rory M'kvurchy, in Loggy, who drew up so with the Mackenzies that he betrayed his own brother, William of Monlochy, a well natured man, and supplanted the interest out off his hand, and Mr. Alexander Mackenzie of Cilcovy bought the right of Monlochy from William at a low rate.* But Doncan perisht and no memory or issue living of him. William of Monlochyes 2 sone, Andrew, lived still in Monlochy, married Anna Sinclar, and James, the youngest, was in Cromarties service, and went south with him and no account of him.

*killed in Chanory by fraud of [? John] Dow M'kenzie.

William Fraser, the 3d Monlochy, after he sould the right of that land to Kilcovy, came over to Lord Simon of Lovat, and wodseted the lands of Daltulich in Strathnarn, wher he lived, and had with Anna Ross two sones, Hugh, and Alexander who died in his youth, and 4 daughters. Hugh, his eldest sone, married Janat Innes, daughter to Culrossie, and lived in Daltulich; with her he had only one sone, and one daughter, Janet, who died a virgen, in Vrchart, with friends; his sone, this William, who now lives in Daltulich, and married J. Forrester, daughter to John Forrester of Cullinald, with whom he hath a numerous issue.

7 and last sone of Anna Wallace was Robert, who lived with the Abbot of Fern, as chamberlan, a very pretty, wise fellow. He married Janet Fyde, with whom Andrew, John William, and James, and two daughters, Anna and Janet. Andrew married Janet Sympson, and had the mills of Fern. He lived till the Reformation, and had a numerous ofspring spread there. John served the Earl of Cathness, and married there. John went to St. Andrews, and was educat there at schooles, a very learned man, never married. William turnd

7 sone Robert at Fearn.

John Fraser, Bishop of Ross, his death, 1507.

seaman in Cromerty, and James dyed young. Anna served the good goodwife of Miltoun, where she settled and married, and Janet dyed a maid. Andrew, Roberts eldest sone, had with Janet Sympson 4 sones, Robert, William, James, and Alexander, and two daughters, Isabell, and Janet. I saw myselfe sex brothers in Fern, Andrews grandchildren, and were called John Mackandrew, William Mackandrew, Robert Mackandrew, James M'kandrew, etc.; of those descended the M'krob Frishels which we have here very many, and are numerous at Invernes to this very day.

One John Fraser, a grandchild of Andrew forsaid, was a great mason, a sharp schollar, and exact historian; I had him here at Kirkhill master masson at the building of the wester gavell of our church, *anno* 1682; he gave me this account of his predecessors, but they are now decayed much.

John, Bishop off Ross, a famous man, off whom all the Frasers have much credit, he lived happily and dyed desired in his own Castle of Channory, the 78 yeare of his age, February 5, 1507. I found the exact account of his death in the Abbacy book of Fern: how much good he did, his charitable offices, the generall greefe and lamentation for his death; interred in my Lady Ross her chappel, and his statly tomb extant still on the north side of that church opposit to the great doore.

Janet Fraser, the only daughter of James Fraser of Fruidt, who came north with her mother, Anna Wallace, was married to Andrew Monro off Miltoun as aforsaid. She was both witty and virtuous, a most fortunat person, successfull in promoveing the good of that interest. The reverend old minister, Mr. William Fraser of Kiltarlity, told me that when he was a young schollar with his own eldest brother, Mr. John Fraser, parson of Roskin, and illtreated with his wife, M. Ross, that certanly he had starved but for the subsistance he had with Janet Fraser, Fruids daughter, Mistress of Miltoun, who would feed him with her own hands, and cheid him that he came not oftner to visit her; her food and rayment was his support. This reverend man told me also that in repareing of the church of Roskeen, Sir Paul Frasers bones were raised, and that he measured the thigh bone, which reacht from his

sole to the hench joint, such was the prodigious length of it, and the tradition run there among old men that when Sir Paul lived in Roskine his method of trying the teindlambs was by tying his 4 feet and throwing the lamb over the chappel, which if he could not reach then the lamb was current, and was receaved by the cook for Sir Pauls table, who kept an open house, and livd splendidly, more like a bishop then a mean chaplen, which the clergy of Ross found in their circular visitations, his hospitality was singular, his wit had no paralell, a gyant for strength. He guided the whole clergy of Ross, nay of the North, nor could the Bishop and Earles of Ross do anything without Sir Paul being the column or rather Atlas of the Church and State; kept peace and good order among the clans, and by his prudence prevented processes and suits of law, as well as feuds among nighboures; and the very Councel of Scotland would require his advice and concurrence to maters of their greatest concerns. Many strange things are reported of famous Sir Paul Fraser, which least my reader should deem fabulous or very rants I forbear to record. A modern gave him this epigram or eulogium :—

Per parvi sunt arma foris, stratagemmata parvi.
Sit nisi consilium Fraseriusque Domi.
Fraserius velut alter Atlas, divinitus ortus:
Hic humeris cœlum sustinet; ille stutum!

Ja. Broun.

* * * * *

[Here follow Scottish contemporary history and European contemporary events.]

We are now returned back to the kingdom and our native country, to treat in course of the Fraseres, and to begin where we closd and left of last, viz., at the death of Lord Hugh Fraser of Lovat, the 4 of that name and 8 Lord, who died at Lovat in the 74 year of his age, his eldest sone, Hugh, the Master, and 5 of that name, successively fell in the fatal field of Flodden, and Lord Thomas, the first of that name and 9 Lord Lovat, he was 40 yeares of age at his fathers death, and a good whil before was married to Janet Gordon, daughter to Sir Allexander Gordon of Achindoun, Master of Huntly,

The 9 Lord Lovat, *anno* 1500.

with whom he had 3 sones, Hugh the Master, William Teachars, and James of Foyness, and 3 daughters, Margret, Lady Macky, Isabell, who married Allan Mackdonell, Lord of Mudeart, and Janet, a saint devoted to S. Bridget: she dyed young. Of all those sones and daughters of Lord Thomas we shall treat afterwards at length, God willing. This Lord Thomas served heir and retoured to his father, at Inverness, April 1501, Earl of Huntly being judg competent at the time. This Lord Thomas repared the palace of Lovat round, inlarged the orchard, planted all the great elms, plaines, and ashes, which we have seen, and digged the famous draw-well in the midle of the court. But for the most part he lived at Beufort, for his divertisement and goodness of the aire. This Lord was very frugall, he added to his estate the barony of the Leyes, and Dalcross from Alexander Paterson, and the barrony of Kinmilies in feude from William Tulloch, Bishop of Orkney, translated to Murray 1488, but confirmed to him by Bishop Andrew Steward, *anno* 1507. This Lord Thomas lived sometimes at Kinmilys, and kept his courts at Tom ni Fyrich.[1] I saw a decreet of his court there, *anno* 1514, anent the regulation of victuall in its price, servants wages, cloath, shoes, cattle, timber, etc., and the town of Invernes moddeld their prices conforme, whither to gratefy the nobleman, or were glad to have such a powerfull patern to patronise them, *me sane latet.* This paper, and the acts of Lord Thomas his court at Kinmilies, I saw with Provost Finlay Fraser at Invernes, and one Andrew Patersone being his baliefe, and Pat Guthery being his clerk.

Jean Gordon, his lady, was short-lived; she dyed at Beufort, being but 9 yeares Lady Lovat, *anno* 1510, and was interred at Beuly. Lord Thomas was 3 yeares widower, and lived most at Kinmily, and in the intervall begot a sone *nothus* (*sed tamen notus*) named Hugh, *vulgariter* Huchen Bane, from his flaxen complexion. Of him came the Barrones of Moniak, or the famely of Rilick, which we shall meet with afterwards, and have occasion to describe this man's numerous ofspring here.

Anno 1514, the Lord Gordon, Grant, Murray, Sutherland, Rosse,

[1] Tomnahurich, near Inverness.

and Lord Lovat, with many mo of the nobility, were called south as privy councellors, and in a full assembly of the piers at Holyroodhouse, created a new regent John, Duke of Albany, who had arrived from beyond seas, and had a large revenue setled upon him. He was made Duke of Albany, Earl of March, and Regent till the King came to be of age. †At this time Lord Thomas of Lovat married Janet Gray, Lord Gray of Naimes daughter; and Andrew Foreman, Bishop of Murray, afterwards translated to Saint Andrewes, made this match. He had a great love for the Lord Lovat, his halfe cheefe, a Fraser being Bishop Andrewes mother, and after setling state affaires, the Bishop of Murray came north with my Lord Lovat and his lady, and delivered her as it were with a sanction in her own dwelling house.

Lord Thomas had issue with Janet Gray, viz. Robert, Andrew, and Thomas. Robert, the eldest, went south and by advice of his friends the Grayes he purchased the estate of Brakye, and also the interest of Kinell with Janet Gelly whom he married, and lived still there, and his ofspring. Andrew married Morella Grant, the Laird of Grants daughter; he was vulgarly called Mr. John, of him descended a numerous tribe, of whom in another place. And Thomas married Anna, daughter to Mackleud, of Harris. Of him [Mr. John] came *Shlichk ean vick Thomas.*[1] Lord Thomas had also two daughters, Janet, who went south with her brother Robert and married John Stuart, a relation of the Regent, a very gallant man, Isabel, the 2 daughter, still with her mother, nor would she ever be inclined to marry.

Lord Thomas his natural brother Hugh, after the slaughter of one Murray, escaped to France, where he remained in good credit and repute, is now setled at home in Foyer, under the name of Hutchen Franckach being 7 yeares abroad and well pollisht; possesses his portion naturall left him by his father

† [On the margin in another hand.] Relicke Family. There is a Bond of Provision to Robert and James and Andrew, Anna and Janet by Th[omas] Lord Lovat and Janet Grey his lady, dated Nov. 1511, so that he married her long befor 1514. The paper is in Lord Lovat's charter chest.

[1] The race of John, son of Thomas.

in Stratharick. But there arose some debeatable difference betuixt my Lord Lovat and him anent the lands off Dunturkett. Att length there was a submission drawn up with both their concents, and the persones named therein were John Mackenzie of Kintail, Alexander Chisholm of Commer, Master John Fraser, Rector of Dingwall. In this arbitration the oversmen were John Fraser, Bishop off Rosse, and Will. Sinclar, Constable of the Castle of Dingwall, the place of meeting Beuly, the date June 1505. Of this submission, and of Hugh Foyer and his ofspring, we shall treat in a more convenient place hereafter. But at this time George Dawson was prior of Beuly. A man of authority, ripe wit, and gravity, he was very active in the agreement betuixt Lord Thomas and his brother Hugh Franckach; and I find that Mr. John Fraser forsaid was prior of Beuly a short time in a vacancy, it seemes, *ad commendam*, and Prior Dawson succeeded him, a man whose hospitality was generally known, and most oblidging in educating gentlemens children in the pryorie, which then was the onely school in our north. There is a certain story runns upon this Prior Dawsin, who at a time falling sick of a flux, he sent for the Laird of Fowles, his mothers cheefe, shee being a Monro, and his design was to make a disposition to Fowles off the monastery lands of Bewly, for churchmen then could delapidat att their pleasur. The right of disposition was written, and subscribed, and delivered to Fowles, being present with the prior and many of his kindred, sharp gentlemen. One of their number, seing the paper delivered, made a desperat bitter satyr upon the Prior in Irish, wherein something of his good fellowship and drinking were touched, especially that ordinary farewell drink, a parting called Deoch i Dorrish, which, as it is said, Prior Dawson had invented.[1] The Prior desired to writ the satyr, and commended the sharpness of his mother kin the Monroes, for which, saith he, I will help some clause in my disposition to Fowles which will anger twenty. The paper being given him he teares it in pieces and casts all in the fire, saying, this is to learn yow to reflect upon and calumniat a church-

[1] The well-known *Deoch-an-Doruis*, the door drink.

man in your Irish Bithins, and take yow this for your paines. By this trick the Pryory off Beuly escaped the fingers of the Monroes.

It happened about this same time that by a shrud neglect a fire kendled in or about a nursery in Lovat, which was like to consume the whole court; indeed, there was great loss, but the worst was prevented at the first flash of the flamm. Rory M'kenzie, afterwards Farburn, Lord Thomas sister sone, with Kenneth Mackenzie, being in the house, a tall bare-headed boy, most curragiously though somequhat desperat tooke out a curious table, the charter chest, and other fine things, which he preserved from the flamms; a fatall furious fire. The first thing promised him by his uncle, Lord Thomas, was a new bonnet and shooes, but I think this his manly service was rewarded with better gifts and wages afterwards, and *merito*. Lord Thomas Frasar of Lovat lived long and happy, *fortunatus et pacificus*; he never had occasion to try his sword, but he was wont to say that his heart and hand were as good mettall if put to the touch; an excellent country man, a good instrument in Church and State. He kept his nighboures right, and they him, being the file of his fortunes; he kept intere and augmented what his ancestors left him: a wholsom, strong bodied, statly person. It is judged he died of a peripnewmonia, or inflamation of the lungs, in Beufort Castle, the 66 yeare of his age, 1526, and was interred at Beuly; and his eyes did not see the evils which God brought upon this place. 2 King 22. 20.

In the yeare of God 1516 Eyh Roy M'Kye of Strathnaver dying there, arose an intestin dissention in that country betuixt John M'kye, the sone of Eyh Roy and Neil-na-Werigh his fathers brother; John M'ky excluds his uncle, Neil, who was judged to be the rightious heir, and takes possession of Strathnaver. Neil, again alleadging that his nephews John and Donald were bastards, doth claim the lands as his proper heritage by blood, and makes his refuge of John, Earl off Cathness, of whom he obtaind a company of men, who were sent with Neiles 4 sones to invade Strathnaver, entering the country by force of armes, tooke possession, and secluds John Mackye, who, being unable to resist their

forces, retires himselfe to the Lord Lovat and Clanchattan to seeke aid and assistance, and leaves his brother, Donald Mackye, to defend the country as he might in his absence. My Lord Lovat, being now concernd in that country, wrot to the Earle of Cathness; tenders his mediation to take away differences betuixt so near relations before it came to the worse. Meanwhile, Donald, though weake, wanted not weales, but boldly in the night convocats a few resolut fellowes, a desperat attempt, and surprises his cousin germains in the dawning of the day at a place called Dail Reawich, and killed many of them, especially two sones of Neil ni Warich, with the most of his company, and scattered the rest, whereupon John Macky returnd home and tooke peaceable possession of Strathnaver. Afterward Neile na Werigh came in reverence, and willingly rendered himselfe to his nephews John and Donald, who clandestinly caused apprehend the said Neile, their uncle, and beheaded him in a place they call Claish ni Gap in Strathnaver, if a just, yet most inhumane act. This was the skirmish of Dail Reawich.

Lā Daile Rewich, the skirmish of Dallrevich, 1516.

In the year of God 1517 Adam Gordon, the first of that syrname Earl of Sutherland, married Elisabeth Sutherland, heretrix of that country, and, takeing journay the same yeare to Edinburgh, to setle his interest or selling his estate elswhere, leaves the government of the country in his absence to Alexander Sutherland, base brother to his lady Elisabeth, and to John Murray of Aberscorse. John Macky of Strathnaver, understanding the Earles expedition, haveing now settled and appeased his own civil discords at home, by the death of his uncle Neile, takes his occasion in the interim of the change of syrnames in Sutherland to trye if he could gain anything by ravage in that country, and so convocats all the forces of Strathnaver, Assin, and Edirachilis, with all that he could prevail with in the north and west Isles of Scotland, and invaids Sutherland, clandestinly but with great hostility. Upon the allarm all the country of Sutherland conveen from one end of the country to the other under the command of Allexander Sutherland, John Murray forsaid, and William Mackheamis Chattich, and they rancounter John Mackye and his forces at a place called Torrandow neare

Rogart in Strathfleet, where ensued a fierce and cruel conflict. In end the Sutherland men beat off and defeat John Mackyes vanguard, and forced them to retreat in his own breast back, where he stood in battle array. Uppon this John Macky selects out the flour off all his host, of a sudden with which he returns upon the enemy, leaving his brother Donald the conduct of the reer guards and to suply him as necessity required. Hereupon the battle begins again more fierce and forward than before, manfully fought on each side; in fine, after a long resistance, the Sutherland men carried the day, few of the Strathnaver men escaped, onely John Macky himselfe, and that very narrowly, escaped in life; Neil M'kean vick Anguis of Assin was their slain, with the most of his men, and 216 men of the prime of Strathnaver forces were lost in that feight, besids those that were killed in the chase, and a 100 of the Sutherland men fell upon the spott. The Strathnaver men, in reveing, rallied again at home, and immediatlie John Macky sent his two brothers, William and Donald, back with a company of stout, resolut fellowes to invade John Murray, Abirscorse, at unawarse, but he being awarr met them at a place called Loch Sallachy in Sutherland, and after a sharp skirmish both the chiftens of the Strathnaver men, William and Donald, were slaine, with diverse others of their trainband, and the rest shamfullie put to flight. Neither was this victory profitable nor pleasing to John Murray, having lost there his brother, John Roy Murray, and diverse pretty men besids. Thus continued the inhabitants of these countries infesting one another with incessant depredations pell mell, most desperatly, untill the year of God 1522, that Alexander Gordon, Earl Adams eldest sone, overcame John Macky at Lairg, and forced him to submit himselfe to Earl Adam his father, unto whom John Macky gave his band of manhood and service, dated June 20, 1522, and so continues good friends ever since. But the battles of Torrandow and Loch Sallachye are memorable and fatall to the Mackyes to this very day.

The batle of Torrandow and Sallach in Sutherland, 1517.

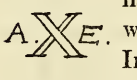
Anno 1522.

* * * * *

[Here follows account of affairs in Scotland and on the Continent.]

The 10 Lord Fraser of Lovat, 1524.

We now return in course to treat of the Frasers where we formerly finisht our genealogy. After Lord Thomas Fraser of Lovat his death his sone, Lord Hugh, succeeded who served heir to his father and was retowred in January *anno Christi* 1524. This spring he went to Glenelg, where he met with John Makleud of Haris, and Rory his sone, and, after clearing some difference, they convoyed him home to Lovat. This stirring great spirit, Lord Hugh, took a circular course over all the lordship, and was personally infeft in every plat of ground, having a noble convoy upon whom he spared no cost or expense; for Lord Thomas bought severall lands which till now were not possesst, and there is an old evidence extant quherin Walter Heleburton, Barron of Culbriny, wodsetted from William Forbes of Kinaldy two Struyes, Culgarany, Deames, Killwoddy, two Crochells, Commers, Ochterbrau, for 1417. 200 libs. *anno* 1417, which lands William Forbes redeemed, and sould them to Lord Thomas *anno* 1420. This Walters wife, Janet Shesholm, was infeft in those lands, and it is specified that this Walter Heleburton procured the superiority of the saids lands from Alexander Mackdonald of the Isles, Earl of Ross, and now Lord Hugh hath these lands confirmed under the great seal; and I find Lord Thomas in an old manuscript specified *Andreas nunc etiam de Lovat*, which name he received in confirmation from Columba Dunbar, Bishop of Murray, and wore still St. Andrewes Cross, which I have seen in the manuscript *scriptum Bunchriviæ*, which book is now miscarried; the old Cumings at Inverness had it.



Lord Hugh was born at Lovat in March 1489. His name in confirmation given him by Henry Sinclar, Bishop of Rosse, was Mourice, for the good Lady Lovat Janet G., his mother, being bigg of him, dreamed that St. Mauritius awoke her one morning and told her that she had a sone in her womb who would prove famous, and a man of singular manhood and authority. This aparition assaulted her again and again, which occasioned this name to Lord Hugh in his confirmation, which by their principles in those dayes was a sacrament and of solemn account amongst them. This Lord Hugh married Kathrin Grant, the Laird of Grants daughter, being

then a pretty young widow, relickt of John Heliburtoun, Laird of Pitcurr. With her he had one daughter, Isabel, who died young, and one sone, Simon, the master, who was bred in France. This lady lived but short, and for divertisement my Lord Lovat her husband lived in Abertarf, being a great hunter and a man of the field, lovd sport, and tooke pleasur to train his men exactly at sword and bow, the onely arms then in use; by which he was a terrour to his bad ravaging nighboures, and by the fatall consequence he got imploy for his men in the battle of Lochy, as we shall show hereafter. His lady, Kathrin Grant, turnd hectick, and dyed in Ellanwirrich, and was interred in Beuly Abby.

The cheefe robber of those times was one Mack Robert Straun, who committed most of his outrages in Atholl and Badenoch, and threatned the north as haveing his relations among our Highlanders. King James 5 sent a commission of Lieutenantry to Hugh, Lord Lovat, who immediatly sent a herauld among the Mackdonals and Camerons, inhibiting any sturr or insurection amongst them under pain of rebellion, and his takeing possession of their countries in the King's name; this quelld them to purpose. This Straun aforsaid had 800 men and sometimes more under his command, so that all the kingdom was affraid of him. At length, being lodging secure at his uncle John Crichtouns house, upon Tay, he was apprehended, and publickly put to death at St. Johnston, and his men dispersed; severalls of them apprehended here and execut at Inverness, which occasioned great peace in the north, so that the Lord Lovat managed his place of Lieutenant very well. Lord Hugh next marryed Janet Ross, daughter of Walter Ross of Balnigown, and with her he had 3 sones, Alexander, William, and Hugh, and two daughters, Marjory who dyed in her virginity, devouted as is found to St. Mary; and Agnes, who married Mackleud, 1541, whose daughter, Anna, was married to Achinbreak. This Agnes, after Mackleuds death, married Jo. Bain of Tulloch, so that of this vertous gallant woman came M'kleuds, Cambels, and Baines; she built this stone house of Tulloch, as her name uppon the chimnay with the date declares. Of this Lady Lovat and her sones, Alexander, William, and

Hugh, we shall have occasion to treat at length in a more fit place hereafter, and here I will transcrib the double of that contract which was betuixt Lord Lovat and M'kleud, *verbatim*, the principle paper comming to my hand, becaus men may be curious to know the stile of those times:—

Anno 1541. [1540?]

Double Contract of Marriage betuixt Alexander M'kleud and Agnes Fraser.

At the Lovat the xiij day of April the year of God an thousand five hundered forty yeares it is appointed staited and finally agreed betuixt an noble lord Hugh Lord Fraser of Lovet and taking burden uppon him of Agnes Fraser his daughter on that one part and Allister M'kleod of Dounveagan as takeing the burden upon him of William Mackleod his eldest sone and appeirand air on the other part in manner, form and effect as after followes; that is to say, the said William Mackleod appearand of Donveagan shall, God willing, marry and take to his wife the said Agnes Fraser and shall celebrat the hail band of matrimony with her in face of Haly Kirk betuixt the day and date hereof and the last day of July next to come but any furder delay, fraud and guil, and the said Alexander M'kleod of Dounveagan bind and oblishes him and his aires to duly and sufficiently to infeft vest and cease the said Agnes Fraser now in her virginity in all and hail his thratty penny land of Midganics lyand within the Isle of Sky and shirrefdom off Inverness to be brooked by the said Agnes all the dayes of her lifetime as conjunct fee. For the which marriage swa to be performed the said Hugh Lord Fraser of Lovat binds and oblishes him his aires and assigneyes to renounce all jure title of right and property and possession that he has, had, or may have to the hail lands and barrony of Glenelg with the hail warbs grasins and pertinents thereof lyand within the shirrefdom of Invernes, in our sovereign lord his hands in favour of the said William M'kleod and Agnes Fraser now his futur spouse, to be brooked, possest, set, used and dispond be the said William M'kleod appearand of Dounveagan and Agnes Fraser his futur spouse the longest liver of them twa and the heires meal lawfully to be begotten betuixt him and the said Agnes Fraser off our sovereign

Haldon [?]

lord, even as the same is now halden be the said Hugh Lord Fraser of Lovat, and that betuixt the day and date hereof and the first day of July next. Providing alwayes, as God forbid it shall happen, the said William nocht to have eires meale betuixt him and the said Agnes in that case the haill rights of the said lands and barrony of Glenelg to return to the said Hugh Lord Fraser of Lovat his eires again as well as give the present contract had never been made or granted. And baith the said parties bind and oblish them to . . . and abid hereat firm and stable under the pain of four thousand mark usual mony of this realm, and in case this contract be not sufficient they are both content and consents that the samen shall be amplified be men of leaw in the most ample form that can be devised keepand still the substantiall heads abovewritten. In witness whereof baith the said parties have subscribed thir presents as followes day, year and place foresaid before thir witnesses William Fraser of Gusachan, John Schiesholm of Commer, Allan Mackintosh, Ranaild MackAllan vick Rory of Mudort, Hugh Fraser of Foyr. William Mackleod of Dounveaggan with my hand. Agnes Fraser wt. my hand. Hugh Fraser of Lovat with my hand. Alister M'kleod of Dounveagan with my hand lead by a notar underwritten becaus I could naucht writ my selfe. Ita est Jacobus Hay notarius publicus mandato dicti scribere nescien. teste manu propria.

This Lord Hugh fortified the pallace walls of Lovat, caused make up the pendant portcullies, and the great oaken gate and wickat, with locks and barrs, firm, famous work, which I saw intyre *anno* 1650 and 1660, till taken away afterwards by violent hands, which truely proved fatal and ominous to the owners. He surrounded the great wide green with a rampart earthen wall, and planted it with aspin trees, which we have seen till destroyed, the vestige yet extant, to be seen from the rode to the great gate and intended an avenue by cutting the Brea streight line to the gate, but prevented by death. He repaired St. Laurence Chappell in the east corner of the palace which was ruined by the burning in Lord Thomas time, all that is extant of it now is the east window, closd up in time of the warre. He setled Cross faire in Beuly, which

Lord Thomas had tabled and purchased act of Parliament in favoures of the Monkes there for a Wednesday market also. As for the old faires of his country they were beyond debat of an ancient date, such as Coans fair in Convents, S. Mauritius in Dounbachlach, All Saints faire in Kilmorack, and Michaelmas faire in Beuly, all which markets he usually did ride with a noble train at their proclamation. He once had 3 lords and 6 barrons with him at the rideing of a faire in Beuly, with all their retinue, a very fair sight.

. . . Gordon, . . . Earl of Sutherland.

In the year of Christ 1542 Adam, Earl of Sutherland, dyed, and left his grandchild, John, very young to succeed him; and Donald Macky of Strathnaver at that time haveing succeeded his brother, John, pretending some dissobligements done him by the Sutherland men, takes occasion in this childs minorety, with a considerable force to invade the country, and, comming to a village called Knockartol, burnt the same and carried away a considerable spreath and prey of goods with him out of Strath Brorah. Sir Hug Kennedy of Griffin, haveing married the dowager, John, Earl of Sutherlands mother, after the death of Alexander the Master his father, happened at the time in the country, and being advertised of Mackyes comming and carriage, advised with Hutchen Murray of Aberscorse, Gilbert Gordon of Gorty, and Allexander Fraser off Golspy, what was best to be done. They being resolut men advised him to persue the enemy, and haveing gathered a company of right hardy fellows together, overtooke Macky unawares at a place called Altan-Beh, where they surprise him of a sudden, haveing passed by his spies unseen. And after a hot and sharp skirmish the Strathnaver men fled, very many killed, and most of the booty recovered; and in the persuit John M'Kean vick Anguis, one of the Mackyes chiftens, was slain, and diverse gentlemen withall. Meanwhile, Donald Macky, haveing a party of his men lying in ambuish, and playing the part of a good souldier in the flight, recurred upon the Sutherland men, and with his own hand killed one William Sutherland, who most eagerly persued him in the chase, and wounded Alexander Fraser, who brake Mackyes sourd, fighting hand to hand, and worsted him withall, giving him a desperat cut in the head. He is taken of, and the Strath-

The battle of Altan-Beh, 1542.

naver men give way and retreates. The Sutherland men retire, haveing got their design wrought though with considerable losse. Thus the inhabitants of these two countries, Sutherland and Strathnaver, in regard of Earl Johns minority, did continually vex one another, untill, in end, by the speciall command and authority of Queen Mary of Lorrein, then Regent and governess, Donald Macky was apprehended and imprisoned in the Castle of Fowles in Rosse, where he continued a considerable time in captivity, in end turnd peaceable, and, by the Monroes kindness and civility to him, there is to this day a linked correspondance tuixt Monros and M'Kyes.

Mathew, Earle of Lenox, come out of France 1543.

After the death of King James, *anno* 1543, the affaires of the kingdom being cloudy, James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, is chosen regent, and the same yeare the Earl of Lenox came out of France of design to ballance the Hamiltons, and makes up a strong faction with the Douglasses against the Regent, who, along with the power of the Quene Dowager, Mary of Lorrain, Cardinal Beaton, and the power of the French turnd, and King Henry of England upon this rupture enters Scotland with an army; the Regent and Councell were in a feare that such a leading man as the Earl off Argile would join the Highlanders and Islanders, who would make a strong party and stand neuters or join with either. Uppon this an order is sent to Lord Hugh Fraser of Lovat, as lieutenant of the north, to raise forces, and letters of concurrance sent him to call Gordons, Forbeses, Mackintoshes, Camrons, Stuarts of Appin, and other clans to rise in arms and make a strong body in a centricall place to prove their joining. George Gordon, Earle of Huntly, is highly incensed at this, that any should be employed but himselfe in such an undertaking and honorable expedition, being Kock off the North; and thereupon contrived all the malicious methods imaginable against Lovat, who was very indifferent of all the fead or favour of such a changable man as Huntly, and so proceeds in his project by aid of the Regent and Councel, raises forces, marches to the hills to accommodat the . . . and bring the Highlanders to subjection, by force or fair meanes to compose it betuixt them. Lord Hugh did it so prudently and providently,

having written to Argil previouse to his . . . that he might advert to his own concern and prevent hazard, to which he wisely yelds and agrees, so that Huntly saw himselfe both affronted and ecclipsed in the conduct of Lovat, and therefore most basely in a clandestin way instigats the Mackranald against, and to lye in ambuish against [his] return from the West Seas, when all the other clans would desert him and so wast their . . . . . cut him off with his men, as by the event and consequence apeares . . . . . story commences, as I shall hold out afterwards.

Lord Lovats host, June 1544.

In June 1544 My Lord Lovat convocated his host much about 400 valiant and resolut men, and the most of these the floure of the gentry of his own name; his sone, Simon the Master, having come home from France but the year befor, him he left at home, enjoining him the care of the country, and diverting himselfe in hunting and other recreationes, and himselfe marches forward through Urqchart and Glenmorison into Abertarfe, and legured at Cilchuimmen, [now Fort Augustus] where he tristed with the other clannes, the Grants, Mackintoshes, and others, some of which were incamped there before him. When all were conveened they march in a considerable body through Abertarf, Glengary, into Lochaber unto the West Sea; and at Inverlochy Argil and other chiftens meet with the Lord Lovat, to whom he tenders his advice, and sets down rules for their peaceable deportment, and accommodats the mater so that he left impressions of respect and great esteem in their hearts afterward to him and his famely. After some stay and perambulation of those bounds the forces return, and by the way they surmises of a convocation and muster of the Mackranalds, as was thought to wait upon my Lord Lovat, who entered his nephew, Ranald Mackdonel, into the peaceable possession of Mudard, being the true heir male of that estates. This, among other gums and picks harboured against the Lord Lovat, exasperated the Mackdonalds further, which brought them together in a body marching another way to obviat Lovat, who, whil on his march the very way he came at Lettirfinlay, the Laird of Grant, his brother-in-law, Mackintosh, and others advised

him to divert another way, to dissapoint these miscreants, or, if he went forward the streight way home, they would convoy him in to his own country. This kindly motion and offer might be intertaned, but James Fraser of Foynes, a head-strong man, disswaded his chiefe from that, saying that it would be deemd cowardis in the Lord Lovat to seeke a convoy, and that they were party strong enough for all that could contradict them in the rod. Upon this all the chiftens and clans take leave of my Lord Lovat, and so they part. His way was directly down the south side of Loch Lochy, and halfe way he sent off one Bean Clerach, with a hundered bowmen, to guard a passe, and if need were to assist him if he mett with danger, and strive to be within sight of him. Bean Clerk goes on, and, mistakeing his direction, keept out of sight beyond Drumglach most inadvertantly, so that he was off no use to the host. At Laggan Achildrom, near the end of Loch Lochy, they espy the Mackranalds marching down the north side of the loch a body off 7 banners, which could not be under 5 or 600 men, and Lord Hugh had but 300 of a convoy, but prime and proof, yet, as the old proverb is, More then Master mawes the meadow. Their opposits were more in number, malicious and desperat. Lord Lovat sets a councel off warr, heares masse ftom Sir Robert S . . . his own table chaplein and priest, takes their refreshment, and Lord Hugh gives them a short incurraging harrang to this purpose. Yow are my guard de core, whom I have chosen out of many to accompany me in this honorable expedition for my sovereigns service; yow are most of yow my flesh and blood, the ofspring of the heroes of their time; have regard to the honor of your noble ancestors of whom yow are descended, some of which signall emblemes of Scotlands pristin gallantry. The severall branches of our ancient famely, as they have distinguished themselves by their own illustrious merits, so they often made a figure suitable to that great name. Time is too short, and the designed compasse of this my narrative too narrow, to speake of each off them in particular; methinks I view them all before me when I see yow about me a litle handfull to fight and graple with yonder formidable crew. They are but rebels, yow are loyall subjects, free leages. I goe on before

Lord Lovats harang to his soldiers.

yow as Cæsar *eamus n. . ite.* I will hazard my life with and for yow, and had rather chuse a noble death than survive a disaster and enjoy my life, tho opulent and secure, after the admission of so foul a fact as a base retreat. Yow, my friends and fellow soldiers, consider what we must do. We are under the repute off stout resolut men and of known vallour, carrying our lives and fortunes upon our swords points. Let us then act like men, fall on, and referr the event to Almighty God, for the battle is the Lords, who can save with few as well as many.

The cruell battle of Lochy, July 1544.

As he closed his discourse, the enemy was upon them at the very end of Loch Lochy, and there, upon the plain, followed a hott ingagement, fought more like lyons than men, with slashes and stroakes, their armes two handed swords and Dence axes, front to front, forceing upon each other, so fierce and forward that they seemed to fell one another like trees falling in a wood, cutting and consumeing down each other till some roome at last was made by the heuches on each side, and then true currage, strength, and vallour was known; such as boar armour, head pieces and coats of meale knockt down their opposits without resistance lik tender tuiggs of shrubs, till at last they came to closs combating, and, fighting hand to fist, that hardly was any found without his mate and marrow to encounter him; many seen to fall, non found to flye; all fight for victory, and yet uncertain for a long time. One passage I must not omit, that the Master of Lovat, Simon, being left at home to look to the country, hunting one day in the forrest of Corricharby, and bringing home aboundance of venison to Lovat, the Lady Janet Ross, his stepmother, bitterly reflected upon him thuartly, telling him that the old men were fighting in the fields and young men loitering at home with their wives. This bitter sarcasme so darted his heart that he instantlie got off with halfe a score off pretty men, resolving to find out his father or fall by the way; so that by Providence he happened to enter the field in the afternoon about the hottest of the battle, and, though the sight of him dampt and dispirited his father Lovat, yet he acted the man so that each of his ten men was worth ten men, and fought afresh to the uttermost. At length, in their heat

and fury two and [two] runn into the Loch, grapling and, lik wrestlers, sticked on another with their durks, many, nay, most fought in their shirts, running at each other like mastives; till in end all fought in bloud and goare, few or non escaping to carry newes home. Remarkable that my Lord Lovat fought so cruelly with his own hands, hammering down all that came in his way, that he was named by his enemies Cruoy Choskir,[1] a hardy cutter; and, when he fell dead in the field, it animated the few that survived of the Mackrannalds, crying with joy *huit Cruoy Choskir*, *huit Cruoy Choskir*,[2] and as they cried they were killed; nay, such as were thought to ly dead among the slain, their swords lying by them, when they saw an enemy pass they made a shift to catch the sword and cut off legg or limb, so eager they were for the mastery. This was the most unparallelled batle that story records; I never read, never heard, of such another. It was called Blair Lochy becaus at and in that Loch they fought so that the stream from the lake run blood for many dayes; it was also called Blare Lēin becaus they fought in their shirts. Here famous Hugh Lord Lovat fell dead, and his hopefull sone and heir, Simon, a youth of such expectation as I cannot sufficiently commend. As King David lamented for Saul and Jonathan (2 Sam. i. . . .) the beuty of Israel is slain upon thy high places, how are the mighty fallen. Tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the streetes of Askelon, lest the daughters of the Philistins and uncircumcised rejoice and triumph. Yow mountaines of Gilboa, let there be no dew, neither let there be rain upon yow, nor fields off offering, for there the shield of the mighty is vilely cast away. From the blood of the slain, from the fat of the mighty, the bow of Hugh turned not back, and the sword of Simon returned not not back, and the sword of both not empty. Hugh and Simon were pleasant in their lives and in their death they were not divided. They were swifter than eagles, they were stronger than lyones. Yow daughters of Israel weep over Saul who cloathed yow with scarlet, with other delights and

2 Sam i. . . .

18.

19.

20.

2 Sam. i.

23.

24.

[1] *Cruaidh Chasgair*, or *Chosgair*, 'the hard slayer.'

[2] The hard slayer has fallen.

26, ornaments, the beuty of our Israel is slain upon the high places, the mighty are fallen in the midest of the battle. O Jonathan, thou wast slain upon thy high places, I am distressed for yow, very pleasant were ye, your love wonderfull to your kindred etc. Many things made this batle rare and singular. 1 two to one of the Mackranald fell, if not 3 to one of the Frasers. 2 they can hardly tell whey they set ambuish for my Lord Lovat returning home peaceably after an honorable exploit, except malice and emulation, and to fix a polisht youth among them his own sister sone, Ranald Gald. 3 it is thought that but one of an hundered escaped on either sides; of the Frasers onely 4 came alive out of the field, of which Hugh M'kwilliam, Foyer, of whom in another place. 5 of the Frasers 80 gentlemen fell, each of whose wives was left big at home, and at their delivery each and indivadual woman brought forth a sone, and every one lived to be a man. 6 the Master of Lovat came in last into the field and first slain, which put his father into such a fury and rage that he soon revenged his death with many a mans death. The Mackdonels deliberated their preparation, and chuse the floure of their numerous clan to fight this battle, and lost it both in credit, conduct, and slaughter, which made them often say they fought with gentlemen that did not design to fight but to take their recreation and divertisment, and were surprised on their journey at unawars, yet the Mackranalds commended their vallour in their Bithnies, *Cha bo clan Timmi vand, ach Chlan Scoltig ni Ceand*, they were not soft hearted and curtious, but the cleavers of heads and skulls to cutt.[1] The Frasers got all their prime gentlemens corps out of the field, without any to resist them, in token that they had the mastery, and Andrew Roy Frasers of Kirkhill his corps was taken out of the field in a mistake for Lovats corps. But afterwards they found my Lords corps and brought it to Beuly to burial, also the masters corps, and Ranald of Mudart, who died with his uncle. The chiftens who fell in Lochy field we shall describ afterward in their own due place.

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[1] *Cha bu chlann tiamhaidh bh' unnd, ach clann sholtadh nan ceann*, they were not a spiritless clan, but a cleaving-of-heads clan.

g/ Clan Timmi = (a spiritless clan), a pun on Clan Simmi (Simon's clan)

Let us now finaly find out what the Scots history record of this battle, and of the Frasers who fought it. *Circa hæ tempora fraude ut creditur Georgii Gordoni Comitis Huntilei certamen commissum est in quo tota fere Fraseriorum familia est extincta. Erat inter eos et Reginaldines; vetus odium. Sæpe multis utriusque partis cladibus nobilitatum: et Huntilæus occulta indignatione æstuabat quod inter vicinas Geniei, soli ab ejus clientela abhorrebant, nam cum vicini insulam adversus Comitem Argatheliæ quicquid virium poterant cogerent, nemo fere in illo terrarum tractu fuit qui non in alterius castris futurus esset sed re sine certamine composita inter redeundum cum diverso itinere ab eo separati reverterentur. Reginaldini admoniti cunctis popularibus collectis atrocissimo prælio eos adoriuntur. Fraserii pauciores a pluribus victi atque ad unum cæsi. Ita gens numerosissimo et sæpe de re Scotica bene merita tota interierat, nisi Divino (ut credi par est) consilio ex familiæ principibus octoginta domi reliquissent gravidas uxores quæ suo quæque tempore mares pepererant singulos qui omnes incolumes ad virilem pervenerunt ætatem.* Buchanan. lib. 18. p. 548.

About this time, by the fraud, as its thought, of George Gordon, Earl of Huntly, a contention arose, in which almost all the famelies of the Frasers were extinguished. There was betuixt them and the Mackranalds an old grudge which had been often manifested, to the losse of both parties. And Huntly was inwardly filled with indignation that they alone of all the nighbouring famelies refused to come under his clanship, for when the nighbour Islanders gathered together what strength they could against the Earl of Argile, there was hardly any man in all that tract of the country but boare arms in one side or other. But the mater being composed without blowes, as they were returning severed from him another way. The Mackranald, haveing notice of it, got their clanship together, and set upon them most furiously; the Frasers, being fewer in number, were overcome and all slain to a man. And thus that numerous famely, which had so well deserved off their country, had been wholly extinguished, unless by Gods good providence (as we have reason to beleeve) 80 of the cheefe off the famely had left their wives at home great with child, all of which in due time brought forth male children, and they

all lived to mans estate. This bloody batle fought 15 July 1544.

The character of Hugh, Lord Fraser of Lovat.

This great and good man, Lord Hugh Fraser of Lovat, is now off the stage, gathered to his fathers in the 55 yeare of his age, his worth and vertues truely such that he was very much lamented even by his very enemies, for, besids the splendor of his ancestry, and the statliness, bravery, and comliness of his personage, he was master of a great deal of wit and singular prudence, providence, and provesse in very troublesom times. His authority and conduct in his great trust reacht farr, his intelligence farr and neare wonderfull, non could surprise his country without an allarum; he could read men as bookes, could not abid baseness; had a great esteem for men of integrity and spirit, though never so mean, being himselfe a man of undoubted vallour and currage.

* * * * *

Thus the noble famely of the Frasers is almost quit extinguished by this fatal fight and bloudy batle, in which so many heroes and heads of famelies fell, the sone and heir of Lovat, hopefull Simon, slain with his father, the next heir, Alexander, now Lord, born *anno* 1527, but 17 yeares of age at his fathers death; William the 2., born *anno* 1537, is now about 7 yeares of age, and Hugh, the youngest, entering now in 5 yeares. The management of them and the estate left to widow, weake but wise. Of this Lady Janet Rosse and her sones their affaires and conduct we shall treat afterwards in a more convenient place.

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[Here follow a comparison of the Frasers with the Fabians, and an account of affairs in Scotland and on the Continent.]

The 11 Lord Fraser of Lovat, *anno* 1544.

We are now come nearer home, and in course will treat of the Frasers, begining where we ended our genealogy. After the death of famous Lord Hugh, who dyed in the bloudy batle of Lochy, his sone, Lord Alexander, being 17 yeares of age, succeeded. Whatever need there was of a tutor non is extant to officiat, being all cut off in the battle. His mother, Janet Rosse, now Lady Dowager of Lovat, an active woman, undertakes the management of the estate, which she did

well and wisely, as by the event will be found. Lord Alexander, by advice of his factors, served heir to his father, October 9, 1547, in the 20 yeare of his age. This was a religious, pious youth. Robert Reed, Bishop of Orkney, was his great patron and tutor, they being related; the Bishops mother being Rosse, and was commendatory off Kinlosse and Beuly, and tooke the whole guiding of Lord Alexander, and owed all his education to the good bishop, having him still with him the yeare before his entry and service. The Bishop confirmed him, assuming the name Robert for his love to that good and great man, his ghostly father. *Anno* 1550, the Bishop built the great house of Beuly, and the New Work at Kinloss called the Queenes Lodging. His name and arms upon both, but no date. This Bishop had not his paralell amongst all churchmen for generosity and hospitality; he kept noblemens children with him for table and lodging, and, which was best, his conference and advice. The Lord Lovat, his brother William, Mackeny [of Kintail], Foules, Ballnigown, Cromarty, and the Shirref of Murray, were all with him at once. He had his barge or pleasur boat to transport him tuixt Beuly and Kinlosse, and those with him. It is reported of this great man that tuixt Kirkwall and Edinburgh in his journay he might lodge every night in his own mannur house. He cround his kindness to my Lord Lovat in makeing the match betuixt him and Jean Campbel, daughter to John Cambel, Thane of Calder. This John was Argyles 2 sone, and married Morella Calder heretrix, with whom he got that interest, and continues to this day in the Cambels possession. Lord Alexander had with this Jean, his lady, 3 sones and one daughter; his eldest sone, Hugh, afterwards Lord, 2 sone Thomas, afterwards Strachin [Strichen], 3 sone James, Ardachig [Ardachie, near Fort Augustus], and his daughter, Anna, who married John Fraser, Dalcros, *vulgariter* John More Mackvaister,[1] of whom we shall have occasion to treat afterwards in their proper places. In June 1555 the Queen Dowager, Mary of Lorrain, being regent, came in progress to Inverness to hold assises. Lord Alexander waited upon her with a considerable retinue;

[1] Big John, son of the Master.

she condold the sad fate of the Frasers in the field of Lochy, and would employ Lord Alexander against John Mudertach [John of Moydart], then an outlaw, to revenge his own quarrel, but the Bishop of Orknay, who introduced my Lord Lovat to the Queen, disuaded that, and so John Stuart, Earle of Athol, was imployed in that expedition. Janet Ross, Lady Dowager of Lovat, and her daughter in law, Jean Cambel, came in to attend the Queen. Shee much commended the civility and integrity of the people here, as equal to the polisht south. Lord Alexander convoyed the Queen with 200 men through Murray to the river of Spay, and would have him no further, giving him thanks and much commending his men.

I will set down here the extract of a considerable passage I coppied out of an old manuscript, thus:[1] The Queen Regent haveing gotten the government from the Earl of Arran, she made her progresse into the north, *anno* 1555, fixing at Inverness, whither she caused summone Igh Macky, the sone of Donald, to compeare before her in the castle of Invernes, his accusation being that he spoiled and mollested the country of Sutherland dureing Earl John his being in France with the Queen Regent. Macky refused to compeare, wherupon there was a commission granted to John, Earl of Sutherland, against him. Earl John instantly invaded Strathnaver in all hostile methods, and besieged the castle of Barv, the principle fort of that country, which he tooke by force and caused hang the captain over the wall, and demolishted the fort. Afterwards he so beset Igh Macky on all sides that he compelled him to rander himselfe captive, and the Earl delivered him to Sir Hugh Kennady, who convoyed him south and committed to ward in the castle of Edinburgh, quher he was kept a very considerable time. Whilst this Igh remaind in captivity his cosin german, John More Mackye, takes uppon him the government of Strathnaver, and, finding that John Sutherland, the Earl, was absent at south, invads Sutherland with a company of the stoutest fellowes he could command in Strathnaver. They burnt the chappel of St. Ninean in Navdell, where the inhabitants of the country, uppon this sudden tumult, had

[1] Probably Sir Robert Gordon's *Earls of Sutherland*, which our author follows pretty closely here and elsewhere, sometimes using Gordon's very words.

secured their best goods, and, having pillaged that part of the country, retired homewards. The inhabitants of Sutherlat convocats and persued them hott foot under the command and conduct of John Mackhowmish Chattich and James M'kwilliam, and overtakes the Strathnaver men at the foot of the hill called Bin-More in Berrydale, sets upon them neare the water of Garwarry, where happened a cruel conflickt betuixt them, fought with singular currage on both sids. The Strathnaver men were worsted and sexscore of them slain and drowned in Garwarry river, the rest escaped empty with life. That which made this fight so remarkeable, that the Earl of Sutherland was absent at south, and Igh Macky, their chiften, a prisoner. This is the last conflict that ever happened betuixt Sutherland and Strathnaver. The battle of Binmore.

Lord Allexander Fraser of Lovat was a bookish man, and his sedentary life did him prejudice, nor would he willingly travell abroad, but when great affaires oblidged him; he was universally related, universally beloved, and that brought a great resort to him, and the frequent visits of persones of quality proved very uneasy and troublesome to him, but indeed he being of a debonair, sweet, compliant temper, made him too often a slave to society, and his father in law, Sir John Campbel of Callder, was one of the finest gentlemen in the kingdom, nay one of the refinedest men of his time and age, and yet he was wont to say, my beloved Lovat exceeds me farr, for he is such an accomplisht person and receaves men with so singular a humanity and friendship that in all his deportment he gives proofe of a disposition worthy off his character and the bloud that runs in his veines. *Anno* 1557 they both undertooke a progress to the Highlands, went to Glenelg to see Lovats interest there, and kept severall dayes of hunting, tooke thence a voyage by sea to Iona or Ih Collimcill; and, having payed their vowes and devotion to that sacred place, returnd by sea again to Glenelg, thence to Abertarfe and through Stratharick. But Lord Alexander never recovered that journay; it bred a rhumatism in the masse of his bloud, and the subtile potint falling upon the lungs gave him an ashma and couch which in end terminated in a ptisis or consumption, and cast him in a totall decay.

We gave an account formerly of the conduct of that bloody batle of Lochy, and that Lord Hugh dispatcht one of his captaines, Bean Clerach, to another post separatly from his own host that day of the ingagement with the M'kranald, and that he was expected to fall in upon their reere, or at least to join batle at a set time with the Frasers, yet came not till the fight was finished and over, and this was judged cowardish connivance, or a treacherous correspondance with the enemy; but that there was nothing of that chargable upon him my Lord Lovat gave him a discharg of all his intromission in friendly terms, which he would never have done had he been guilty of any basenes. I have seen the originall authentick, and here I have set down an exact double of it verbatim:—Be it kend to all men by thir presents we Alexander Lord Fraser of Lovat to halfe discharged and quitclamed and be the tenor of thir presents discharges and quitclaimes my luifed friend and servantt Bean Clerk in Dulcraig [Dalchrag, Stratherrick] of all manner of dewities intrometted with or restand be him of the rents and dewities of Stratharick and Abertarfe such as male, marts, and tyen, and all other manner of dewities restand be him since the death of my fader (whom God asolze) who deceast the x5 day [of July] in the yeare of God one thousand five hundered forty four yeares, ay and to the Witsunday in the yeare of God one thousand five hundered fifty three yeares exclusive; And becaus I have tane compt and reckoning of the forsaid Bean fra the said xv of Ju[ly] to the forsaid Whitsunday in that year of God exclusive hailand me content and payed of the said Bean of all time before forsaid as said is and discharges him his eires, exequutors and assignayes for me my eires, exequutors and assignayes of all maner of duties, debts, or persoits that may follow by this my ticket in the sted of an obligation. Subscribed with my hand at the Lovat the xviiij day of this July the year of God an thousand fife hundered fiftye and seven yeares, before thir wittnesses, John Fraser Williamsone, John Ranaldsone, John Stewart, Sir William Dow, with oders diverse; and before the said witnesses has affixed my signet to thir presents—Lord Allexander Fraser of Lovat.

Lord Alexander sickned in September at Lovat wher he

delighted much to dwell, and wintered there, expecting with great impatience the season which overspreads the gardens with flowers, the fields with grasse, and crownes the trees with blossomes, and brings back the pretty birds who publish the joyfull newes of the springs approach, that being the time quhen he expected his health; but then another malady seased him as an addition, which was his melancholy for his dear patron, the Bishop of Orknay, who was sent over ambassador to France anent the marriage off Frances, the Dolphin, with other nobles of great qualety delegat with him, and our Queen Mary, now about 15 yeares of age, was a great match for him, and he aimed at the Crown of Scotland, also to be heir of it, and she was sent over to France, being a child, to her uncle, the Duke of Guyse, with whom she now is. Robert Reed, being one of the ecclesiasticall digneties in this embassy, and certainly the greatest and richest churchman in the kingdom, he made his legacy er he went off, leaving his brother Sir Walter Reed exequitor and factor to uplift his revenues in his absence. This Sir Walter Reed lived at Kinloss, and had built a house in Moortoun near the Abby. I remember to see it and his name Sir Walter Reed and Dame Margret Collosh in capitall letters upon the chaires cupboards and windowes off that house. Sir James Reed, his sone, lived there also in my time. My Lord Lovat bemoaned the want of his great friend, Bishop Reed, and would often say, Would God I had or were with thee, my dear father, Robert Reed, my patron, my patern, my priest, my bishop; he was all that he could desire to him, cast upon his care from his childhood, nor needed he miss a father whilst the good Bishop lived. Lord Alexander would often say, Alas, I will never see him, he will never return. No more he did, for he dyed in Diep, at his return; and Lovat survived him but a short while, for that summer by the direction of his doctor, Tolly Mullach,[1] James Beuton, he was transported to the Isle of Agis, to a milk dyet and for a frie aire,

S.
W. R.
D.
M. C.

[1] An t-ollamh Muileach, 'the Mull doctor.' The Beatons of Mull were noted physicians for generations. Members of the family settled as physicians in various parts of the Highlands including the Aird.

Lord Alexanders death, 1558.

where he died July 1558, in the 31 yeare of his age, being but 14 yeares Lord, and burried in Beuly.

This Lord left two widowes after him, a great burden upon the estate, his mother, Janet Rosse, and his own lady, Jean Campbell, and his brother, William Fraser of Struy, being now about 21 yeares of age. Alexander Stuart, Bishop of Murray, was his good friend and councellour, and also Henry Sinclar, Bishop of Rosse, two good men, but alas he wants his trusty true friend, Bishop Robert Reed, uppon quhom he might solely rely for councell and concurrance in the conduct and management of his present post and honorable employ, and might say of him as Joash the King of Israel said to Elish when he came down to see him, and weeping over him, O my father, my father, the horsemen off Israel and the chariotes thereof. *Currus et auriga Israelis videbat enim facile quid regno impenderet mali mortuo tanto et pio propheta;* so may it be said of Robert Reed for the good of this great famely in a turbulent time.

2 Kings 13. 14.

The Lady Dowager, Janet Ross, lived in Kirktown of Farnuay, with her children, quher Lord Alexander had built her a good lodging, and setled her there near the church of St. Corridon,[1] and father Thomson her priest and chaplain. As for Jean Campbel, Lord Alexanders widow, the tutor allowed her to live at Lovat with her court and retinue; her father, John Cambel off Kalder, could not neglect her setlement.

Anno 1559.

In the beginning of the next summer the tutor tooke a progresse to the Highlands through Stratharick and Abertarfe, and fixed chamerlanes, himselfe sitting as baliefe in the courts, he substitut John Fraser of Farlin baliefe in Stratharick. The two ladies, Janet Ross and Jeane Cambell, went up be boat upon Loch Ness a pleasant divertisement, and att Cilchuimmen [Fort Augustus] tristed with the tutor, quher he made provision and got accomodation for them. The Lady Dowager, Janet Ross, was curious to see Loch Lochy, quher Lord Hugh her husband was slain. The tutor convocated a considerable number off very pretty men and convoyed his mother the

[1] Curadan, or Kiritinus, of Rosemarkie, to whom many churches in the Highlands were dedicated.

Lady thither to view the fields thereabout, yet she was litle the better off that sight, as by the sequel will be evident. At their return back to Abertarfe the tutor left the ladies in the fort at Cillchuimmen, and went himselfe to Glenelg with about a 100 men of convoy, setled the interest there, and returnd back in a short time to Cilchuimmen quhair he left the ladies, and in his rode he got certain intelligence that Mackdonell had a design upon the young dowager of Lovat, Jean Cambell. She had other sutors besids, yet it was thought by probable conjectur that her affection led her to Donald Gorm of Slait, as afterward appeared. Meantime, the tutor and the ladyes returnd home to the Aird in September in health and peace. But an accident is reported to have happened there at their departure thence by water, the bell of Cillchuimenn, called the Buyen or Bouach,[1] is put aboord their boat to be carried over to Conventh or Corridon, whither at the ladyes desire or not who knowes, but it is certainly rumord that a cruel tempest arose and blew uppon the loch so as they could neither row nor saile, and lick to be sunk or set, one of the number desired to throw over the bell in the loch, and so a sudden calm enswes. Whither they turnd back with the bell to set it ashore quher they found it, or if it was cast in the loch, I got no certanty, or whither the lady desired to put it in the loch, I'm as uncertain, but it is a tradition that ever since the water (or as the vulgar calls it) the wine of Loch Ness is medicinall, and beasts carried to it or the water of the lake brought to beasts to drink, which I have often seen, and asked the reason, which was told me as aforsaid.

Whilst these ladyes came down be water, with their retinue, the tutor came be land in circuit courts to the farr end of Stratharick, Leyes, Dalcross, Inverness, Kinmilies, and so home again to Beuly, where he had left young Lord Hugh, his brother sone, with the monks, who had taught him his catechism, as well as his constructions and grammar, nor would they churl him any thing that might accomplish him in his learning and education, as they did to many mo besids.

The next year, 1560, Jean Cambel, late Lady Dowager of

[1] Am Buadhach, 'the victorious, or full of virtue.'

Lovat, with concent of her father and brother, Lairds off Calder, was marryed to Donald Gorm Mackdonel of Slait, a very pretty, well-bred gentleman, and the tutor of Lovat did wisely in buying off the jointer, and giving a piece of mony as so many yeares purchase, as the contracts and discharge declare, at Beuly written be John Barklaius, a Benedictan monk there. All these papers I saw in the Laird off Strachins charter chest, who was concerned to keep these and many of that sort, too tedious here to be insert or recorded, for my volume and genealogy swells allready, and is too bigg.

Anno 1561, William Fraser off Struy, tutor off Lovat, was married to Janet Grant, the Laird of Grants daughter, a woman of grace and good parts. How long she lived with him, and what issue and ofspring came of her, we sall afterwards shew in the particular genealogy of the house of Struy.

Anno 1562. In May, *anno* 1562, Queen Mary, in her progress and expedition north, came the length of Invernes, where the civil, respective clans about waited uppon her. What trouble and hazard she met with there by meanes of the rebellious, disloyall Gordons I formerly gave account off particularly. The tutor of Lovat, William, came in to Inverness with 400 men to wait upon the Queens service, and they were truely prime, expert men, most of them gentlemens children, the flour of the clan. Yong Lord Hugh of Lovat, Cornel by birth, and now about 17 yeares off age, came in upon their head, which was his first publick compearance upon the stage. The Queen was much taken with that muster, and the young Lord was not a litle vain of his ensign displaied before his sovereign and her court of nobility, some of which had never seen so many Highlanders mustered randivouz, which gave them a singular satisfaction and show. Severall ladyes came in to Inverness to see the Queen, the old and now onely dowager of Lovat and the tutors lady waited upon her Majesty, also the old lady told the Queen that her Majesty was the 2. now she had seen and attended upon the place, her mother and herselfe also, the one Queen Mother and Regent of Scotland, the other Regent and heir of the same. The next day her Majesty removed back again from Inverness throwgh Murray, with her royall train of Highlanders. The Lord Lovat, with his host, con-

voyed the Queen to the banks of Spey: she thanked her loyall subjects heartily and told the Tutor of Lovat that she would be content to employ his men in her expedition against the Gordons to revenge his father bloud and great loss in Lochyfield by the fraud of George, now in arms against her person, but loath to give occasion off kindling a new quarrell betuixt these two clans, rather wisht them peace, but perhaps shortly they would hear newes off their enemies fall which were the instruments of the Frasers fall before. And it is worthy our observe, and a singular Providence it is, that the same very day 18 yeares on which Lochyfield was fought, quher Lord Hugh Fraser of Lovat was slain and his kindred, old Georg Gordon off Huntly, was basely and unworthily slain in Corrichie feight by James, Earl of Murray, Regent, his forces, and this to add, that the Frasers fought for, the Gordons against their sovereign. This short account, which is here set down of the Queens expedition north with all the contingencies and concomitants I saw in an old manuscript amongst Struyes papers, whence I excerpted this paragraph, and moreover the mony which William Fraser, the Tutor off Lovat, spent in this journay was borrowed from one Patrick Guthry, burges of Invernes, the authentick bond of 200 marks retired I saw and read!

The next spring after, George, Earl of Huntly, was killed in the batle of Craigchonachan, his sone John execut at Aberdeen; maters were now setled at Court, the Queens marriage with Prince Henry of Darly, Duke of Lenox his sone, broacht and going on. Young Lord Hugh of Lovat designs to goe south and take a view of the Court for his further accomplishment, encurraged thereto by the Bishop of Murray, Patrick Hepburn, an ambitious man and politick, who was labouring to make a party in the North for his brother Bothwel, now under cloud, and imprisoned for an insurection at Edinburgh. The Lady Dowager of Lovat concented that her child should goe south, and so did the tutor, providing for his journay men and money; yet he suddenly wearied off the Court, considering the cost and expense of it, therefor returnd home in the closur off the year, and on the rod, the Highland

1563. way,[1] fell in company with John, Earl of Athol, and, after a whiles discourse and drawing up acquaintance, the Earl brought Lovat to his own house, the Castle of Blair, that night, where he happened to be entertained with a very charming society of young ladies to pick and chuse, and perhaps Athol was well pleased to get such a sone-in-law, which shortly thereafter fell out, which oblidged my Lord Lovat, after takeing leave next morrow, to return again to Athol to pay a visit to his Lady mistress at Blair.

After this young Lords return he got diversions enugh, for he tooke a progress into the Isles to see his mother and be acquaint in that country. His uncle, young Calder, went with him, accompanying all the way one or two gentlemen of the Rosses, and the prime of the young youths of his own name; there he learned to be a bowman, and in a short time few or none could compeat or cop with him in arching, either at buts, bowmarks, or roaving, and perhaps afterwards had the better of some who gloried much and were masters in that manly art, which now is wearing away by degrees, and the gun takeing place. But as the old adage concluds *Regis ad examplum totus componitur orbis*, and *magnates sunt magnetes*, by the Lord Lovats example all the country turnd expert in arching, and the very sheepherds could not want their bow, it being the onely arms in vogg, and he oblidged every parish to have their bowmarks, and set dayes of game, and himselfe went in circuit to see it put in practice, and was present with them frequently. He was a great wrestler and swimmer and jumper, nay, there was gallant, manly exercise, but he used and brought all his young men to the dayly practise of.

1564. But all the winter, 1564, he becam most indisposed, feverish, and somequhat ashmatick, which the phisitians imputed to violent exercise, and his grandmother, my Lady Dowager of Lovat, had him still with her, being his best doctrix, and dyeted him well, and had him at the sea aire, and would often oblidge him to divert himselfe be boat up and down the firth, and herselfe with him, yet often and often

[1] The Highland Way, by Athol and Dalwhinnie; the Lowland Way, by Aberdeen and Elgin.

would she say that her dear child Hugh was gone and was certain he could not be a long liver, and alas, said she, I have outlived my noble husband and also my sone, and I feare shall outlive my grandchild also. Apprehensions of this nature affected her much, her concerns were such in this excellent young nobleman, her grandchild. But by Providence he recovered to a great degree off health and strength, and she weakened still more and more, extream ill all the summer, but the fall of the leafe brought her fall and totall decay, and foretold her own death and end. The Bishop off Ross was often with her, came up be boat and landed at Phopachy; he loved her dearly. Nicolas Rosse, Commendant of Fern, her cousin, never left her. Her tender care off the interest of Lovat was her dayly theam, she promoved the good of that estate dayly, nor would she ever marry, though many suitors accosted her, the Shirref off Cromarty, the Laird of Culbin Kinard, and the Laird of Grant, yet declined them all. She minded her first love, nor should any ever succeed to him in her affection. She was a very active, vertuous, frugall, prudent woman, and *Qualis vita finis ita*, and as shee lived so shee dyed, beloved, bemoaned, in fame and repute, in favour with God and man. She departed this life in peace, att Kirktoun in Farnway, September 7, and buried in Beuly, *ætatis* 76. She survived her husband 21 yeares, departed the 23 year of Queen Marys reign. According to the command of the Spirit of God she set her house in order, knowing that she should dye and not live, and this by a formall legacy and latter will, which for the rarety of rates in it, and manner of confirmation, I have set it down here at length, haveing the authentick, originall testament by me, there being no Comissary Courts then in the north, but ordered by the Councel and Colledge of Justice to goe in circuit through the Kingdom.

Bishop Henery Sinclar.

Anno 1565.

Isai. 37. 2.

The Testament testamentar and inventar off the guiddis geir soumes off monny and dettis pertaining to wmquhill an noble Lady Lady Janet Ross Lady Lovat relict of wmquhill Hugh Lord Fraser of Lovat made and faithfully given up by William Fraser of Strwy, Hutchen Fraser his brother german, and her sones, quhom the said noble Lady constitut, nominat,

Testament Janet Ross, Lady Lovat, Oct. 1565 yeares.

and made her exequitors at Downy the xiiij day of October yere off God j^{m} v^{c} threscore five yeares to whom she geff power to make inventar of her guids as is within written before thir witnesses Allan Mackranald of the Leyis, Alexander Bain of Tulloch, Hutchon Mackean vick Alexander and William Tidings notar publict with others dywerse. Imprimis the said wmquhill Lady the time of her decease forsaid had the guiddis, geire, sommes of mony and debts following pertaining to her as her own proper guiddis and debts, viz., upon the town lands of Bailna haglis[1] xvij oxen price of the pice iij ℔bs. vj s. viij d. inde lvi. vj s. viij d. Item thair vx sheip price of the pice yowng and ald overhead vj s. viij d. inde vij ℔b. xiij s. iiij d. Item their twa lambs price of the pice iiij s swa viij s. Item sown on the said lands in the year of God j^{m}v^{c}lxiiij liij boles oates estimat to the second corn price of the bole with the fodder viij s. swa xlij ℔bs. viij s. Item sown of beare there xxv bolles estimat to the third corn price of the bole with the fodder xiij s. iiij d. swa l. Item upon her terce lands of Lovat five oxen price of the pice iij ℔bs. vj s. viij d. swa xvj ℔bs. xiij s. iiij d. Item upon the lands of Downy vj oxen price of the pice iij ℔bs. vj s. viij d. swa xx ℔bs. Item thair xxiij kye price of the pice l s. swa lvij ℔bs. x s. Item vj quyis price of the piece xx s. swa vj ℔bs. Item vij stirks off yeir awlds price of the pice xiij s. iiij d. swa xij ℔bs. Item vj calfes price of the piece x s. swa iij ℔bs. Item xxxvj sheep price of the pice vj s. viij d. swa xij ℔bs. Item their twa lambs price of the pice iiij s. swa viij s. Item sowing there xxxvj boles aitis estimat to the second corn, price of the bole with the fodder aught s. swa xxviij ℔bs. xvjs. Item an gray horse price thereof x ℔bs. Item sowing thair off beare nyn boles estimat to the third corn price of the bole with the fodder xiij s. iiij d. swa aucteen libs. Item upon the lands of the Camald five oxen price of the pice v marks swa xvj ℔bs. xiij s. iiij d. Item three-score sheep price of the pice vj s. viij d. swa xx ℔bs. Item thair twa lambs price of the pice iiij s. swa viij s. Item sowing there xxxvj boles aitis estimat to the second corn price of the bole with the fodder forsaid xxviij ℔bs. xvj s. Item sawn off

[1] Baile-na-h-Eaglais, 'Kirktown.'

beare there vj boles twa firlots estimat to the third corn price of the bole with the fodder forsaid swa xiiij ℔bs. Item vij fedder beds price of the piece xxiiij s. swa viij ℔bs. viij s. Item aucht bousters price of the pice v s. swa x ℔bs. Item 14 pair of blankets at xiiij s. the peice is nine ℔bs. xvjs. Item x codds price of the pice iij s. swa xxxs. Item xviij pair of sheets price of the piece xx s. inde xviij ℔bs. Item iij green courtings of plaiding price of the pice vj s. viij d. swa xx s. Item three green coverings of plaids price of the pice x s. swa xxx s. Item twa sewit coverings price of the pice xx s. swa xls. Item the rest of the utensiles and domicill in vessels and other small things extended be good estimation to the value of x ℔bs. Item in clothing and abuliment estimat to xl ℔bs. Item in numerit mony intrometted with be the exequitors iij ᶜli ℔bs. Item intrometted with by Nicolas Ross, Comendatour of Fern, and Jespart Waus, an c crownes of the sown, price of the piece xxx s. swa vijxxix libs. Item xx angels nobles price of the pice 1 s. swa 1 ℔bs. Item iij Rose nobles price of the pice iiij ℔bs. vjs. swa xij ℔bs. xviij s. Item li piece of gold of cross duccats of King James struck price of the piece overhead fourty s. swa jᶜii ℔bs. Summa of the Inventor of the guiddis and geir forsaid is viᶜ xxxiij ℔bs. x s. Followes the debts awing to the dead.

Item awing be wmqhual Alexander Lord Fraser of Lovat and his aires thre thousand sax hundered xx aught ℔bs saxteen s. Item be Alexander Schesholm of Commer for the terce lands of two Erchless and be the space of yeares fra the year of God to this present yeare of God lxv. extending yearly to five marks male and twa martis price of the pice four pounds thrattin s. iiij d. with twa mutowns yearly price of the pice thratin s. iiij d. four kids or lambs price of the pice sax s. aught d. Aught poutry price of the pice xijd. Aught boles farm price of the bole fifty three s. Item awand be Elisabeth Irwing, Lady Bobegno, sex hundereth fourty aught ℔bs five s. Item be Nicoalas Rosse, Commendator off Fern, xl ℔bs. Item be Alexander Rosse in Dalcross xx ℔bs. Item be the Ladys tennants viz. Hutchen Fraaser off Gusachan, Thomas Fraser in Bunchrui, umqhil John Fraser in Belladroum, Donald M'khutchenroy in Litle

Struy, and sundry other tenants, of byrun males and farmes, mairtis, muttons and uther dewtis for lands of the lordship of Lovat extending be guid estimation to pounds. Item be Alexander Ross in Dalcus xx ℔bs. Item be Robert Fraser aught pounds. Summa of the debts awing to the dead . . . . . summa of the inventar and debts . . . . . Summa of the debts awing be the dead— Item awing be her to the Quens Grace Controlar for the few males of Bewfewrd the soume off forty pounds. Item awing to the Bishop of Murray for the few males of the Brigend and Cinmilies twa yeares dewties extending yearly to xxvj ℔bs. vs. summa lij. ℔bs. x s. Item awing to him for the few males of Kiltarlity for the space of twa yeares yearly sax ℔bs. sua xij ℔bs. Item to Mr. William Fraser sone to the Laird of Philorth xviij ℔bs. off lent silver. Item to Allan Macdonald for his tocher guid with Margret Fraser iiij xx,xiij ℔bs. vj s. viijd. Item xxxvj kye price of the pice l s.—iiijxx,x ℔bs. Item to Alexander Bain of Tulloch of his tocher with Agnes Fraser, iijxx,vj ℔bs. xiij s. Item to William Fraser and Hugh Fraser his brother for bairns part of gere ilk ane of them the soume of vj^{c} marks, resting awing be the for and intrometted with be the Lady extending to j^{m} marks. Item resting to Margaret the nurris of fee xxvj s. viij d. Item to Andrew Davidson and to Alexander Murray for the tiend fish xxx s. Item to John Rolland xxxij s. for tiends. Item to Finalay Maason for fees xx s. Summa of the debtis awing be the dead j^{m}lvij ℔bs. xix s. viij d.—summa of the free guiddis the dettis being deduced—iiij^{m}viij^{c} iiijxx. xiij ℔bs. xviij s.—Followes the deads letter will and legacy.—Inprimis the said noble lady Janet Ross, Lady Lovat, being seek in body bot hail off mind, nocht compellit nor be errour fallin or be deceit cuntwemit but of her awn free motiwe will and deliberat mind, be all best maner and law, quhairbye she best might, constitut, nomenat, creat and made and nominatly ordaind William Fraser of Strwy and Hugh Fraser his brother, germain her lauchfull sones, her executors testamentars, givand and grantand to thame faculte and power to dispone her guids and gair and make inventor thairupon and siklik constitut an reverend father Nicol, Comendator of Fern, in cais

or adventure of discord betuixt the said Wiliam and Hew Fraser superiore, quhills the said umqhil lady left to her bairnes all and sundry her guids and geir mowabils, with sowmes of mony pertaining to her bairnes, to be dividit amongst them, and also left to her daughters Agnes and Margret Fraser her claithing and ornaments of her body; quhairupon the said Hew Fraser askitt instrument in the hands of William Cuming, clerk of Erle of Murray, and notar publik. We Maisters Robert Maitland, Dene of Aberdeen, Edwart Henderson, Doctor in the lawes, twa of the Senatoures of our soverannis College of Justice, Clement Litle and Alexander Sim, commissars of the commissariot of Edenburgh, constitut thereto be the Queens Majesty for confirmation of testaments, be thir presents ratifies, applaud, conferms this present testament testamentarie and inventar of the guids and geir abovewriten alenarly as farr as the samen is truely and lauchfully maid, and giffis and committs full intromission with the samen guidis and gair to the said William Fraser, ane of the executors forsaid, with power to him to call and persue thairfoir as accordis of the law and be entered creditor, reservand compt and reckoning to be made be him qhane and qhair he is requirit; and the said William executor forsaid being sworn has made faith that this present testament and inventar he just and trew according to the will and conform to the mind off the said umqhil daitive, and naithing omittit nor left furth off the samine, as the act made theruppon of the dait the xxij day of Marche the yeir off God j^{m} v^{c} threescoir five yeirs at more length proportis. Extractit fworth of the Register Buikes of the Testament of the said Commissar be me Michael Marjoraybankis clerk thairto witnessing to the samen this my hand wreit and singne manual: Mychael Marjorybankis.

The 12 Lord Fraser of Lovat, 1566.

Lord Hugh vulgarly surnamed Husten Roy [Red Hugh] from the collour of his hair was born at Bunchrive *anno* . . . . of whom I gave some account formerly, both as to parents and his own education. Now that his mother is married with Donald Gorm Slait, his grandmother dead of late, he enters now as Lord upon the stage *anno* 1565, in the

18 year of his age, with consent of his speciall friends, especially John Campbell, Laird of Cathell [Calder or Cawdor]. He went south and married Elisabet Stuart, daughter to John, Earle of Athol, and at his return Jan. 16 anno 1566 he was served and retoured heir to his father Lord Alexander, which service I saw myself in our charter chest. When he considered the broiles and troubles of the land, factions and divisions among the nobles, religion and reformation pretended and nothing lesse intended by many, he resolved to stay at home and looke to his own affaires and medle as litle as possible with the publick. The next thing he dos was to call his uncle and tutor, William Fraser of Struy, to an account, and in order to this convocats curators, Collin M'Kenzie of Cintail, John Campbel of Calder, William Rosse Balnigown, John Monro of Foules, and Donald Gorm of Slait, who were the men mentioned to take the tutors accounts at Lovat, February 1566. I saw the authentick scrolls, the method and manner set down and subscribed by these forsaid 4, and Lord Hew his own discharge upon the accounts, all these too tedious here to be recorded.

This Lord Hugh, for his divertisement, lived at Bunchrive and Kinmilies, sometimes at Dalcross on the extremities of his estate and lands, and was punctual in keeping his marches, and his Lady, Elisabeth Stuart, being an Athol woman, loved motion and sport as well as hee, yet too much of that did her no good att last, for, though shee was prolifick enugh, and her lord had issue by her, yet she aborted of a male child *anno* 1567, and it was imputed to violent exercise and motion. She soon conceaved after, and had a boy ; a great heat about his name, she would have him called John after her father, but the churchman gave him Alexander, and whither in displeasur and passion or otherwayes she imprecated God Almighty, soon deprived her of that excellent child also, which queled her high spirit and made her mourn many dayes, and it was very like to have turnd her melancholy, but by Providence she conceaved again, and att or about the quickning, being then at Lovat, she saw or dreamed of an aparition (for her unquiet, restless mind was much troubled with dreames in the night) but one more notar and remarkable

than the rest in her sleep she saw one in white long robs come in at the window, and, calling her by name, desired not to be anxious, for she had a sone in her womb, and to call him Simon, for that name was almost worn out of the famely, and it was a kindly native name to the Frasers, and that he would prove a credit to his kindred and a comfort to her in her straites; which cam to passe in earnest, as the event mad manifest to her experience. April 4, 1570, she was delivered of a sone, whom she desired to be called Simon, at which many wondered! And it is observable that Simon was commonly a happy name in the Scriptures: there was Simon Zelotes, either Christ found him or made him a zelot when he called him to the apostleship, a zealous man. Simon of Syrene, that helped Christ to bear his crosse, a compassionat man. Simon a Tanner, Peters host, a charitable man. And Simon Peter, a sanctified man. Nott that grace is tyed to names, for the favour of God makes any name as happy, no man hath now the mysterie of his fortun writen in his name. Names are not propheticall, much lesse magicall, the civill use of names is for distinctions, *nomen quasi notamen*. The religious use hath by good antiquity been observed at our baptism, So oft as thow hearest thy name, call to mind the covenant between God and thy selfe, geting this holy seal; and again renued in confirmation, whatever thy name be, let thy heart be Simons which signifies heareing or obeying. Obey, confesse, professe, love Thy Master and Maker. Confesse him *ore*, with thy mouth, professe him *opere*, with thy life, love him *corde*, with thy heart, so thow shalt have Simons omen though not Simons *nomen*.

Luke 6. 15. Matthew 27, 32. Acts 10. 6. John 1. 42.

This lady, after Simon, had a daughter, Mary, afterwards Lady Alter; next to her a sone called Thomas, who dyed a youth; and last of all she boar Agnes, who was married to Master Hector Monro, Laird of Fowles.

In the yeare 1567 John, Earl of Sutherland, together with his lady, were both poysoned at Dounrobbin, and his sone Alexander succeeds unto him, and, being young, George, Earl of Cathness, had right to his ward and marriage, and withall gets the custody of the child dureing his ward; at which Earle Alexanders trusty friends, especially the Murrayes of Suther-

land, being grieved and vexed, they lay down a plot privatly to convoy the young Earle from Cathnes his conduct; which at length they effectuat, and delivered him to the Earle of Huntly his cheefe, with whom he stayed untill his ward was expired in *anno* 1573, dureing which time the Earl of Cathness kept possession of the estate, which occasioned diverse animosities and troubles tuixt the two countries, the Earle of Cathness haveing violently removed the Murrays of Sutherland from their possessions there, which nevertheless they strugled hard to keep. Hutchen Murray, with diverse of his friends, possessed themselves with the town of Dornach, with the adjacent lands which formerly were theirs by law. The Earle of Cathness, in end, sent his sone John, Master of Chatness, accompanied with Igh Macky and considerable forces, to remove the Murrayes from Dornach; so that Cathness and Strathnaver ingaged both in the expedition. Arriving there in fury, they besiege the town of Dornach, and for severall weekes, the Murrayes often sallying out, made considerable slaughter upon the enemy by their set skirmishes. In end, the Master of Cathness ordered to burn the town, which his followers, especially Mackyes, were ready to do, so that the brave cathedrall, St. Barrs church, was also burnt, which the inhabitants could no longer defend; yet, after the town was lost, they kept the castle, the enemies still assaulting them, yet in vain, without any successe, for a whole month, together. At length, by the mediation of Andrew Stuart, Bishop of Cathness, and other friends, they surrendered the castle, and gave 3 pledges, viz. two Murrayes and a Sutherland, that within two monthes they should depart the country; which in effect they did, and retired themselves to the Earl of Huntly, with whom they stayed untill the limited law of the ward elapsed, and then returnd with Earle Alexander, at which time they recovered and were repossest in their ancient interests there. Yet, though the Murrayes removed according to paction with Cathness, no sooner went they off but the 3 pledges were hanged above Dornach, a most inhumane, cruel act, contrare to the law of nations. But dureing the time that these Sutherland men stayed with Huntly they served him in his warrs against the Forbesses, mainly at Crabstone, quher they behaved manfully against the foot supply sent be the Regent to assist

the Forbesses. The burning of Dornach and cathedrall happened in July *anno* 1570. This act so incensed the see of Rome against these accomplises that joined in such an atrocious wickedness, that Pope Pius 5, emitting his thundring Bull, ordering Bishop Stuart to excommunicat them all, which sentence he exsecuted *nemine excepto.* The Earl of Sutherland and his vassales meanwhile live peaceably in their own country. God in his just judgement sending divisions, jarrs, and jealouses betuixt Cathness and Mackyes, falling upon clandestin contrivance one against another, till in end George, Earl of Cathness, discovered all that his eldest sone John, the Master, and Igh Macky had contrived against his person; for quhich he caused apprehend his sone, and imprisoned him closly in the castle of Girnego. Igh Macky, seeing the Earles severity against his own sone, the Master, claping him in closse ward, he expected litle or no favour from him, and, therefore, retired home, and within halfe a yeare dyed of meere griefe. The same yeare, without releasement from the sentence, John, the Master of Cathness, died in that captivity; and Gods hand most visibly seen on both famelys ever since.

Anno 1569 Lord Hugh Fraser of Lovat, with a select number of his friends, went south be Athol, who, being then at Edinburgh, made his acquaintance with the Regent, James Earl of Murray, who proved his great friend in all his affaires. His uncle, John Campel of Calder, was there at the time, and also made friends for him at court, and with the clergy, and Colledge of Justice, and withall made him intimatly acquaint with Sir Walter Reed and his lady Dame Margret Collaice, a most witty, active woman. And Sir Walter, becaus of the great intimacy that was betuixt his brother Robert Reed, Bishop of Orknay, and Lord Alexander Fraser of Lovat, his father, promised Lord Hugh all the service and kindness prestible by him, south and north, nor could any be of greater use to Lovat than Sir Walter, being in effect Abbot of Kinloss and Prior of Beuly, by an act of Parliament in his favoures, when the Bishop of Orknay was sent in the embassy to France, and was commendator of those two monasteries; and Lovat now, by speciall advice of his trusties, had a design upon Beuly, to buy that barony and make it a purchase, nor wanted he competitors who

were makeing friends, and forking for that curious fertil plat of ground. And now that the Reformation prevailed through Scotland, they had made an act for demolishing all religious houses, after the death of Cardinal Betton: and to be sure the next act will be to annex these rents to the Crown or set them to seale [sale]. In the interim my Lord Lovat takes occasion to draw up a familiarity with Sir Walter Reeds lady, and broaches his resolution to her of fewing the barony of Beuly. She assured him that his lordship would be preferred to any whatsoever in that bargan, and that she would secure her husband against all importunities that might assault him upon that head; which she actually effected, and guarded him so as that the next time when Lovat payed a visit to Sir Walter, they came to such an agreement that a minut of seale was drawn up betuixt them of the pryory, and subscribed *hinc inde* before John, Earle off Atholl, and Sir John Campbel off Calder, who both were wittnesses in the paper; so that all was out of any doubt and hasard for the future. Be this time Lord Hugh becomes so generally acquaint with and beloved among the nobles that he goes under the notion of a courtiour and gallanter of ladyes. This rumor running north, it breeds some generoues jelousy in my Lady Lovats brest; but I think Sir Walter had no tongue of that mallady. Lord Hugh, spending that winter in Edinburgh, returnd home in March, takeing his leave of his noble friends and acquaintances there, and at his departure complemented Sir Walter Reed and his lady Dame Margret Collace with a generous toaken of his respects, being allwayes noble and free hearted. At his arrivall in Lovat, April 7, 1570, his lady, it seemes, out of excess of joy gave him a sone, being brought to bed the 6 day after, and told him she had reserved that new yeares gift for him, seing he was not at home in the feast off the Nativity.

Many persones of qualety present at his baptism; but non of his godfathers got the name, and whey he was called Simon I narrated before, a name pretty rare in Scotland, south or north, allthough kindly to this famely, being the first name it had, and whence the Lord Lovat is called M'Khimy.

Now the broyles of the kingdom are increaseing, the Kings faction called the Royalists, and the Queenes faction termed

Rebels, in armes against one another, strugling like twins in the womb for priority; at last maters are quelled, and the good Regent Murray, active in it, resolves this May north, and, with two bands of sowldioures and a great number of his friends, came first to Aberdeen, then to Elgin, at last to Inverness, and setled the north. Such as were suspected gave in sureties. Huntly, a great instrument in the rebellion, put in hostages for his clanships. Lord Hugh Fraser of Lovat came in with 200 gentlemen, and waited upon the regent, who, becaus he would not goe further north, his cousin, Dame Elizabeth Stuart, Lady Lovat, payed him a visit also, and congratulated her wellfare and recovery. He returned again to St. Johnston, and Lovat convoyd him over Spey, and there parted with the good Regent at his own desire. But, alas! this joy lasted not long, for next January he was murthered in Linlithgow by a conspiracy of the Hamilton faction. Thus had Lovat, as well as the whole kingdom, lost his best friend, and Mathew, Earle of Lenox, is chosen regent in his place, being the King's grandfather; but, alas! he enjoyed his honors a short while, for he was killed at Stirling in a scuffle betuixt the Royalists and Rebells, and immediatly, a Convention of the Lords being called in a hurry, John Erskin, Earl of Marr, is elected regent. 1571. 1573.

The Lord Lovat, with his Lady Elizabeth Stuart, designing south in May, in the very interim off prepareing and makeing ready for the journay a sudden distemper and undisposedness ceased upon my lady, so that she could not travel, yet she urges her lord to goe on in his project; he was loath to leave her, but she told him she might recover but occasiones lost were irrecoverable. He wondered what might be under this reply and ambiguous sentiment, and asked her seriously what she meant. She told him that Collin, Laird of Kintail, was still his competitor, and he might be too cunning for him, and she feared that he and the Grants were contriveing a plot to apply to and prevail with the Regent, their relation, anent the rights of Beuly; the Court was changable, churchmen flexible, donations and pactions alterable, and therefore not to dally in his affairs. He yelds to her advice, and presently takes horse and at Inverness is informed that Collin Came[1]

[1] Cam, 'one-eyed.'

Kintaile had taken the start of him, and went on his journay south. Lovat, being well acquaint in the rode, cuts short, and is a dayes journay before him at Edinburgh. Some say they were a night in one and the same lodging, or perhaps in one towne, be the way, unknown to one another; but be sure Lovat had his intelligence of the others motion, and made but short stop or stay in any part till he came to his journayes end; and, in short, he secured Chanclour Carr, and gott his right of Beuly through the seales before Mackenzie came to Edinburgh; and the day thereafter met together upon the open street, the whole mater being then above boord and made publick, so that Kintale found himselfe outwitted. There were severall providences I discover attending the conduct of this affaire of Beuly: 1 That my Lady Lovat turnd unwell at the nick of time when they were to take journay, for had she gone along with her lord, and he must order his journay according to her motion, and so by that fall short. 2 That my Lady Lovat discovered Collin Kintailes contrivance, whither by guess or intelligence, and was in tollerable disposition to tell her husband of it, and posted him away to looke after his bussiness. 3 That all this while Kintail was secure and knew nothing of Lovats resolution, intelligence/or journay. 4 That Lovat had formerly secured Sir Walter Reed, had closed in a minut with him, and this kept secret.

This Lord Hugh Fraser of Lovat was truely, without vanity, the glory of his clan and country; nay, his enemies bearing witness he was the glory of the north; and, as Solomon saith of the virtuous woman, many daughters have done vertuously, but thow excells them all. Many that I have recorded, and shall yet, God willing, record, have done well and wisely, but thow exceeds all. *Floruit brevi suo tempore*; in that short time Hugh Lovat flourist in, he was the nonsuch of his age, a wise/sollid man in letters not having advantages he exceed; for learning he could be a divin, for wit a statsman, for policy a judge, for grandure and generosity a prince, for contrivance an artist and mechanick, for courrage a soldiour, for humanity and humility the meanest farmer, and for fatigue, travel, and motion a groome of the stable. He would often say *Ex omni*

Pro. 31. 29.

aliquid, though not *ex toto nihil.* Put him in any society, he was their wonder for eloquence and sharp sentences; he carried all the discourse. His brother, Calder, would often say to him *Hugo nimium sapis;* and not to be measured by the yard, but weighed in the ballance. *Admirabar hominem ejus ætatis, tam argute tam solide, tamque significanter scribere et loqui*, I admire much that a man of his age could writ so smartly and speake so fluently and significantly, living in such a barren, ignorant, and superstitious generation, and could reap but litle of the priests and churchmen of his time. That, as Erasmus sayes of them, *Isti quicquid non intelligunt Hebraicum vocant*, counted all things Hebrew which they could not understand. But this Lord Hugh is said often to have argued the priests out of their very principles, and reasoned them out of their reason. Among the pieres he was patron and patern, and, to strain the word no higher, precedent of all his fellowes, having *ingenium fecundum et amplum*, and pity it was that he had *vitæ institutæ, sterile et angustum.*

This Lord Hugh suppprest all ravagers, thift, and robbery in this corner, so as that a man might lye as safe upon the high rod as in his lodging and inn. He wrot and also sent to all the severall respective chieftens of clans, declareing that if a sheep were stollen out of his country he would persue it himselfe in person to their outmost bounds and borders, and carry back, not sheep, but men, as his pledge, conform to the power which his predecessors had from former kings, and which the late good regent had conferred upon himselfe. He caused tye a golden chain to the oaken beam at the Stock Foord of Rosse, to try if any durst attempt to steale it. The country was so free from all manner off thift and pilching, and every man had peace and plenty; as Israel wer happy under Solomon, so wer his people under Hugh of Lovat; as the Scripture phrases it, And Juda and Israel dwelt safely, every man under his vine and under his fig tree, from Dan to Beersheba, all the dayes of Solomon; they increased and were many as the sand by the sea, etc., so also did this country flourish under Hugh; nay, this man was such a survyer, traveling up and down the country, all allone under silence of night, that he would know what subject of discourse, and

1 Kings 20, 25.

1 See foot-note, p 176.

what meat was at most mens table, from the gentleman to the yeoman. Uppon a certain night he came to his owne shepherds window in the Muyes, and heard him say grace after he had fed upon good fleshes at his cost, and called in to him, saying, Remember, John M'klich, to count for that tomorrow to the Lord Lovat whose mutton yow have been eating this night with yowr wife and bairns; and away he rids. The fellow, driven out after him with his elm bow ready, and shot an arrow at him, which stuck fast in the tippet of his monutire cape which hung behind his back. My Lord carried home the arrow, and laid by his cape that night. Next morrow calls a court at Lovat; many compeares, among the rest the sheepherd compeared; the cap was laid upon the table, and the arrow sticking in it. My Lord says, John, whose arrow is that? He replied with an asseveration, S. Coan,[1] it is mine, and yow may be glad it went no nearer; and, my Lord, said he, would yow trust your sheep coat to a man that could not shoot after that manner. All the censir was, he caused give him one of the best yew bows in Lovat, and bade him arch better. Another night he was traveling from Bunchrive westward, and, riding down the narrow shouch of Corbet Bray, he heard a lamentable moan below him, and, comming to the bottom, he finds that it was a man carrying a sack of corn upon a horse, and it fell off in the brook and the fellow could not lift it alone. My Lord lights and saies, man, hold my horse till I help yow; he lifts the ponderous sack and puts it up flat ahorseback, and, taking his own horse again, as he mounted the man cryed, God bless yow, Mackhimmy; he replied, Hust, do nott tell yow saw me; and away he goes. Such condescendance was rare in a nobleman. Hugh, Lord Lovat, went over to view his marches about Rihindown and Ardnicrask, and, dissmissing his company, he rides towards Connin River to the north, and in the twilight he rode the foord and came to Brahan; it happened to be some festival about the close of spring; he calls his groom, gives him his horse, haveing lighted, and bids him keepe closse and tell no man what he was, for he was resolved to

[1] See p. 10.

try what fare Collin Cam of Kintail had that night on his table. He saw the dishes carried in, and every man bussy. The falconars lodge being neare hand, and getting some food for the hawkes use, my Lord stops near in the dark and seeks the hawke off his hand. The pore blind fallow thinking it was his own master, the Laird Kintaile, he delivers up the facone to him, and he goes away with her, calls his boy, takes horse, and away home to Lovat, and secures the hawke. Collin of Kintale, after supper, calls the fackoner, and asked if he had supt his hawke; the fellow answered, did not your honor take her from me a while ago, where laid ye her, for yow seeme to scorn me. Presently the Laird of Kintaile concluds that it was the Lord Lovat, who used to play such pranks. It seemes they were like one another in features, which gulld the faconer.

At solemn meetings and convention of the sheir at Inverness, the Lord Lovat frequently tristed with the nobles and gentry, diverting themselves with manly exercises of arching, football, putting of the stone, throwing of the barr. In all such he was singular, and never wanted 10 or 12 of his yowng kinsmen with him, each more expert than another, for so he had trained them at home. The chappell yard at Invernes was their gameing place. If it was football be sure he had the first and last hale over the roap; if arching, he carried the arrow; at races he often road horse, tint and wan the prize; for he was wonderfull nimble, and the onely rider in the north. One day at tilting Lovat dismounted the Laird of Grant and Shirref Murray successively, two very stout men, laying them flatt upon the spott. The affront was so notar that in revenge they persued him, being supernumerary, for Lord Hugh but a single horseman with him, and at the edge of Clachniharry he jumpt with his horse over the edge of a rock, and outrunn them; for they stopt and durst not follow. There the print and impression of his horse shoes was noticed and kept clean by a certain man for a yearly pension, and severals cam to view the feat; it was so very rare. I knew an old man that saw it kept visibly clear till the Lord Hughes time, 1636 yeares. The monks of Beuly were very strickt keepers of their own part of the river below

the croves at Dunballach, nay, so churlish and near that they would not permit any to angle with hooke and line upon either sids. Sir Walter Reed, haveing both the fishings of Kinloss and Beuly, spent liberally upon them; he sent a gun north to the priory of Beuly that the canons might fright away such as would offer to angle upon the river, which kept of severals for a long time; but it happened that one Alexander Fraser Mackean vic Thomas[1] was fishing with an angling rod at Mealach foord, below Dumballach, and one of the priors servants lying in ambush tother sid of the river, shot a gun and killed the gentleman starke dead upon the bank, a sad accident, the losse of a pretty man, and a loss to the monks afterwards. Sir Walter, getting notice of this, was affraied that my Lord Lovat would persue him for the bloud of his kinsman, seing whatever miscarryage might hapen among the monks would be charge upon him; and indeed this slaughter helped my lord a put in the bargan of the priory, there being another competitor contending for Beuly at the time; Kintail, like Cushi, cunningly runs apace, but
2 Sam. 18. 23. Lovat, like Ahimaas, came first to the King, becaus he ran by the way of the plain, and overran Cushi.

I shall now give an account of some contingencies which happened contemporary with Lord Hugh; *anno* 1572 the dismal ruptures betuixt the Gordons and Forbeses burst out. These two great names, and of power and authority where they lived, valiant, wise, and wealthy; the Gordons lived in great concord and amity amongst themselves, and enhansing often the favour of the royal famely became poten, and for feare gat the following of their nighboures. But on the contrare, the Forbeses were at variance, entertaining animosities amongst themselves, ruining one another by pick and prid, contending with the Gordons wrought their ruin. Those two famelies lived near, mingled and matcht together, but their secret emulation long hid, and rooted rancor now burst out, not only by following contrary factions dureing the civil war betuixt the King and Queens parties, but mainly becaus John, Master of Forbes, had deserted and repudiat his lady,

[1] Alexander Fraser, son of John, son of Thomas.

Margret Gordon, eldest daughter to G. Gordon, Marques of Huntly, and this by the instigation of his uncle, Black Arthur Forbes, who mortally hated the Gordons, and was a man of singular currage and resolution, as well as prid and ambition. By his advice and contrivance the Forbeses appoint a day of meeting, as well for their own generall reconciliation, as also to contrive something against the Gordons. Whereof Adam Gordon of Achindown, haveing secret intelligence, his brother Huntly being then at Edinburgh, conveened a considerable number of his friends and followers to crosse the proceedings of the Forbeses, who were all conveened then at Tulli Anguis abow Druminnor, March 2, 1572. The Forbesses, perceiving the Gordons approaching near up the hill, entrenched themselves within their camp, which they had pretty well fortified, dividing their men in two severall bands, whereof Black Arthur Forbes commanded that which lay next to the Gordons. Adam Gordon, far short in number of the Forbesses, invads the first company most fiercly, which the Forbeses receave; the Gordons, running desperatly upon their enemies, speares and brakeing their trenches, had a sharp and cruel conflict, couragiously fought on both sides a long time. Mr. Robert Gordon, Adams brother, assaulted the other bragad of Forbesses with no less courrage and success. At last Black Arthur Forbes, with diverse of his famely, were there slain, the rest put to flight, and pursued to the gates of Druminor. John Gordon of Buck was there slain, Adam Gordon desperatly wounded, and many of his men slain, a dear bought victory such as it was.

The Tully of Tulloch-Anguis, 1572.

John, Master of Forbes, Black Arthurs nephe, resenting the reproach, repares to Court, where the Earl of Marr, now Regent, reseeded, and, makeing application to him, gives him five companies of foot and some horsemen, with letters to the adjoining nobility to concurr with the Forbesses in their just proceedings. The Master of Forbes thinks himselfe now sufficiently furnished against the force of his adversaries, approches to Aberdeen where Adam Gordon then reseeded, who, geting notice off the Forbesses comming, convocats as many of his friends and followers there as he could readily randevouz off a sudden, and sallise out of the town, sending

a company off muskateers under the conduct off one Captain Thomas Carr to lye in ambush at a place which the Forbesses must passe, and wait the joining of the batles.

"Next he ordered a company of Sutherland bowmen (these were with [him] since the jarres with Catheness) to take a compasse and come in upon the enemies riere; and then Adam himselfe went out with his brother Master Robert unto a place neare the town called Crabstone, and put his forces in order there, to wait the aproach of the Forbesses, who, when they appeared in sight of the Gordones, the Kings souldioures being trained, advised to digress in a compass to old Aberdeen, and there leagur, that by degrees they might mollest the new town, and weary Adam Gordon thence at last; but the too forward Forbesses would not yeld to that rational advice, but a present onset, and so advanced with currage and audacity. The Gordons receaved them with the like resolution, and so a cruel batle ensued, with violence on both sids. At the first rancounter Achindownes muskatires, who lay in ambuish, surprised the Forbeses, and killed a great many. Two brothers of Pitsligo, with severall gentlemen of that name, were there slain; the foot soldiours sent be the Regent were put to flight by the bowmen of Sutherland; persueing them wth great slaughter, and Captain Chisholm, with 3 other captaines, were slain there. The Forbeses in end fled apace; their leading men were all taken captive, with their generall, the Master of Forbes, whose aged father lay then sick and dying at Druminor, expecting the sorowfull newes of the overthrow. Adam Gordon used this victory with great discretion, and suffered no man to be killed after the fury of the fight was over; then returnd with his men to Aberdeen, setting up the ensigns and banners in the high church as trophies off his victory, and giveing solemn thanks to God for his happy success. Alexander Forbes of Strathgarneck, the author of all those troubles betuixt the two clans and the cheefe instigator of Arthur Forbes against the Gordons, was taken captive in the conflict, and, suffering a councell off war, sentence past justly upon him, was to be beheaded next day at Aberdeen; but Achindown stopt the execution. He entertained the Master of Forbes and the

Crabstone conflict.

other gentlemen prisoners with great civility and curtesy; afterwards brought the Master of Forbes with him to Strathboggy, and in end gave him and all the rest off his fellow captives liberty to depart home, or whither they pleased.

In the year of God 1573, after the former conflict at Crabstone, Adam Gordon of Achindown, weareing the palms of his former victories, and being well cured of his wound receaved at Tully-Anguis and Crabstone, resting and recruiting himselfe and his men, takes his next expedition south in June, entered the Mernes, and set siege to the house of *Glenbervy, and appeared so formidable to his opposits that he put all the Regents party in that province into a pannick feare. The report and fame off his victory had spread all the kingdom over. The Earle of Crawford, the Lords Gray, Ogilvy, and Glames, takeing part with the King against the Queen, convocated all the forces of Anguis and Merns to resist Achindown, and to stop his passage to Brechin, where they encamped. Adam Gordon, advertised of their projects, left the most part of his men at the siege of Glenbervy, and went from thence himselfe in the dead of the night, with the most resolut men of his company, to attacke those Lords; and, comming to Brechin, he killed the watch, with severall others, surprised the town, set upon the Lords, chassed them, and made himselfe master of the town and castle of Brechin. The next morning these Lords, haveing intelligence of Achindownes small forces, convocats their forces, and approacht near Brechin to fight him. Adam, alarmd, rusht out to meet them with resolut currage and conduct, and, at the first assault, the Lords, not being able to resist his violent charge, takes sudden flight, with all their forces; so that there were slain in that skirmish fourscore men and upwards, and very many taken prisoners, amongst whom was the Lord Glames and several gentlemen of the name of Lyon. This conflict was in derision called the burd of Brechin. Adam Gordon returns back again, with his prisoners, to the siege of Glenbervy, and, takeing it, gave them noble quarters. From thence he went to Monross, and tooke in that town also. Afterwards he tooke the Castle of Dunn, belonging to the Regents cousin, and thence marcht through Anguis without resistance. The

*Douglas house.

The Burd of Brechin, 1573.

town of Dundee, heareing of his approache, and judging themselves unable to resist him, sent to Fife for supply. But Achindown, haveing done his pleasure, rambling through Anguis all the summer, thinking it time enugh to retire er winter came on; but, feareing the convocation of the south forces, returnes home in September to the north, loadened with spoil, satisfying himselfe for the time with quhat he had alrady done against his enemies, came to Strathboggy, where haveing detained and entertained the Lord Glames a competent time, set him at liberty with the rest of his kinsmen, and convoyed him on his journay to Garioch with 60 horse, and there civilly parts with him. By this good success of the Gordones in the north the Queens favourits in all the kingdom were highly encourraged.

The Regent, much perplext and amused in this confusion of affaires, getting together a valorous band of horse and foot, heastens towards Sterling, the King being there in the custody of John Erskin, governour of that castle; whilst the Regent stayed there severalls of the Royalists flock to him from all partes, and, by advice, he reinforced that garrison for the greater securety against the force of the rebels. Recommending the young King, now about 9 year old, to the speciall care of the governour, and then returnd to Edinburgh, where, heareing that Athol and Huntly, two leading men of the rebells, were gone north, he apprehended that there main design was to corrupt the Highland chiftens and clans, and therefore sent expresse to Lord Hugh Fraser of Lovat to secure the castle of Invernesse against the Gordons, and use his influence and authority with all his nighbour chiftens to keep closse to their alleadgeance against the rebells now in arms against their sovereign. But the Regent needed not be so anxius or doubtfull, for Huntly and his clan were universally hated in the north, Mackintosh and Grant his mortall foes, the Mackenzies, Monroes, and Rosses, most loyall clans, never corresponded with the Gordons, nay, at distance with and undefended upon Huntly, and, as for the Mackdonels, they were now tamed and burnt sore with insurections and rebellion. Lord Lovat went in to Inverness with a guard of 200 pretty young men, all of his own training; he sets a garison in the

The Castle of Inverness committed to the Lord Lovat's custody, 1574.

Kings house, and one Alexander Fraser M'ktaus[1] captain off it; the town welcomed him with all their heart, being loyall and honest. The provost, Thomas Paterson, a gentleman of parts and currage, and owned my Lord Lovat as his cheefe, for most of the Patersones acknowledge themselves Frasers. Now is this part of the north secured and in peace. Mackintoshes and Grants keep good nighbourhood with Lovat; the Monroes and Rosses are his own; Collin of Kintail his near relation; but this trust put upon him by the Regent renues the old feud and pick which Huntly had ever against Lovat and his kindred; that the greatest trust which ever the Gordons had to be constables of the Kings house, the Castle of Inverness, should by publick order be committed to the care and custody of a nighbour nobleman ecclipses Huntly very much; but that he now ownes an unjust, disloyal cause will appeare by the bad consequence.

My Lord Lovat hath now a very happy occasion to train his young kinsmen and clan with martiall disciplin, as well as to divert himselfe with recreations among them; for he caused the countrymen to come in to Inverness *per vices* 50 or 60 at a time, and were dayly exercised upon the levell of the Castle-hill or down in the Links, by one Lieutennant Thomas Cerr, a townsman and my Lordships own domestick servant, an expert soldiour, bred abroad in the warrs of France and Flanders. So that not onely the young men of the name of Fraser got good occasion of disciplin and education by this meanes, but many mo of the adjacent clans out of emulation flockt in, the Monroes, the Rosses, Mackenzies, M'kintoshes, Cerr keeping set dayes of exercise weekely, and the whole muster tearmd my Lord Lovats train-band. At intervalls they used swimming, arching, football, throwing of the barr, fencing, dancing, wrestling, and such manly sprightly exercises and recreations, very fit for polishing and refining yowth and to keep them from effeminacy, baseness, loitering, and idleness, which fosters vice and inclines men to all evil. Its observable that when Hannibal, that famous Roman [*sic*] general, had intermitted

[1] The Mactavishes of Stratherrick are still considered to be a sept of the Frasers.

his warlick martial disciplin and loitered in Campania it blunted the souldiours and turnd them soft and effeminat. The pleasures of Capua quit altered the genius and grain of the gallant Romanes, and made them sullen and sillyly simple by supin sloath and negligence. The historian tells us that Capua, that famous city of Campania, in the Punike warre fell off from Rome to the Carthaginians, and there Hannibal, wintering his souldiers, did so effeminat them that they left their former valour, *et quid Romanis Cannæ hoc caput Hannibali*; an example for all chiftens of clans to keep their infantry bussied and imployed in virtuous frugall exercises fit for them, that they be not rusted with sullen idlenes and sloth. It was very observable that the Lord Lovat, mustering his men at Tomnifirish,[1] near Invernes, this July, he had fourscor pretty yowthes who were in their mothers womb when the battle off Lochy was fought, July 1544, thirty yeares before, which confirmes the assertion of the historian anent the women left with child when the field was fought. *Gens Fraseriorum numerosissima et de re Scotica bene merita tota interierat, nisi Divino (ut credi par est) consilio ex familiæ principibus octoginta Domi relinquissent, gravidas uxores, quæ suo quæque tempore mares pepereant singulos.* A singular providence it was that, by God's blessing, these 80 widowes, whose husbands were killed in that bloudy battle of Lochy, should in their season be safely brought to bed, and each bear a boy, and those same male children to come to perfect age and survive many mo of their kindred, and happily meet together at a muster 30 yeares after, with their cheefe. *Digitus Dei*, the hand of God is here.

Buchan, lib. 15, p. 548.

The confusions of the kingdom ar now increasing after the death of three regents, and the minority of a king. The contest betuixt the royall and rebellius factions at a great hight, and all the north of Europ ingaged in the quarrell. The Hamiltoun head the rebells, Argile and Huntly; the one haveing a wife, the other a mother, of the House of Hamilton. William Murray of Tillibarden in Strathern is joined with them, the Earle of Hume, Seaton, Maitland, Athol, Craford, Ogilby, Boid, etc. all linked in that party. The Earl of Athol

Murray, Lenox, Marre.

[1] Tomnahurich.

laboures with all his might to draw over his sone in law, the Lord Lovat, to that side; his strongest argument is the equity of the cause, to espouse the quarrell of a distressed Queen, now prisoner, and no way to release her but by takeing the Castle of Sterling by siege, and getting the young king into their hands and custody; by this meanes the English would restore our queen back to us again. Argil sets Sir John Cambell of Calder a work to prevail with Lord Lovat, being his nephew, to join with them upon the old relation between Cambels and Fraser, and judges if they had him to yeld, all the clans in the North were theires. Nay, my Lady Lovat is corrupted also by her father, Athol, to set upon her husband; and she is turnd ill-natured upon the head. Yet all that they were able to do could not prevail with the Lord Hugh to betray his trust and loyalty in the least, secureing his nighboure clanes more and more, and acquainting the Regent dayly as maters went. In the closur of *anno* 1575 Lord Hugh is necessitate to goe south, partly to accomodat maters betuixt the Regent and John, Earl of Athol, his father-in-law, and his own privat affaires urgeing him besids; and was successful in both, for he convinced Atholl of the folly and madness of their projects, owning an exild queen in opposition to the King and the lawes; withall that he saw many of his party deserting him and coming in daylie to the Regent, and he, being the Kings near relation, would not misse to meet with more favour and clemency than any who had yet secured the peace. Nay, he so farr prevailed with Athol as to bring him to the King at Stirlin, the Regent being also there and privy to the plot; so that Athol is now in Court, secures the peace, and returns home abont his bussiness. The next was Argile, and many mo followed their example, being two of the most leading piers of the Queen's party. *Anno* 1575.

They spent some time together in Blair Castle, and Lord Hugh, being called to Edinburgh, left his father-in-law, who promised to be at him in the closur of November, but came not after he had waited so long that the dead of the winter approacht er he had closd his bussiness, and takes journay north, purposing to pay a visit to the Lady Dowager of Marr, his great friend at Erskin, in his rode, where he kept Christ-

mas; and the night he parted with that noble lady he sickned and comming to Towy, was forced to take his bed, and dyed the 2 day, being January 1, 1576. Some said it was a pleuresy, others a peri-pneumonia, or inflammation of the lungs, others wanted not their suspition of malefice, but he dyed in the Lord and rested from his laboures, and his good works follow him. He soon and early learned to number his dayes, and applyed his heart unto that wisdom that is from above; and what shall be said, but the will of the Lord be done, who hath determined his dayes, the number of his moneths are with thee, thow hast appointed his dayes that he cannot pass. This great hero and worthy Lord Hugh Fraser of Lovat is now dead and off the stage. He was a man of mettall, wonderfull parts, witty, and sturring, and, to give him his due, without flattery, an accomplisht young nobleman in all enduements, both of body and mind, and inferiour to none of his age in Scotland, of which he often gave proofe; and, were I to inlarg, I could writ a volume upon this mournfull theam. This noble piere was one of Jehosophats judges; he took heed to what he did, for the fear of the Lord was upon him, knowing that he judged not for man but God. He was a terror to evil doers, and a comfort to them that did well, haveing no respect of persones in judgement; he espoused the King's quarrell so strongly that he would never suffer an incroachment to be made uppon the royal authority; so he continued still the same, living legall to his country and loyal to his king.

Psalm 90.
Job 14. 5.
2. Chro. 19.

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[Follows account of affairs in Britain and on the Continent.]

The 13 Lord Fraser of Lovat, 1577.

We now return home after this long digression abroad, and treat of the Frasers of Lovat quher we left off. Hugh Lord Fraser of Lovat dyed at Tolly in Marr, January 1, 1576, in the 29 yeare of his age. At the report of his death the tutor, Strwy, conveened the whole numerous name of Fraser, and randivouzd at Tomnihurich, near Invernesse, and out of 8 or 9 hundered men 500 are chosen to march on forward from this randivouz, and 24 gentlemen heads of families as officers to manage them with good conduct in the rode; the Laird of

Strachin, called Thomas of Knocky, and William Fraser off Struy, cheefe leaders. The Laird of Foulis sent a 100 Monroes, well appointed, to join with them. The 7 of January Jan. 7. they marcht from Inverness south through Strathspey and Badenoch into Marr, where many gentlemen of the name of Mackintosh and Grant met with them and accompanied the regiment to Tolly, where all the gentlemen of Marr were conveened with the young Earle to wait their comming; and the wether beyond expectation serene and faire, without storm or tempest. The 18 of January they tooke journay from Tolly; and 26 day they were at Lovat with the corpes. In these rude times no such funerals ever known for solemnity and magnificence; upwards of 2000 men convoyed the corps to Inverness; and uppon Candlemass even interred at Beuly before the great alter. All the nobles and gentlemen in the North were present there. Never was nobleman more bemoaned, more lamented; he was universally beloved and universally bewailed. When his foster brother, Alexander M'ktaus (whom he substitut captain of the castle of Inverness) got the first report of his death, be sighed out this distigh in his own vernacular language—

Beag inih chōse vi bocht,
Smōre locht rind orm Deā;
Skin Challig i Tolli Mōre
M'Khimmi sdār hanig reave.[1]

And I may give him this epitaph:—

Heic jacet ante diem lachrimoso funere raptus,
Flos patriæ, et gentis splendor Faraseriorum,
Nullo umquam tantum gavisa est hospite Tollas.

Responsio:—

Ante diem quamvis preperarunt funera parcæ:
Stat tamen in nato fama fecunda meo.

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[1] *Beag ioghnadh dhòmhsa bhi bochd,*
'S mòr lochd rinn orm Dia;
Gu'n chailleadh an Tolli Mor,
Mac-Shimi 's fheàrr a thàinig riamh.

Little wonder that I am poor,
Great is the bereavement God has sent me
That at Big Tolly has been lost
The best Mac-Shimi who ever arose.

This great man had the deepest designs and vastest projects that ever any Lord Lovat contrived, and had set down feaseable methods to compass and accomplish them. He was by patent Shirrefe Principall of Inverness, a post fitt for him and he for it, which none could so easily manage; and was also Constable of the Kings Castle there, and at his death had his lieutenant and garrison in that house. He was to possess all the fiew lands which the King had in West Rosse, from Beuly to Chanory, and north to the Shirref Cromarties march, and the river of Connin his boundary limit, and was to close with the Laird of Grant for the barony of Urquhart and Glenmoriston. And, then, where was there any peere in the north more absolut and happier stated, *omni modo*? He left a sone, Simon, now 7 years old, for Thomas dyed young, and two daughters, Mary afterwards Lady Alter, and Agnes, who matcht Mr. Hector Monro, Laird of Foules. He had also a naturall sone, one Alexander in Achingarn, who married Janet Fraser, daughter to the Barron of Moniak. His lady and dowager very honorably left, secured in 7000 per annum.

This May there is a generall meeting of the leading men of the name of Fraser, appointed for regulating the great affaires of the Lordship, and settling a tutor dureing the minority of the young Lord; which the Lady was still urgeing, and perhaps more for her own securety than the good of the state of Lovat, for she was an ambitious, avaritious woman. When the prefixt day, May 24, came, the friends conveened frequently at Glasscham in Foyness, neare the Stockfoord of Ross;[1]

[1] This fixes the site of this ancient ford by which King Alexander I. crossed into Ross in pursuit of the 'multitude of Scottys men' who sought his life, as Wyntoun tells in *The Cronykill of Scotland*, Bk. VII. ch. v.

'The bak thai turnyd rycht swne, and flede,
And oure the Mownth rycht fast thame spede,
The Kyng wyth hys court symply
Folowyd on thame rycht fersly
Owre the Stokfurd into Ros.

. . . . .

Quhill he oure-tuk thame at the last,
And tuk and slwe thame or he past
Owt off that land, that fewe he lefft
To tak on hand swylk purpos efft.
Fra that day hys legys all
Oysid hym Alysandyr the Fers to call.'

there came present William Fraser of Struy, late Tutor, the young Lord's great granduncle, Thomas Fraser of Knocky, afterwards Strachin, my Lord's uncle, Hugh Fraser of Culboky, William Fraser of Foyer, Hugh Fraser of Belladrom, some of the house of Farrelin and Rilick; and all with their followers were not under 300 men. Thomas Knocky, being the nearest be line, declared to all met that the first thing meet to be stated in that convention was anent the tutory; that being once settled other things consequentiall would naturally and genuinly succeed. William Fraser of Struy replied that the mater needed no debat who should be tutor, for, seeing my Lord Lovat did not determin that point at his death, nor named any for that office, it would follow of will that he should be tutor, haveing managed that trust so well before, as his subscribed accounts present did clearly confirm; and as he should so, he would be tutor now also. Thomas Knocky replied that the reason whey he fell tutor to Lord Alexander, his brothers sone, was becaus he was nearest of line, and that same reason *a pari* would authorise him, being brother to the late deceased Lord, and uncle to the young minor, and that in point of conscience, grace, and nature would oblidge him to be more kindly and dutifull to his nephew than any else. Culboky and Foyer seconded strongly what Strachin had averred, and that it was legally besids being naturall that the nearest of kin, being a man of credit and honor, should enter tutor, and that the contrare, which was urged, would be of very bad and dangerous consequence, and therefore no such prepertive should be allowed. A great heat of unbeseeming altercations ensued, and the meeting split into factiones, and the worst was feared that the two factions should fall in blud. At length those of Strachins faction fall serious with Struy, telling him that it was most injourious to deal so with his relation, nor would he suffer to have his own right so bafled or questioned by a farther off relation when he was tutor to the late Hugh Lord Lovat, and that he would do well not to insist in it seing we had enemies might step in at the breach, and at last the lawe would deceed the mater in Strachins favour; quhich would make a lasting ruptur, and it was no time of fead betuixt so neare relations.

Whilst the gentlemen *hinc inde* were striveing to compose maters and bring the two antagonists to an amicable agreement, Donald Dow, the priest and after minister at Wardlaw, with his brother Andrew, wisely repared to Beufort Castle, where my Lady Lovat reseeded, and told her the issue of the meeting, and what factions and parties were made, tuixt Struy and Strachin and that the worst was feared; therefore it was her interest, for her own good and the great advantage of her children, to mediat and cast in overtures of agreement betuixt them. Whither these men were suborned or urged to this message it is not known, but there was much wit in it. My Lady replied that she had a great regard and veneration to them as churchmen, but she would neither goe nor send to their meeting, becaus they had not that due respect to her which they ought in craveing her advice and concurrence in a mater of such consequence, it being also her own concern, and if the worst should fall out that the sword should deceed it, there would not a drop of Stewarts blood be spilt in the quarrell. When this was related be the churchmen to the meeting, it put them all in an astonishing consternation, every one putting his own glosse and censur upon the fine ladies expression, but the wisest concluded that she would be indifferent though all of them should perish so she might get the ball at her own foot, and her friends to rule the rost, and step in to be tutors to Simon. In fine, any man of reason and wit may see the hand of God was wonderfully in it, it being a mean to cement them together; so that at length Struy succumbd, and Strachin succeeds tutor by the unanimous conscent of all present. Had maters gone wrong to a further litigation, it was thought that Foyer and Belladrom would side with Struy; but at best it would make a sad rupture, and play a dismall game to our enemies, who were wishing as well as waiting such occasiones and oportunities. When they dissolvd, and came jointly to pay a visit to my Lady, she welcomed them, and seemed to be very well pleased, intreating them to keep unity and amity among themselves, as it well becam them.

This grand affaire being closed successfully and in peace, the first thing that the tutor proposed was the keeping of a regality court in Beuly, where all the friends were present, and

there the patent which Lord Hugh had under the great seal of being herittable constable of the regality was read, and instrument taken be the tutor in the minors name, and also ordered that the feu-duty of 300 marks *annuatim* out of the barrony and pryorie should be ready at the tearm, that it might [be] advanced to the collector as a confirmation of a right and possession. But the monks of that pryorie, haveing been formerly, by order of Parliament, dispossessed and excluded the monastery, the good tutor, with advice of the friends, allowed them to keep their dormitories within the great house, and appointed so much victuall for their aliment (5 in number alive) now after the alienation of the rents of the priory of Beuly. Next day he went in progresse to perambulat the bounds and marches of Corricharby, and the graseings, mosses, woods, glens and shealings pertaining to the pryory surrounding all from top to bottom by the river of Orrin down to Ord and to Alt Boitteg, termed in the rights and donation *Rivulus ubi interfectus fuit Johannes M'kivir*, and thence to Inach Tarvidil, takeing instrument at every competent place as accords of law and justice. The same course the tutor followed in the bounds of Glenstrathfarrar, Strathglash, Urqhart, Abertarfe, Stratharrick, Leyes and Dulcross to the east, also Caplach and Kinmylies towards Nesse river, and, last of all, an expedition to Glenelg, and setling a chamberlane there.

I cannot omit here to give a breefe touch to an unexpected surprise that allarmed the tutor and the whole country and clan. The Mackenzies, whither out of jealousie that they had lost the priory, or suspition that there was a design to incroach upon their own marches, of which they as yet had no legall designation, they convocated about 200 men in arms, and came the length off Bothmouth, quhere they leagered; the tutor, being suddenly advertised, made no great noise, butt sent privat intelligence to Stratharick and other places about, to be in readiness upon a call, and put 60 pretty resolut fellowes in the house of Beuly, with two field pieces, pretty gunnes, set to the north, and appointed John Mackranald in Teachnouk, a resolut chiften, to govern that place. This being done, the country people were flocking from every corner, as from the circum-

ference to the center, whilst, meanwhile, some of the M'kenzies scouts are seen uppon the top of Riindown, but came no nearer; the tutor, as if he had not known of their motion (yet had his intelligence from their own camp) ordered John M'kranald to let off two or thre shot, as if he were to try or scoure the gunns. This allarmd the whole country, but did no hurt, save that it discourraged and deterred the other people from approaching nearer. This was not so privatly convoyed but newes thereof comes to the Laird of Fowles eares, who instantly convocats his kinsmen, and, with 300 men very well appointed, marched the length of the River of Connin, and sent two of his cheefe and prime gentlemen to J. M'Kenzie of Kintaile, desireing to know if he had any design uppon the Frasers, or if there was any difference at all betuixt him and them, and, if any such mater was, he had come that length to adjust the point friendly, nor would he suffer any incroachment to be mad upon that clan or country in the minority of the Lord Lovat, whose interest and quarrell he would espouse whilst he had men to follow him or bloud in his veins. Kintail is surprised, as it seemed, with this message from his nighbour, and avers that there was nothing in his mind against Lovat, his cousen, but much kindness, and, if any rash young men had run in the hills for sport, they had no warrand from him to approach the limits of that country under scugg of hostility or surprise.

These two chiftens had a whiles intercourse upon this and some other subjects, which I purpose not here to narrate, and parted in peace. The Laird of Fowles dissmissed his men home, and went forward himselfe with a competent convoy to Lovat, there to pay a visit to the Earle of Athols daughter, and to the young Simon Lord Lovat, and gave his kind advise to the Tutor how to carry for the future.

In October, the Lady Douager of Lovat prepares for their journay south, the Earle of Atholl, her father, haveing sent two gentlemen of his own name to convoy her to Blair. There were also three or four of the name of Stuart, who had come north in Janwary with the Lord Lovats corps and stayed here till now, viewing the country. One of whom, John Dow Stuart, a pretty, prudent gentleman, who declared that he was

leaving this place with a great reluctancy, and never was his feet in a more civil place, amongst a good discreeter people and a better governed country. My Lady takes journay with a noble retinue; the Tutor, haveing affaires at south, convoyed her to Atholl, and about the Christmass time she was marryed to [illegible] Stuart, Earle of March; and truly *prevento termino*. But her father and friends contrived this match for her, and let her goe; this country was happily rid of her, and the good luck which we missed whil she was with us Providence may now poure upon us. She was truely an ambitious, avaritius, ill-natured woman, haveing no love or affection for Frasers, and they had as litle for her, which made all without regreet dispense with her.

> And is she gone then? farewell shee;
> Adue to all our new nobility.

At her departur hence she signified some faint affection for her children, and expressed a counterfit desire of haveing her sone Simon along with her, pretending such education and accomplishment as was suitable for a young nobleman, and could not be attaind in the north. But the Tutor would not here of any such motion, and the whole name unanimously denied her that courtesy, telling plainly that the care and conduct of such a great and good father sone, and onely sone, should not be intrusted to any forreigner, being so young, but to his friends alone and his nearest kinsemen; and so the goodman of Foyer pleaded for that priveledge to have the child in his house and custody untill the Tutors return, which *pro tempore* was granted.

This Lady Elizabeth Stuart, after she was married to the good Earle of March, wholly wild and wanton, pretend visits to her father and friends that she might have the attendance of her gallants along with her. There was one Captain James Stuart, a relation of the famely, newly come home, being abroad, whom the Earle, out of mere charety, brought to his famely; him she fancied onely for her attendant, which her husband, dreeding no ill, concented to. Meantime, this Captain Stuart, finding the Earl of Morton, late Regent, out of Court, curries the favour of his mortall enemies about the

King, and among them contrived his ruin as accessory to the Kings murder with Bodwel. Upon this account the King favoures him with the title of Lord Arran. So, in end, with his cruel accomplices about the Court, brought the great Earle of Morton under a jury, is assised, convict, sentenced, and execut publickly, as I formerly narrated to the full.

Arran, getting this grand design throught, and Morton out of the way, concluds it easy for him to do anything else; so that his next contrivance was in his intrigues with the Lady March, Elisabeth Stuart, to procur her a divorce from her husband, as frigid, that so he might enjoy her to himselfe. The course of law is followed to the full in every point, divorce obtained before the judges competent, att Halyroodhouse, and in earnest Arran obtaines Elisabeth Stuart for his wife, and wer married next morrow. And, that what I aver uppon this head may be sustained and beleved as truth, I shall set down here for my warrand the expresse paragraph of a very famous historian on it.

Spotswoods *History*, p. 315.

In June 1581 the Earle of Arran made a discourse of his proceedings in the triall of Morton, declaring what he had done, and how to come to the knowledge of the fact for which he had suffered. He was forced to use some rigorous dealeing towards his servants, and put certain of them to the torture; lest this should be imputed to him as a crime, his desire was to have his Majesties and the Councels approbation. This was easely obtained, and an act made ratefying all that he had done in that bussiness as good service to his Majesty and the Estate. Yet was it well known to all that the inquisition he made upon Morton's servants was to find out where his gold and mony was hidden, and for no purposes else. Neare about the same time he tooke to wife the Earl of March his lady, a woman intollerable in all the imperfections incident to that sexe. She had forsaiken her husband not long before, and obtained sentence against him for alleadged impotency; yet was she known to be with child even then by Arran, which made the process on her part shamefull; nor was his part a whit better, nay, rather much worse, haveing been a long time entertained in the noblemans house, and furnished by him in everything necessary whilst his estate was yet but mean; to

have repayed the nobleman so dishonorably was accounted a vile ingratitud. The marriage, alwayes in end, went on, and their unlawfull love held that way legittimated.

* * * * *

[Follows account of affairs in Britain and on the Continent.]

Thomas Fraser, Tutor of Lovat.

Now it falles here in course that we treat of the Lord Lovats famely and his concerns these ten yeares bygon. When the Tutor of Lovat, Strachin, returnd north after convoying the Lady Dowager to Atholl, differences not being fully settled betuixt him and William Fraser of Struy, the former tutor, the Laird of Foules, a true friend of the famely, offers his suffrage, and brings along with him John More Monro of Miltoun. Their meeting held at Beuly, Thomas of Knocky/ the tutor/ called Patrick Grant, Laird of Glenmoriston, and John Dow Cameron, Locheel, his two trusties, who, all joining together, componed maters so amicably that there was no vestige left of any scruple betuixt Struy and Strachin. The former, being nott by law setled secured infeft and seased in his own estate, that he passt from all his former pretentions of tutoring the estate of Lovat, but was setled principall baliefe, and officiated still, either by himselfe or Deputs all the lordship over.

The next design was to dispose of the young Lord as to his aliment and education. The Tutor, thinking (as truly it is) that Beufort was the better aire, setles the children there, with such attendants as he judged competent for them, and calls Mr. John Noble out of Inverness to be my Lord Lovats governour, a grave, wise young man of good parts and learning. To him he committs the full care of his puple. At this time there was no setled incumbent preacher at Kiltarlity[1] or Kilmorak.[2] Donald Dow was minister at Wardlaw,[3] and, having

[1] Readers served in Kiltarlity till about 1624, when it got its first ordained minister, William Fraser.

[2] Donald Fraser, admitted about 1649, appears to have been the first minister of Kilmorack.

[3] Donald Dow Fraser (Black Donald Fraser), the first minister of Wardlaw, was admitted about 1574.

fully conformd, and as reformd, was institut and ordained, lived in Finask, there being no setled mans at Kirkhill; and had married Agnes Mald, out of Lovats famely.

The Tutor, calling a regality court at Beuly, charged all the possessors within the lordship to compeare there, and gave each a 7 yeares tack without grassum or entry mony, oblidging them to punctuall payment of their duty tearmly, to be frugall, laborious, mantain their respective marches exactly, and keep off strangers and ravagers; that, besids their bowes, every tennant should have a gun, and be ready whenever called to give attendance at randivouzes (when called) and exercise of arms.

He settles Alexander Fraser (vulgarly Sandy More Frishell) at Dalcros, giving him a take of that maines and the care of all the Leyes to keep marches against Rosses and M'kintoshes, being both apt to incroach.

In Stratharick and Abertarfe the Frasers were numerous, and few or no strangers among them; there keept courts, giving every gentleman his own particular post to maintain marches, liberties, and properties *contra quoscunque*, and setled Alexander Fraser of Farlin baliefe, a man of currag and conduct, and universally beloved and related. To Alexander M'ktaus he gives the custody of Ellanwirrich as constable. In Buntait near Urchart he fixes Alexander Macklean, vulgarly called Allister M'konil vickneil, to keepe these marches; the Mackleans of old being possessors of all that country were of great authority and command among them. The tutor went personally to Glenelg with a 100 bowmen, setled that country
June 1589. in tacks and assedation 7 yeares leace, and told them that if they keept not their own meaths and marches all over old use and wont *sibi imputet*, the losse would be much more their own than his, and therefore to stand in aw of non; he would defend them. At his return he setles Strathglaish and Glenstrathfarrar, setling the forrest of Affarick,[1] Coirincuillan, etc. upon tenants M'klenans and Chiesholms; the inner country of Gusachan, Hugh Culboky possessed.

In the barrony he secures Vrchany and Fairly upon Alex-

[1] Only a part of Strathglass belonged to the Lovats. Affaric was never theirs, being part of The Chisholm's barony of Comarmore.

ander M'kthomas vickallister, a stout fellow, to keep these marches, and to the north, to secure Corricharby and the marches down the river off Orrin against the Stratchounin men, he gives Ardnicrassk to Donald M'kivir and his brother John, that, when the one stayed at home the other might be in the hills traversing *per vices*.

In Glenconvinth Clan-i-luch,[1] Beatons, and M'kintliggichs,[2] had a very old douch [davach] in time out of mind and, that was the tutors temper, he would never dispossess an old native whilst he was able to labour. In Kinmilies the M'killvichels[3] were so numerous that they possest all that plat from Dunean to Clachniharrih, wester and easter Kinmilies, Moortoun, and the bottom of the green to the River of Nesse, also Merkinsh; and were burgers of the town of Inverness besids. In Obriachen the clan Illeulans[4] and Mackillroyes were old possessors, had the forrestry of the wood and Corrifoiness. In Bunchrive there were low commodious buildings quher the Lords of Lovat lived often for divertisement, and the tutor had the maines in labouring, and also the Mains of Lovat, quher he setled overseers. Englishtoun, Kirktoun, and Inshbary, the old possession of the Thomsons, the Mackwilliam oiges[5] and Mackallister leas[6] were now for a long time tennants, quhom he confirmed with tacks.

The parsonage of Farnway, possest by the missionary priests serving at the alter in Corridon Church,[7] is now by the care of the good tutor filled up with a reformed incumbend, Andrew Mackphaile, who is setled there; the small pittance of a stipend was payed him *ut sic ferebant tempora*, but he had a very good gleeb called yet Crait i Teample,[8] the church field; and the same Andrew Mackphail lived in Kirktown till *anno* 1606.[9] Farnway.

[1] Clann an Luch, the clan of the mouse.

[2] Mac an Lighich, son of the physician, probably related to the famous Beaton family of physicians.

[3] Mac Gille Mhicheil, son of the servant of St. Michael.

[4] Maclellan. [5] Son of William the younger.

[6] Son of white-headed Alexander.

[7] St. Curidan's Church: the church of Farnua. [8] The Temple Croft.

[9] There were two ministers of Fernua of this name. The first, presented 1569, died before 1575; the second, presented 1575, translated to Kingussie 1581, to Dores in 1590, and to Boleskine in 1607.

The year 1614 the anexation of the two parishes happened under Bishop Alexander Douglas, who, *jure devoluto*, presents Mr. John Howison [or Houston] to the same; for Kirkhill being a mensall the Bishop is undoubted patron, but annexing Farnway to it saith in plain tearms *in gremio*:—Haveing presented our brother, Mr. John Howison, expectant, to our mensall church of Wardlaw, we also present him to the benefice of the parsonage of Farnway now fallin, *devolute*, in our hands, *salvo jure* of the right honorable the Lord Spiny, patron of that parsonage.

The Lord Spiny Bruce, one of the Lords of Erection.

Inverness.

As for the Church of Inverness, to which the Lord Lovat pays stipend, it was served still by the Doctors of Divinity there. Also the Gray Friars assisted the cure, and missionary priests. I find one Sir David Cuthbert priest, Sir William Duff priest, Sir John Lauder priest, Sir James Duff priest; the Popes knights,[1] served at Inverness and in the country about. But about the year 1578, the reformation prevaileing here in the North, the town of Inverness calls one Mr. Thomas Howison [or Houston], formerly in orders, and now reformed, to be their minister. The Tutor of Lovat, Strachin, haveing got the patronage of Bonah in his own person confirmed under the great seale, concurrs with the town of Inverness to call and install Mr. Thomas Howison to be minister there, and payed him stipend out of the barrony of Kinmyly and Obriachan.

Dorris.

The parish of Dorris, being also within the lordship of Lovat, the Tutor urges upon the parishioners of Doris to call a minister; but, finding non qualefied for that charge, they were served with catichists and readers for a long time, which the Tutor incurraged freely.[2]

Cilchuimmen.

The parish of Boliskin, being also within the lordship of Stratharick, got no minister for a long time, and were served with catichists and readers, very much incurraged by the tutor.[3] The church of Cilchummen in Abertarfe is well provided; as a viccar at this time there is one Sir James Duff, a priest, serving there, and, comming to yeares of great age, finding the Reformation comming on, and having no inclina-

[1] *Sir* indicated the degree of B.A.; *Mr.* the higher degree of M.A.

[2] Andrew Macphail became minister of Dores in 1590.

[3] Andrew Macphail was appointed minister of Boleskine in 1607.

tion to reform or conform, he conduces with the Tutor of Lovat, and sells him the Viccarage Tack of Abertarf for a soume of mony, and away he flies.[1] This right of the viccarage the Tutor of Lovat got confirmed, along with his patronage, under the great seal: this is the worst act I find the good Tutor guilty off, a Simoniacal paction by a base priest, and sacriledge in him to have bought it *in detrimentum ecclesiæ*; but then there were no Acts of Regulation or Restriction, and churchmen might do what they pleased; as we find Bishop Hepburn had, a litle befor, delapidat the revenues of Murray by fewes and mortgages.[2] But the poor church of Abertarf was afterwards served by catechists and readers; and, when our church government was settled, the Bishop of Murray, for want of a benefice, annexed it to the church of Boleskin, and one man ever since is incumbent, and serves the cure in both places. Abertarf.

The Lord Lovat payes stipend to the Church of Leyes, called Croy, near Dalcross. The Tutor incurraged the readers and catechists there, but I find no setled minister there till about the year of God 1598;[3] nor was ther mans or gleab designed for the incumbent, much against the Tutor's will. Croy.

About the year of God 1574 Thomas Fraser, sone to the Laird of Philorth, married the widow of Strachin, Isabell Forbes, daughter to John Forbes of Corsindee. She was formerly matcht to William Chamber, who had a pretension to the estate, his brother George being abroad and no hopes of a return. He lived but two yeares with her, and, dying, left her well; and, soon after Thomas of Philorth, as he was called, marryed her, a handsom young woman, had but one daughter to William Chamers being weake, and pretending right to the interest of Strachin, threatens Thomas, as having no right but by his wife, that they would get him out by law and give her but a tocher. Thomas Fraser is content to compone with them, and give them a cut to close there mouthes; but his friends unhappily dissuaded him. He had severall meetings with them about this bargan, but the Chambers, finding him come no length, concluded that Thomas was 1574. Action of Strachin.

[1] Duff appears to have conformed. See Scott's *Fasti*, 'Abertarff.'

[2] See *Reg. Morav.* for these dilapidations.

[3] According to Shaw's *History of Moray*, Patrick Ladell was minister in 1585.

triffling with them, which they took as a dissaster and ignominy. They draw up with the Gordons of Gight, in effect the wickedest famely of that name; they pretend a paction with the Chalmers, and sends Thomas of Strachin message that they had bought the action from his antagonist, and threatens him more than they. Thomas, having good friends, and the law besids, told them that in justice he was not in their reverence, yet condescends to a communing with them. The meeting held at Aldeere,[1] where Frasers, Gordones, Chalmers, meet and conveen, and, after long reasonings, and no hope of agreement, they part. The madd Gordons, taking it as a reflection upon themselves, undertakeing an agreement, John Gordon, younger off Gight, persues Thomas of Strachin, and, near the bridge of Aldeer, kills him dead with one shlash of a too-handed sword, which then they mostly used; comming behind him unawars, which perhap before his face he durst not do. The poor widow of Strachin, now at her utmost plight, the Laird of Philorth being young, knew not whither to have recourse, at last is advised to make application to the Tutor of Lovat, a very active, prosperous man. In sheort, going south, the Tutor payed her a visit, takes the action in his own person, tables this dreedfull oppression before the Councell; he had Argile and Atholl to espouse his quarrell, and the Earl of Marr. The Marques of Huntly takes it high that any in the North durst medle at that rate with his kinsemen and famely. The King at last considers it, and, knowing what a leading, potent famely the Frasers were in the North, is affraid this would make a sad ruptur, and knowing quhat gumms had been before betuixt them, wisht that this might be composed.

It made two factions in the Councell, and the Marques of Huntly, a proud, ill-natured man, spurned at the Tutor of Lovat, and said that he had litle a doe to buy ploves in this nature, he might be better employed. The Tutor replyed, my lord, I but own the just cause and quarrell of an oppressed widow and a kinswoman, and have more credit of that than yowr predecessors had to own and assist rebellious robbers, the Mackranalds, and that his lordship would not find this

[1] Allt-Eire, Auldearn.

like the day of Lochlochy, of which we had renown, but his famely reproch, and the King should notice that there is not a broil in the North but is brocht by the Gordons, which the King and law should look to, else there would be no liveing by their nighboorhood. For his own part he represented a noble famely now, and, though his cheefe and puple was young, yet he would head them, and if there were no law in the kingdom but clublaw (which the Gordones licked) he would be regardless of their fead or favour, for at any time he could make as many Joustons as he had Jordons,[1] and would gett many mo clans in the North to own ten to on, than his lordship. But God blis the King! and keep the law on foot. This pertinent reply bread a great hust in the Councell, and many were well pleased at it, but how soft soever Huntly carried he never digested this sarcasm.

At last the mater is remitted and cast over to a criminall court, and the Marquess of Huntly, oblidged to present his kinsman, John Gordon of Gight, before the court at a limited day, under the pain of forfetry. At this time Huntly was not well beloved in the country or at court, and had been a late listed and charged among the criminall rebell Lords, and but newly patcht up a peace. In fine, the day of compeareance, and Gight presented, and instrument taken be Huntleys advocat. By the Justice Generalls order he was convoyed to prison untill the Kings mind were known, who would have the mater brought to a triall. The Gordons advocats pleaded strongly that it was not murther or slaughter, but chance medling. The Tutors advocats made it out malice and forethought felony. At late and last John Gordon of Gight is convict and sentenced for manslaughter, and cast into the Kings hands; who never liked bloud, and in his Privy Councell instanced the like done in the streets of Edinburgh, one Kerr to another, and by the Chancelour got a remission for the guilt, he advancing a soume of mony to the behoofe of the wife and children; and, if the Tutor of Lovat could be prevailed with, he could wish it might terminat there, and that a

[1] A pun insulting to the Gordons—Jouston from *joust*; and *jordan*, a chamber-pot.

soume of mony might do more good to the widow of Strachin than John Gight's blood, who by a deserved sentence and confession was as good as executed allrady; and this might prevent much ill among these two clanns for the future. At last the good Tutor was prevailed with by Athol and Argile; others, such as the Earl of Murray and Marr, had gained much ground upon him; in end John Gordon of Gight is but reprived, and still at the Kings mercy, and five thousand marks to be advanced to the Tutor of Lovat to be given to the widow, Isabell Forbes, and Gight to remain in prison untill the monny was delivered and reckoned in specie, which the Marques of Huntly got done the 4 day. Thus the Gordones were somequhat tamed, and the Tutor of Lovat in very great esteeme.

The King and nobles tooke some care to reconcile the Marques and the Tutor; Lovats interest, indeed, requeired a man of such a spirit as the Tutor was, for he lived amongst his enemies, the Highland clans on each sid of him, and he a stranger casten there, *ut rosa inter spinas*, as a rose among thorns. So the poet of old gave it in this distich:—

Natus Hyperboreas inter Fraserius heros:
E spinis docuit surgere posse rosam.

The Tutor of Lovat, takeing leave of the King, told his Majesty before the nobles that he was a poor subject who now represents a noble, ancient famely, which now upwards of 400 yeares were loyall, true subjects, and faithfull in their trusts ever to the Crown and royall familie, non of them ever stained with any base, disloyall act, even in the loosest and most rebellious times; still suffering for the King, and, if his Majesty had any service at the time for Frasers, they would spend their fortunes and lives in his concerns; which he presumed, as he was oblidged to show his Majesty in presence of his peers. The Kings Majesty was pleased to thank the Tutor, and said, Moreover, I wish that I might say and heare the like of every clan and great famely within my dominions; were it so, I would have more peace than I have, and my subjects farr more happy than they are; and pray have a speciall care of Simon, the young Lord Lovat, whom I wish well; he is great and

good father sone, although, as I must confesse, bad mother sone.

The Tutor of Lovat, weary of the Court, takes leave, kissing the Kings hand, and takes journay north to Buchan, comes to Strachin to visit a mournfull widow, and, calling all her friends together, declares to them the good success of his negotiation and expedition south, who were well pleased with all the legall decision of the process betuixt them and the Gordons, giving many thankes to him for mannaging the mater so exactly. The next step was to secure the lands of Strachin by law in lifrent to the widow and in fee to the ofspring. The nearest of line among the Chamers were called, especially Gilbert Chamber, late provost of Aberdeen, who had the strongest pretensions as heir male, but had no children; he being mean and low in his estate, for a small piece of mony compones and gives over his right to the Tutor; so did Alexander his brother sone, living in Tochens lands. There being non else to put in their clame, the Tutor payes off all the debts resting, and the lands of Strachin, holding in fiew of the Earle of Buchan, who then was forfeit, the Tutor agrees with the Exchequer, alters the rights, gets a *novodamus*, and now holds it *in capite* of the King. He marries Isabell Forbes, the widow, and takes the title of Thomas Fraser of Knocky,[1] Laird of Strachin; ads to the estate ten chalder more of Kindroch and Wester Tyree, that in *anno* 1599 he made the interest of Strachen near 60 chalders of victuall; erects it into a parish, builds a neat church, and plants one Mr. John Reed minister there, call the presbetry to meet, he designs his gleeb and mans for him, and procures the patronage in his own person under the great seale, so that now the whole parish of Strachin is his own, except three ploughs of land that my Lord Marshall possesses. The next minister that succeeded Reed was Mr. William Scot, whom I remember to see *anno* 1651. Thus have I in breefe deduced and narrated to my reader how the Tutor of Lovat, Thomas of Knocky, purchased the right off Strachin, which now his posterity possesses in prosperity and peace to the 6th generation.[2]

[1] Knockie, in Stratherrick.

[2] Fraser of Strichen, whose representative the present Lord Lovat is, succeeded to the Lovat estates in 1815.

It now falls in course that I give an account of Simon Lord Lovat. The Tutor takes speciall care of his education, keept him with himselfe, sometimes at Strachin, where lived often, other times at Beufort and his governor with him, and, though he had no inclination nor genious to letters, sent him to Aberdeen, committs him to the care and tutelage of Mr. William Rate, subprincipall of the Kings Colledge, but, to his loss, was a very bad proficient. At last he becam stubborn and unruly, wandering about with loose and debauch young men; so the regent acquainted the Tutor of his bad courses, and that he would not undertake that trust any longer. Whilst the Tutor is in his journay, resolving to bring him home and keep him still under his own tutelage and jurisdiction, Simon, knowing that his louse reines would be curbd, away he runs to Athol with a comerad of his called John Route, an Irish youth that had been at university, and now was turning home. He takes a madd fancy to goe to Ireland and see that country, and, as it was supposed that the Earle of Antrum was his cousen by the mother, he resolves to pay him a visit, and so they both set forward on their journay in July 1586, in the 16 year off Lord Simon his age. The Tutor of Lovat, inraged and under no small trouble and care about his pupil, comming to Aberdeen, misses him, which adds to his feare and vexation, searcht everywhere, sent south and north, but no account could be had of him. In the closur of that yeare letters from Ireland give an account that he was in the Earle of Antrums famely in Lonindary, and well cared for as one of his own children. The Tutors mind is at rest, and presently sent over two pretty men to attend him, on John M'ktaus, and Hugh M'kallister Fraser, and rids south himselfe to Falcland to acquaint the King with the mater, that one of his peers had taken such bad courses: and therefor his Majesty, to interpose his authority with the Earl of Antrum, that he might send him back to his native country, being his fathers onely sone, and a peer of the nation, and so near a relation of the royall famely.

The King was not slow to prosecut this project, dispatcht his post for Ireland, and wrot expresse to the Earle of Antrum his cousin desireing that he might, without delay, dispatch the

Lord Lovat for Scotland, and whatever convoy were sent with him they should be very liberally rewarded, besids of that obligation his lordship would put upon himselfe for such a piece of service done him; and his return he expected without delay.

The return of these letters came not to Scotland untill June 1587, the discreet Earle of Antrum makeing such apology as was proper and pertinent for him for this delay after the reset off his Majestys letter; but that the young Scots Lord had taken a circuit through most of the kingdom, to visit friends, and divert himselfe with persones of qualety in manly sports of hunting and hawking; and seing it was the Lord Lovats pleasure to pay him a visit, which wonderfully surprised him at his arrivall, he thought it his duty to entertain him according to his quality, and make him acquaint with the best of the gentry, and also give him a sight of the finest parts of Ireland.

The Tutor, with all other the Lord Lovats freinds and relations, full of doubts and anxiety at this return, and their chiefes demurr in Ireland, bugan to feare the worse, consulting with lawyers as to the hazard of his stay, and also jealousing that he might run in debt, morgage lands, delapidat much of his interest by those foolish, extravagant courses; concluds it the safest way for prevention of this to get him interdicted, and the rather and better if it could be gotten done with his own concent and free inclination and choice. To this end they procure the Kings letter to the Lord Lovat, shewing him that it was his advice and command, with the advice of his curators and friends, in speciall to concent to an interdictment and voluntary inhibition of himselfe for his futur good and setlement. To this the Lord Lovat concents, and here I have set down an extract coppied of the principall.

Interdiction Lord Lovat

At Edinburgh the twentie sevent day of October the yeare 1587. of God an thousand five hundered and four score seven yiers, in presens of the Lords of Councell comperit personally John Halyday procurator specially constitut for Simon Lord Fraser of Lovat and his curators be vertue of the interdiction under-

written, and gave in the same subscrivit with their hands desireing it to be insert and registrat in the Bookes of Councell and an decrit of the Lords thereoff to be interponit thereto and letter of publication to be direct thereupon, the quhilk desire the saids Lords thought resonable and therefore has ordaind and ordains the said interdiction to be insert and registrat in the saids Bookes of Councell and therefore has interponit and interposes their decreet and authority thereto and ordaines letters of publication to be direct thereupon, of the whilk interdiction the tenor followes, Be it kend till all men be thir present letters me Simon Lord Fraser of Lovat with expresse consent, assent, and advice of my curators undersubscriband for eschewing of the craft and desseit of sic persones as for their own profit might . . . or move me to dispone any part of my lands and living and for keeping thereof together whil sic time as I may haife sufficient experience of worldly affaires, to be boundin and obleist, and be the tenor hereof bindis and oblises me, that I shall neither sell, amort, dispone, or put away naine of my lands, barronies, rowmes nor possessions quhilkis aither directly pertaines and succeeds to me through decease of umqhil Hugh Lord Fraser of Lovat my father or ony other my predecessors, or that has been conquest and purchast to me in my minority sen their deceass, or qhilk may fall and appertain at any time hereafter by the deceise of ony other quhatsomever person or persones or whairunto I haife or may haife right be quhatsumever manner of way quherever the same lye within the realm ; and that I shall neither make assignations, resignations, reversions, bands, contracts, nor obligations quherby comprisings redemptions or any other inconvenients may follow thereuppon, nor that I shall neither renounce nor otherwayes discharge any reversion grantit to me or any my predecessors for redemption of whatsomever other lands or possessions, nor that I shall no wayes renounce nor discharge na actions that ar or may be competent to me aganis quhatsumever persones for quhatsumever caus or occasion ather bygon or to cum, nor make na other dispositions, rights, nor tytlis directly nor indirectly be the whilks my landis and leving or any part thereof may be evicted fra me or whairby ony way be hurt or prejugit in

the peaceable bruiking thairoff, and forder that I shall neither set nor make na langer takes, rentallis, nor assedationes of my saids lands and leiving nor na part thereof bot for the space of fyve yeares allanarlie, and that always but diminution of the ald rentall that was payed of before to me and my predecessors, and shortlie that I shall neither directly nor indirectly doe nor perform na fact nor deed that may hurt me and my aires anent our saidis landis and leiving or that onywayes may dimeneis the rentall thairof without speciall advise consent and assent of my honorable friends after nominat viz. James, Lord Stewart, late Chancellar of this realm, Dame Elisabeth Stewart, Lady Lovatt his spouse, James, Lord of Down, Thomas Kennadie of Barganye, Patrick Gordon of Achindoun, Alexander Fraser of Philoroth, Sir William Stewart of Caverston, knight, Thomas Fraser off Knockie, and William Fraser of Strwy, at the least of three of them had and obtanit therto, the said James, Lord Stewart, lait chancellar, or his said spouse, beand alwayes ane of the three, sua that it shall not be lesim to me to make ony security, nor to do no fact nor deed except the same be expeid with speciall advice either of the said James, Lord Stewart, or his said spouse, and subscribed with their handis as the first of the three friends consentant therto; and to that effect I am content to be interdytit at the instance of my honorable friends before namit and be the tenor heirof interdytis myselfe fra all dispositions and makeing of other rights of my landis and living otherwayes than is before specifeit wheil I be threttie yeares of age compleit, and whatsomever fact or deid that shall happen to be done be me contrare the premiss shall be null and of nane avail for strenth nor effect with all that may follo thairupon. And for the better observing of the premesse, I maist humlie beseek the Lordis of Counsall and Session to receaive my said interdiction and to cause register the samin in thair buikes and to interpone thair decreet and authority thairto, and to direct letters of publication thairupon, and makis and constitutis John Halyday, etc. conjunctly and severally, my irrevocable procurators thairupon to compeare for me and in my name before the saidis Lordis and concent to the registration heirof in manner forsaid

ferme and stabil, etc. In witness whereof I haife subscryvit thir presents as followis. At Air and Glamornie in Ireland the xj and third dayes of September and October rexive [respective] the year of God $j^{m}v^{c}$ fourscore and seven yeares before thir witnesses Robert Cuninghame of Kirkstile, Daniel Strang, sone to Capitain Strang, Sorill M'konil, Lord of the Rocot, Mackanguis Mackonill of the Glennis, and Master James Spense servitor to the said Lord Chancelour, with others diverse—*Sic subscribitur*, Simon Lord Fraser of Lovatt; James Lord Chancelour, curator; Sir Robert Melvil of Mordocairin, knight, curator; David Strangg witnes; Mr. James Spens witnes. *Extractum de Libro Actorum per me Alexandrum Hay de Ester Kennet, Clericum Rotulorum Registri ac Consilij S. D. N. Regis sub meis signo et subscriptione manualibus.* Alexander Hay.

In June Captain James Stuart of Arran gave in a delation against Thirlesten and others, as being in accession to the Queen Mothers death, and, fealeing in point of probation, a process of forfeiture was laid against him, July 20, and the office of Chancellary, of which till now he kept the title, was declared void, and that office bestowed uppon the Lord Thirlestane; and Captain James, running for it, came north that winter, sheltering himselfe and his lady in remoat corners of this country, and, as it was judged, the King winked at it. In June 1588 Lord Simon Fraser of Lovat returned for Scotland, haveing been neare two yeares in Ireland, and, comming to Edinburgh, was introduced by his uncle, the Earle of Athol, to the Court at Halyrood house, and, kissing the Kings hands, returned North, being now about 18 yeares of age. The joyes and acclamations all this country over was solemn enugh among all degrees for the Lord Lovates safe arrivall into his native soil; but the tutors expressions of gratitud to God for him were singular and beyond all, so that the great griefe and disscontent which he had sustaind formerly for him was now fully compenst in his cordiall and joifull reception of him, as the father to the prodigall sone, getting him in his paternall embraces alive who on some account was dead. The tutores next care was to send off mony for paying and cleareing his expenses during his abode

in Ireland, which was not above the halfe of what might be expected to amount to.

The late Chanclour being now in the country, my lord spent most of his time in hunting with him, and waiting upon the great though not good lady, his own mother; and, being under continuall feare, their residence was in the Isle of Lochbruyach,[1] a fort as remoat from any roade, so also obscure, very commodious for fishes, fowle, and venison; and shee, haveing a tearce of the lordship, was well furnished by her tennants with all manner of provision fitt for a great famely. I remember to have spoken with two or three old men who had seen those great persones here *anno* 1589, their carriage, converse, method of living. Especially, old Struy, Thomas Fraser of Bruyach, told me exactly of their famely keeping, their garb and retinue; and I went myselfe of purpose to Loch Bruyach, upon which there was a litle old coble boat, and, rowing near the Isle, I saw the trests and supporters of the oaken table which that Lady Lovat had, being sunk in the bottom of the Loch, and also the boat which ferried them over sunk in another corner. What their fancy was of sinking table or boat in the loch quhere they lived I could not learn.

But to satisfie my reader, as well as my selfe, I have here set on record a bond that this Lady Lovat had given to one Duncan M'kulloch in Alter[2] for the soume of 300 marks borrowed from him with conjunct consent of her husband James Steward, Chancelour, with a tack of land, March 1589. 1589 yeares.

Be it kend till all men be thir presents me Dame Elisabeth Stewart/Lady of Lovat/with consent of my beluifit spouse/ James, Lord Chanclour, for his interes, to have set and lattis and by the tenor hereof sets and lattis to my lowit Doncan M'kculloch in Alter all and haile my terce whilk I presently possesse of the town and lands of Dunballach, except sa mikle as is occupiet of the same be John M'kfinlay vickivir, for the space of an yeare next and immediatlie following the term of Whitsunday in the yeare of God j^{m} v^{c} fourscore nine yeares, whilk term shall be the entry of the said Duncan to

[1] Loch Bruiach, in Kiltarlity.

[2] Altyre, in Kilmorack.

the said terce, and to endure aye and qhill the said yeare be compleitly outridinge, to be peaceably usit, bruiked, occupiet, labourit, manurit, set and disponit to the said Duncan and his servants and tennants in his name as he shall think it expedient dureing the said yeare, freely, quietly, well and in peace but any revocation, obstacle, impediment, or again calling qhatsomever, payand therefore the said Doncan Mackullach to me my chamerlans and factors in my name the soume off seventeen bolles farm victuall at the terms of payment usit and wont, allenarly, during the said space of the said yeare, and I the said Dame Elisabeth Stewart with consent off my spouse underwritten and above specifit will warrand, acquit, and defend this present tack to the said Duncan M'kulloch in Alter against all mortalls whatsomer as law will for now and ever. And also I the said Dame Elisabeth Stewart grant me be thir presents to have reservit from the said Duncan Mackulloch in numerit mony all and hail the soume of three hunderit marks Scots in borrowing and for the len of the quhilk soume I bind and oblish me my aires, exequitors, and assignayes to unto the said Doncan or his eires, executors, and assignayes the soume of ane boll victuall one firlot 1 peck p^{t} victuall betuixt this and Whitsunday next, at the quhilk term I intend, God willing, to pay and deliver again to the said Duncan the said soume of three hundred marks, and gif it shall happen that the said soume be unpayed to the said Duncan than in that case the said Duncan shall have for the profit of the same to Martimas next the soume of aught bolls victuall in case of non payment of the said soume of three hundred marks to the said Duncan his eires, exequitors, and assignayes at the said Martimas, in that case the said Duncan Mackulloch his eires, exequitors, and assignayes sall have the soume of aught bolles victuall to the term of Whitsunday next and immediat following the said Martimas terme, viz. Whitsunday in the year of God j^{m} v^{c} fourscore ten yeares, at the which term of Whitsunday forsaid I the said Dame Elisabeth Stewart, with consent of my said spowes, bind and oblishes me my eires, exequitors, and assignayes to pay the said soume of three hundered marks mony to the said Duncan Mackulloch his eires, exequitors,

and assignayes without any forder delay, fraud, or gyle, and for fullfilling of the premisses and thankfull payment to be made to the said Duncan M'kculloch of the said three hundered marks at the term above specifeit I have found Donald Roy Mackyleich,[1] and Donald M'konilroy his sone, in Faynblare, John M'konildui in Ardblair, Donald M'krobie and Donald M'konilvickrobby, his brother, in Kirktoun of Convents, and John Frisel in Culmullen, cationers and full souerties to the said Doncan, quhilk they have accepted willingly, and subscrivit thir presents as after followes, and I the said Dame Elisabeth Lady forsaid, with consent of my said spous, bind and oblisis me my eires, exequitors, and assignayes to relife the above specifit cationers at the hands of the said Doncan M'kulloch and his forsaids of the said soume of three hundered marks as is above specifeit, and be thir presents consentis that the said Doncan Mackulloch have in his owne hands of the farmes of Dunballach in payment of the profeit that I have promised for the said three hundered marks conform to the rate of time that the said soume shall be unpayt to him as above explainit, quhilk shall be allocat to him and his forsaids as payment to us of the farmes containit in the assedation above written butt fraud or gyle. In witness whereoff I the said Dame Elisabeth, with consent of my forsaid spouse, has subscribit thir presents with my hand at Bewlie the xxvij day of March the year of God j^{m} v^{c} fourscore nyne yeares before thir wittnesses, John M'kranald in Tachnoch, Alexander Cuik our officer, and Donald Dow minister at Wardlaw, and diverse uthers—James Stewart, Chancelor; Elisabeth Stewart, La. Lo.; Jo. M'kranald, Alex^{r} Cuik; Donald Dow minister at Wardlaw w^{t} my hand.

I happend uppon a time in John M'kulloch of Teawigs house, and searching out some papers of his, I ligted uppon this old bond among them; he seemed not to care much for it, and my curiosity prompted me to preserve it, and to this purpose that I might record it *verbatim*, not onely for the style of these times, but also becaus it confirmes to us the time and date of the Chanceloures being in our country with

[1] Red Donald, son of the Physician. See note p.

his lady, agreing with our own tradition, and history; and it was rare to see a tennant command so much mony as 300 marks in those dayes, and be so readdy to lend it to persones of their quality. The soume was certainly advanced, but never again payed to the honest man, and his cautioners not bound in law or not able to pay it. Who had writ the bond is not known not being insert in the evident. Some think it was Donald Dow minister of Warlawes hand though not expressed in the body of the writ, yet like it, and whey he should conceal it or if it was the custome of the time *me latet.*[1]

Anno 1589, the Lord Lovats curators and neare friends resolve together for a match to him, there being no more males extant of the famely (and consequently weake) but himselfe, and therefore, for propogation of his ofspring, and to confine him at home, as also to make an agrement, concord, and sound harmony betuixt the two clans of Fraseres and Mackenyies, they conclud to marry the young Lord Lovat with Margret, daughter to Collin of Kintaile, a handsom, gentill young lady, *ut sic ferebant tempora*, such as the education of those rude times could afford; and truly she was very good and vertuous, but short lived; the short lace we had of her was to our sad loss, as the sad consequence of her airly death, and Lord Simon's costly 2d match sufficiently evince and confirm.

His uncle, the Earle of Athol, was farr against Lovat his match with the Mackenyes, as he signified by his frequent letters to the Tutor; his whole design was to get him allyed with Argile or Marr, leading men of the times, rich and potent, and which would bring him in court with the King, and procure him preferment. But his mothers influence prevailed with him, and the Chancelours onely work was to get this match throught, and, indeed, it was his interest being out of Court, lost the Kings favour, and all his friends at south at variance with him, had no title given him now but reduce him to his first origen Captain Stewart. This galled him so that he strive to make friends among the clans in the North,

[1] The insertion of the writer of a deed was first made necessary by the Act 1593, c. 179.

frequently visiting the Mackenyies, Monroes, and Rosses; and certainly his great partes, currage, and good carriage would procure favour and respect for him anywhere.

All doubts being laid asid, the match goes on tuixt Lovat and Kintaile, for Simon had a great fancy for the young lady; a set day is appointed and the marriage celebrated at St. Church in Dingwall be Mr. Alexander Graham, Dean of Rosse, a relation of the Chancelour. Thus is Lord Simon Fraser of Lovat married with Dame Katharin M'Kenye, Kintaile's daughter, or the Knight of Kintail, whither Katharin or Margret were her name in confirmation is uncertain, but she had both. The wedding feast was kept at Braan house, and it being at Christmas, December 24, 1589, the Yowell was royall and solemn, nothing wanting to make it a splendid bridall, where all the clans in the North in part ore whole were concerned; for Grants daughter being Lady Kintail the brids mother, M'kleud her grandmother, Fraser her great-grandmother, so that Lord Simon and his lady were within the 5th degree in bloud relation. In January he brought his lady home, a great infare in the house of Beuly, where for building there was very great accomodation, the fore court surrounded with all needfull office houses, and the back court, called the priors court, with severall leach [1] lodgings, especiall the painted chamber called Shamerbrea [2] which was the priors prime lodging, a strong, curious, well contrived building with lofts and parloures.

In April 1590 Lord Simon is served heir and retoured to his grandfather and father, late Lord Hugh, at Inverness, quher they had a most princely treat, rare enugh in that place and in those dayes; and at one and the same time the Tutor of Lovat, Thomas, Laird of Strachin, gave up his accounts in singular good order, to the wonderfull satisfaction of all present, piers and persones of qualety called to that effect, viz. the Earl off Atholl, the Earl of Murray, the Earle of Arran, chancelour, the Laird of Grant, the Laird of M'kintosh, the Shirref Murray, Laird M'kenyie, Laird of

[1] Laich, 'low.'

[2] Seòmar Briadh, 'the beautiful chamber'; but elsewhere called by our author Seòmar Breac, 'the speckled or chequered chamber'. See p.

Foules, Laird Ballingown, Glenmorriston, Milton Monro, William Fraser Struy, Hugh Fraser Cubboky, William Fraser Foyres.

These accounts were so exact and regular that the stricktest critick could not quarrell and challange any informality or error, yea, beyond expectation, not a farthing debt; freed all mortgages, localities, and adds to the old estate 5 thousand per annum; so that Lord Simon that and next year was entered to and infeft in fourscore davachs of land without fiew or morgage, and in good monny 30,000 marks rent and more, as is thought nearer 40,000. This made King James the 6 say that he noticed 3 singular tutors in the North all at one time, who had made great and free estates to their puples, and some of them near as great to themselves, viz. the Tutor of Lovat, the Tutor of Kintail, and the Tutor of Cromarty. Of those in particular I may, God willing, have occasion to treat in their own proper places. But, as to Lovat, Lord Simon had but two children with this lady, Lord Hugh the Master, born September 1590, and Miss Elisabeth, born in November 1591. She was married to Alexander Dunbarr, Shirref Murray. Of both these I shall have occasion afterwards to treat. This good Lady Lovat lived but 3 yeares, to our great loss. She died at Beuly, in the painted chamber, quher she boar all her children, December 1593 yeares.

Now I shall in common course inform here, and treat of contingencies in the country contemporary with Lovat. In
1584. the year of God 1584, George, Earle of Cathness, Anna, George Earle of Huntlies onely sister, at that infair by Huntlies mediation the Earles of Sutherland and Cathness were fully reconciled, and concluded it was among them that the Clangun [Clan Gunn] in Cathness should be invaded and persued vigorously by both these Earles, as justly jealoused to be bad instruments, or rather the authors of all the troubles which formerly happened bot nixt these two countries; and to that end it was contrived that two companies of pretty men should be instantly by both the Earles sent out instantly against these Clanguns in Cathness, to come upon them unawars, so as to allarum and hem them in, that no place off retreat should be left for them there; which accordingly was

done. The Earl of Sutherlands men were conducted by John Gordon of Backyes and James M'kRory. The Earle of Cathnes company were conducted by his cousin, Henry Sinclar, a very resolut fellow. So it happened that this Henry Sinclar rancountered first with the Clanguns, who were convocat in a body at a hill called Bingrim, and one William Macky, brother to Hugh M'ky of Strathnaver, their chiften. He was nephew to Henry Sinclar. This William brought with him some Strathnaver men to help the Clangunnes, by which it appeares that they were advertised of the design against them. No sooner came the parties in sight one of another but they both prepared to fight, and the ingagement undertaken without delay or feare on either side. The Clangun, though fewer in number, yet got the advantage of the hill, the more favourable ground, by reason of which the Cathness men came short with their first flight of arrowes; and the Clangun spared their shot till they came hard at the enemy, which they than scattered among them with great advantage, to the losse of very many. Then ensued a sore and desperat conflict at a place called Ald.Gawn. There Henry Sinclar was slain, with six score of his men; the rest toke the chease, put to a shamefull flight, who had all destroyed if the darkness of the night favoured their escape. The report of this defeat comming to John Gordon and James M'krory, with Niel Mackean vick William, who had the conduct of the Sutherland men, they persued the Clanguns, following them hot foot to Lochbroome in the hight of Rosse. Thither they retired to recruit themselves, yet were not secure, expecting an onsett. The Sutherland men thought but doubt to surprise them, but they were awar of their aproach, and rancountered at a place called Leachkmailm, where there hapened a sharp and hot skirmish. The Clangun behaved manfully, yet, overpowered, were worsted, 32 of them slain, and double the number of the Sutherlanders, and James M'krory, one of their chiftens, slain uppon the place; the other, called Niele sorely wounded; the captain of the Clangun, Georg Oige,[1] wounded also, who, being taken prisoner, was carried captive to Doun Robbin, and presented to Alex-

Conflict of Aldgawn.

Lechkmailm, 1586.

[1] George the Younger.

ander, Earle of Sutherland. This sory victory was dear bought, without gain or credit in the attempt; two Earles to joine again a poor handfull, and a mean famely sheltered under their patronage, as George Oig told the Earle in his face and freer language. This conflict happened upon the 10 of September 1586.

The next account is of a commotion that happened in the West and South Isles between the Mackdonalds and M'kleans. Upon this head, Donald Gorm more M'kdonald of Slait, traveling from the Isle of Sky to visit his cousin, Anguis M'kdonell of Kantyre, in his voyag landed in the Isle of Juray, driven thither by contrary winds. This island, being divided betuixt M'kdonald and M'kleans, and he happened to light upon the M'kleans part of it; where no sooner ashoare then two outlawes, Alexander Macdonell Tearroach, and Hugh M'illeaspig, lately at varriance with Donald Gorm, arrived there also, with a company of men, and, understanding that Donald Gorm was there, secretly, by night, away takes a number of cattell out of the M'kleans part of the isle, and to sea they drive; hereby to leave the blot and blemish upon Donald Gorm, and by this breed a ruptur tuixt him and M'klean; which accordingly happened, for the Mackleans being allarmed, Sir Lachlin M'klean convocats his men, and, under silence of night, invads Donald Gorm and his men, beleagured in a place called Invir-Chnock-wrick, expecting no harm, are surprised suddenly, and 60 of M'Donalds men killed upon the place. Donald Gorm and the residue of his men escaped into a ship which lay in that harbur for a wind.

Anguis M'kdonell of Kintyre, heareing of this lamentable accident, fallen out betuixt his own brother-in-law, whose sister was his wife, and his cosin Donald Gorm more, he taketh journay into the Isle of Sky to visit Donald Gorm, and to contrive a reconciliation betuixt him and Macklean upon the mistake. Staying a while in the Isle of Sky, takes his voyage home again to Kintire, and in his return lands in Mull, and went to Dowart, M'kleans cheefe dwelling place there. This he did unadvisedly, for his two brothers, Coll and Ranald, and others dissuaded him, adviseing him rather to appoint a meeting with M'klean, and declare to him how much Donald Gorm

More, his cousin, was injured, and yet how inclined to a reconciliation. But Anguis, trusting so much in his brother-in-law, Sir Lauchlin, he would neither harbour a jealousy of him, nor hearkin to their advice; whereupon his two brethren left him, but his cousin, Ranald, accompanied him to Dowart, where he was at first welcomed with a great shew of kindness, but at last he and his men were seased and secured as prisoners by Sir Lauchlin. But that night Ranald M'kcoll escaped narrowly, and Anguis was there detained captive untill he renounced his right and title to the Rinnes of Ila, which was the heritage of the Mackdonald by donation from the King, for their personall service. Anguis, in end, was forced to yeld or die; for performance of which he gave his eldest sone, James, and his brother Ranald, as pledges, to remain in Dowart till Sir Lauchlin got the right of the Rinnes made over to him; all which being done they are set at liberty. But not being able to digest this wrong now dubled, first to Donald Gorm More, his cousin, and now to himselfe, he studdied by all meanes to be reveinged; and that he lighted upon was trist Sir Lauchlin and give a kind invitatione from Mull to Isla, there to close their agreement and give him seasing in the Rinnes. Sir Lauchlin yeld and comes to Ila, leaveing Ranald, one of the pledges, in fetters at Dowart, and brought the other pledge, James, and his own nephew along with him, and arrives in Ila at Ellan-Loch-Gorm, a ruinous fort in the Rinnes, where Anguis waited upon him, and invited him heartily to his own house, where he needed dreed no harm, and be as welcom as his heart could make him as long as his provision lasted; and then they would goe to the next house, and so all along through the country, a custom usuall among Hilanders, to sorrin [sorn] from house to house, makeing merry whilst provision lasts, and still carry the master of the last house with them. This invitation Sir Lauchlin doubted, telling Anguis that he could not nor would he venter to goe with him, knowing that he could not misse to revenge his former injury done by him. Anguis replied that he needed not mistrust him in the least, having alrady in his possession the dearest pledges he had in the world to impignorat, and, withall, that it was his own sisters house, who would not countenance or suffer the meanest wrong done to her

relations, especially her bloud concerns; and, for his own part, God knew his heart, he intended nothing against him but to keep up that brotherly relation that was ever betuixt them, and, if he should be, knew well enugh that he was no party against him. Sir Lachlin, upon this protestation, rests content, and, void of all suspition, goes along with Anguis to his house at Millintrea, accompanied with fourscore sex of his kinsmen and servants, keeping still his pledge, James, Anguis his sone, in his bedchamber with him, to save himselfe from danger, if any violence were offered. Here they come in July 1586, where at their arrivall they were entertaind with all the solemnity, and civility, good faire and feasting. Meanwhile, Anguis prively premonished all his friends and followers within the Isle to be at his house about midnight, well armed, and there to wait his cashmachk[1] and sign, concluding with himselfe to kill them all the first night of their arrivall. After supper, M'klan, with all his men, were lodged in a long, strong house, remoat from all other building in the town, which was his owne choice, keeping still with him his pledge, James, before mentioned. About midnight, when they were all asleep, as was judged, Anguis, assembling his men about the house to the number of 400, came himselfe to the door and called upon Sir Lachling to let him in that he might give him his collation or repeting drink, which was forgot to be given him before he went to bed. Sir Lachlin thanked him, saying that he desired non at that time. Anguis replied that it was his will he should rise and come forth to receave it. Macklean, suspecting the worse, arose in heast with his nephew James in his armes, resolving that, if present killing was intended, he would safe himselfe as long as he could by the guard of the boy, who, seing his father standing with a bare sword in his hand, and a number of armed men in like posture with naked swords, with a lowd voice cryed for mercy to his uncle, which was granted, and M'klean removed to a secret chamber till the next morning, at which time Anguis called all the rest to come forth, such as would have their lives to be saved. All the men cam out; Alexander Mackdonell Tearrach, and another whom

[1] Caismeachd, 'war-cry.'

he named, excepted onelie. These two, feareing danger, and refuseing to come forth, Anguis caused set fire to the house, and these two cruelly burnt within it. This Mackdonald Tearrach was the author of all these troubles. The other was a near kinsman of Mackleanes, and the oldest of that surname for councell and currage. The rumor is spread all Ila over that Ranald, the brother of Anguis Mackdonald, and the other pledge given to Sir Lachlin, were both killed at Duart by M'kleans friends; which false report was raised by Allan, that thereby Anguis M'kdonald might be moved to kill his prisoner, Sir Lachlin, that so Allan might succeed heir in his vice; yet it wrought this effect, that how soon the report came to Anguis his eares that his brother Ranald was slain he reveinged himselfe to the full, causing threescore of M'kleans followers to be beheaded by cuples the day following by Coll, the brother of Anguis. This bloody cruel fact at Mull comming to the Earl of Argyles eares, he convocates his men *instanter* to release Sir Lachlin out of Anguis M'donells hands; but, considering that this could not be done so safe by force, he acquaints the King and Councel herewith. So a herald is presently sent to charge Anguis M'kdonell in the Kings majesties name to deliver up Sir Lachlin into the hands of the Earl of Argile; but the haven port quher the herald should land is blockt up, and so returnd back *re infecta*. But afterwards, by a great deal of paines and travell taken by Sir James Stewart, the Chancelour, and many weighty conditions granted by Sir Lachlin to Anguis M'kdonel, he was at last released, Ranald, Anguis his brother, the pledge restored, and, for performance of the heads agreed upon, Macklean gives his own sone, and a sone of M'kleud of Haris, to Anguis Mackdonald; so that maters was at a full close the next summer.

The year after, Anguis, upon some emergent, weighty, and peremptor, went over to Ireland, which M'klean understanding, invaded Illa, burn and killed all over, regarding neither the safety of the pledges, nor his faith before plighted at his own deliverance. Anguis M'kdonald, returning out of Ireland, never troubled the innocent pledges left in his hand for what was done in his absence, but in fury and rage conveened all his men, and, in a hostile way, enters Tirye, belonging to

Macklean, and with fire and sword killed all the inhabitants without exception, and all maner of cattle serving the use of man, and thence came to the Binmore in Muil killing and destroying the M'kleans at his pleasur; thus revenging himselfe of his former wrongs in Muil and Tirye. Meantime, Sir Lachlin enters Cantyre, spoild and wasted and brunt all over. Thus for a while they ruined one another, untill both their countries were wasted. In end, Sir Lachlin entises John M'kean of Ardnimurchag, a Mackdonald,[1] and then a widower, to come over to Muil, promising to make up a match betuixt him and his mother, to whom the said John had been formerly a sutor. John came to Muill, the marriage concluded and celebrated at Torloisk, M'klean hereby thinking to draw Andnimurchig to his side, to party him against Anguis M'kdonell; but, it being whispered that Ardnimurchig declined to assist Sir Lachlin against Anguis, behold the same very night John M'klanes chamber was forced, himselfe taken from his bed out of M'kleans mothers armes, and eighteen of his men slain. These were and are to this day in a proverb called M'kleans nuptialls. John Mackean is detained a whole yeare in captivity there, and was denied in exchange for M'klean his sone and the rest of the pledges which Anguis M'kdonald had in his hands. The next yeare these two islanders, M'klean and Anguis M'kdonell, were both charged by a herald at arms to compeare before the King and Privy Councell on a set day under pain of forfeitry. At their compeirance they were both committed to ward in the castle of Edinburgh, at last were reconciled under bail and a great mulct enacted upon the first breach, a remission is granted to them both and remitted home safely, but their eldest sone left pledges for their future good behaviour and obedience to the Kings lawes; and O what barbarous rude times were these!

1587. In the year of God 1587 there happened a new dissention betuixt the Earles of Sutherland and Cathness. Uppon this occasion one George Gordon of Marten in Sutherland, base sone to Gilbert Gordon of Crarty, had done severall contempts and indignities to the Earl of Cathness and his servants, by the

[1] Mac Iain of Ardnamurchan.

neareness of George Gordon his dwelling place to the borders of Cathness, which occasioned his incroachments; so that these insolencies of his the Earle of Cathness resolve no longer to endure, and so convocates a company of men, horse and foot, and, comming under silence of the night, invades George Gordon in his own house at Marten. He made all the resistance he could against, and killes a speciall gentleman of Cathness, called John Sutherland, and so issued out of the house, and so runs to the river of Helmsdale, thinking to escape by swimming; but he was shot with a shower of arrowes, and slain in the river. This happened in February, forsaid yeare. Alexander, Earle of Sutherland, most grivously resents George his death, and resolves upon a revenge whereupon he corresponds with his friends at court, and procures a commission against the slayers of Gordon, so that next February he sent two hundered men into Cathnesse under the conduct of John Gordon of Golspy Tower and John Gordon of Backies, who invade the two parishes of Dunbath and Leathron with great hostilitie, spoiling and burning. One John James sone, a Cathness gentleman, and some others were slain in the attack and so returnd again. This was called Creach-Lairn.[1] At this time John M'kye was recomitted to his superior the Earle of Sutherland, and accompanied him with all his men, and entered Cathness the 2d time with no small fury and hostility, spoileing all before them till they came to Girnego Castle, where the Earl of Cathness then reseeded, thence to Weeke, tooke that town and burnt it; they then besieged Girnego for a fortnight, and Earl Alexander of Sutherland, perceiving that Girnego could not be gained with a long siege and loss, he sent his men abroad through the country of Cathness to persue such as had been about the slaughter of George Gordon; and, haveing slain diverse of them, the Earl returnd with all his host and great spoil into Sutherland, and this was called La ni Crich-moir.[2] The Earl of Cathness, to reveinge the wrongs, conveened all his forces next May, and entered Sutherland under the conduct of his brother, the Laird of Murkle, and came to Strathuillie, and burnt Ciriboll, killing many of the

Feb. 1588.

Chreach lairin.

Creach Lairn.

La ni Crich-moir.

1589.

[1] The spoil of Latheron.

[2] The Day of the Great Spoil.

inhabitants. Thence through the country, spoiling all before him. The Sutherland men conveend under conduct of John Gordon of Backies and Hugh Mackye, and rancountered the Cathness men at a place called Cuissalich, and skirmishing with some slaughter on both sides, then seperated *hinc inde*. Alexander, Earl of Sutherland, convocats his men about 300, and sends them under the conduct of the same chiftens, Mackye and Gordon, who entered Cathnesse, with great cruelty spulies all within 6 miles of Girnego, killed about 30 men, and returnd home with great booty; this was called vulgarly Creach ni Cainkesh, Whitsunday spoile. The Earle of Cathness, to repair this wrong, enters Sutherland in person, the same with his host, and encamped at Backies, spoiling the country all along, and returnd carrying a great prey of Cattle before his host; 400 of the Sutherland men persue them, and upon the sands of Glentreduall attack them near Cline, and there hapened a sharp conflict till the night parted them. Of Sutherland, John Murray and 30 souldiers were slain; of Cathness, Nicolas Sutherland of Forie and Anguis MackTermat were slain, severals wounded. Next morning the Earl of Cathness betimes returnd in heast, heareing that Hutchen M'Ky had invaded his country and spoiled all along to the town of Therso; but before the Earl could overtake him he returnd into Strathnaver with a great booty. Thus hither and thither these countryes infested one another with yearly spoil and slaughter, till at length, by the mediation of the Earl of Huntley, they were finally reconciled, appointing a meeting betuixt these two Earles at Strathbogy, March 1591, and a setled peace is concluded betuixt Cathness and Sutherland to this day, and so an end is put to their fewds.

Creach in Cainkess, 1590.

The emulations and factions at Court among the nobles increase. The Earl of Huntly, being in favour with the King, got the place of captain of his guards, which the Master of Glames formerly possest. For this cause the Master of Glames and his associats draw up with the English ambassador, Sir Robert Sidney, resideing then at Edinburgh, and surmise to the King that some letters of the Earle of Huntlyes, sent to the King of Spain, were intercepted in England. Huntly is conveened to make his defence, denied these letters to be written

or sent be him, but onely devised by his enemies to bring him in disgrace with his master the King; yet is he warded in the Castle of Edinburgh in February, and, being tryed by a comitty conveened, is cleared before them, and released in March following; whereupon the Earles of Huntly, Craford, and Arroll takes journay towards the north be St. Jonston, where they were advertised that the Earles of Athol, Morton, and Master of Glames, had convocated forces to intrap them within the town of St. Jonstoun. Meantime, Huntly, Arrol, and Craford sally out of the towne with such small companies as they could convocat, and rancountered with the Master of Glames near Perth, whom they persued and apprehends him at a place called Kirkhill, and carried him prisoner with them to the north. Chancelour Maitland and the rest of the Master of Glames his faction at Court, hearing of this bold attempt, instigat the King highly against Huntly and his accomplices, and persuads his Majesty to enterprise a journay north. Huntly in the interim convocats all his friends and vassalls to the number of a thousand men, and so came forward towards the Bridge of Dee, with a resolution to resist and fight his enemies; but, being certainly informed that his Majesty was comming in person against him, to composse these tumults and suppresse animosities amongst his subjects, he disolves his forces, submitts himselfe to the King, and delivers up the Master of Glames to his Majesty in Aprile. The town of Aberdeen in a body waits upon his Majesty, and attends him into their city, and treats him most magnificently; where Huntly is presently secured and transmitted prisoner to the Castle of Edinburgh; the Earl of Arroll was apprehended and sent prisoner thither also, where they were both confined untill they payed a considerable amert soume of mony, which was uplifted for the use of Chancelour Maitland. Bridge of Dee, 1589. 1590.

The dismall contention betuixt the Earles of Murray and Huntly burst out now in open rupture. The instruments of this mischeefe were the Laird of Grant and Sir John Calder Campbell, who had spent the most part of his time at Court, and very familiar with Chancelour Maitland, who prompted Sir John as a fit instrument to engender jarres tuixt Huntly and Murray, which he accomplished very wittily, and incensed 1590.

the one against the other by meanes of the Laird of Grant thus. James Gordon, eldest sone to Alexander Gordon of Lusmore, accompanied with some of his friends, came to Ballindallach in Strathspey to assist his aunt, the widow of that place, against the tutor of Ballindallach, who detaind her rents from her. By James his comming there all was advanced to her to a small mater which James would needs have cleared to the least farthing of her due. After some altercationes and blowes betuixt their servants and followers, they parted pretty faire; and James Gordon returns home, and prompts John Gordon, brother to Sir Thomas Gordon of Cluny, to marry the widow off Ballindallach, which accordingly he doth. The Tutor of Ballindallach, grudging that any Gordon should dwell among them, falls soone at variance with John Gordon by the Laird of Grants persuasion, that after some jarres he killed a servant of John Gordones at a rancounter upon the high roade, for which John Gordon pursued the Tutor so vigorously that he got him denounced rebell and outlaw, and all who would harbour or assist him by the lawes of the kingdom; and further he moved his own cheefe, the Earle of Huntly, to persue him
Novr. 1590. by vertue of a commission as shirreffe of the shire. Huntly besieges his house of Ballindallach, takes it by force, but the Tutor escaped. Then began Sir John Cambell Kalder and Grant to worke their premeditated plot, stirrs up the Clanchattan and M'kintosh to join with the Grants; they perswad the Earles of Athol and Murray to assist them against Huntly, who now was insolent, and that they with all their friends and followers would assist Murray to the uttermost of their power, and Chanclour Maitland would work for them against Huntly, and that this occasion should not be slipt, lest afterwards the lik might not offer. Hereupon the Earles of Atholl, Murray, Dumbars, Grant, M'kintosh, and Calder, met at Forres to consult of the affaire, and in end are all sworn and linked in a league together as one man in the quarrells Huntly, understanding of their meeting, convocats his men in heast, and with all his friends away to Forres. Athol and Murray, heareing of Huntlies approach, they remove in heast to Tarnway. Huntly followes them hotfoot thither; but before his comming Athol, Grant, Kalder, and Mackintosh leave Tarnway and

remove to the mountaines to escape him; Murray onely stayed in his own house, haveing it well provided with all necessaries. Huntly, comming in sight of the Castell, sent John Gordon before him to view the place, who, comming to neare, more hardy than warry, was shot from the leads, and killed uppon the place. Huntly, perceiving Tarnway furnisht for a siege, and that the rest of his enemies were fled to the hills, disolved his company, and heastens to Court, and reconciles himselfe to Chanclour Maitland, who shortly thereafter purchased a commission for Huntly against the Earles of Athol [and] Murray, Grant, Mackintosh, etc., and this not so much for any favoures he boare to Huntly as for the hatred he had conceaved against Athol and Murray for Bothuels cause, careing litle in the meantime what should become of Huntly or Murray, or how the mater should goe with them. Next yeare Huntly sent Allan M'konilduy[1] into Badenoch against the Clanchattan, and, after a sharp skirmish, they fled and killed 50 of them, with the loss of as many of his own. He also sent Alexander Mackdonel Mudard [Moidart] against the Grants, who invaded Strathspey, killed 18 of them, with no small loss to himselfe, but he spoiled all Ballindallach his lands. In that December did Bothuel enterprise the design upon the King at Halyroodhouse, but, faileing of his attempt, was forced to flee for it and escaped; and the Duke of Lenox and Huntly are sent to the West with a commission against Bothuel and such as did harbour or own him; but he got off before their comming.

The read of Tarnway, Novr. 24, 1590.

1591.

In January did the Earl of Murray take his fatall and last journay south from Tarnway to Dunibisle, where he unhappily harboured and reset the Earl of Bothuell. Huntly, being then at Court in Halyroodhouse, urges Chanclour Maitland for a commission against the Earl of Murray, and, having obtained the same, he takes journay with 40 gentlemen towards the Queens ferry from Edinburgh, and came to Dunibissle, sending Captain John Gordon, brother to Gight, before to desire the Earle of Murray to give up the house, and to rander himselfe; which was not onely denyed, but shot at

[1] Cameron of Lochiel—Mac Dhomhnuill Duibh, Son of Black Donald; the patronymic of Lochiel.

John Gordon, and wounded him deadly at his first approach to the gates. The Earle had non with him within but the Shirrefe Murray and a few of his own retinew, lying secure within Dunibisle upon Forth, a house belonging to his mother, the Lady Downe; thereafter Huntly caused set fire to the house, and forced the entry. They within by the violence of the smoake and flame forced to come forth. Huntly commanded the Earle of Murray to be taken alive, but the Laird of Cluny, whose brother was slain at Tarnway, and Gight, who had his brother deadly wounded before his eyes, would not. Meanwhile, the Earl of Murray, in the dark night brakeing through the midest of his enemies, outrun them all, as they supposed he was escaped; yet, searching him among the rocks, he was discovered by the tip of his head-piece, which had taken fire before he had left the house, and in their fury unmercifully killed; and James Innes of Innermarky killed the
Feb. 7, 1591. Shirref Murray close by the Earle. Huntlies friends, feareing that he should disclaim the fact (having bidden take him alive) made him alight from his horse and give some stroakes to the dead corps. This done, Gordon of Bucky was dispatcht to advertise the King what had happened, and Huntly himselfe tooke journay northward in such heast that he left Captain Gordon at Inverkethen, who was brought next morrow to Edinburgh, and publickly executed; yet would he not live one week after receaving his deadly wounds. The universall lament and clamour of all sorts was so great for the good Earle of Murray's death that the King thought it not safe to stay at Edinburgh, but removed with the Councell to Glasgow. Huntly was immediatly charged by the Lord Saint Colm, the Earl of Murrayes brother, to undergo the censure of the law for the ryot and slaughter at Dunibissle. He compeared the set day to undergoe an inquest of triall and assise, and by the Kings order is enjoined to enter prisoner in Blackness. The corps of the Earl and Shirrefe of Murray were brought to the Church of Lieth in two coffins, quher they lay diverse moneths unburried, refusing to committ their bodies to the earth till the slaughter was punished; nor was any so much interessed in that fact as the Lord Ochiltry, who had perswaded the Earl of Murray to

come south, whereupon he fell afterwards away to Bothuell, and joined with him, for revenge of Murrayes murther.

Huntly in April is admitted out of prison uppon caution to answeir before the Justices whensoever he should be called. This made many jealous that the hand of Joab was in it, quhen the King was not forward. In March thereafter Sir John Cambell of Calder, who was dreeded to have a hand in all these broills, was basely killed by a shot of a firelock, sitting in his chamber in the night time, nott knowing who or for what; some think it was by the Cambells of Aigile, suborned, as was said, thereto.

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In May, after the Earl of Murrayes death, the Clanchattan, who of all that faction endeavoured to revenge his death, convocated their forces under the conduct of Anguis M'konil vick William,[1] in Lonny, and entered Strathdee and Glenmuick, where they spoiled and wasted the Earl of Huntlyes lands, and, besids commons, killed four gentlemen of the name of Gordon, amongst which was the old Barron of Breachlich, the manner of whose death was much lamented, being an aged man and much given ever to hospitality; he was basely killed in his own house after he had provided aboundance of good fare, and entertained them most discreetly; which inhumane ingratitud aggravated it. In September thereafter the Earl of Huntly, haveing gotten a commission against them, conveened all his forces, and with vile hostility entered Petty, which was then in the Clanchattans possession, and there he spoiled and wasted thorrowly, and killed severalls of the M'kintoshes there. Meanwhile, to divert him, William M'kintosh, with 600 men, went to Cabrach, and there made havock of Huntlies lands, and killed many mo than he did in Petty, all that country over. Huntly returns with all his men, and Sir Patrick Gordon of Achindown with him, and marches heastily to Cabrach, and overtooke the Clanchattan returning thence, and there was a hott conflict on both sids, many gentlemen of the Gordons killed, and more sadly wounded, besids 50 common souldiours, and in all

[1] Angus, son of Donald, son of William.

1592. there were 60 of the Mackintoshes slain. In the begining of the next yeare the Earl of Huntly orders Alexander Gordon of Abergeldy, his baliefe in Badenoch, to conveen all his Highlanders in Strathdown, Badenoch, and Lochabber, and to meet him att Invernes, which accordingly was done, and thence all Huntlys forces invades Petty the second time, wasting, spoiling, and burning all before them. Meanwhile Anguis and William M'kintosh, with all their forces, fall down uppon Strathboggie, where they did mor ill at once than the Gordons at severall times, overrunning the whole country, killing and burning and carrying all their cattell away in spreathes ; thus Huntly is diverted with incredible losse, so that for shame he is forced to truce with the Clanchattan ; and both parties, wearried with ranging and revenging, are forced *hinc inde* to desist.

The origen of those sad broyles was the hellish desperat attempt of Bothwell uppon Halyroodhouse. A plot and conspiracy is laid that Bothwell might make himselfe master of the king, envying the Chanceloures credit with the King. Divers were privy to the conspiracy, especially Collonell William Steuart, John Neswith, chyrurgion to the King, and James Douglas of Spot. The contrivance was so ordered that Bothuell with his followers should, under night, be let in at a back passeg that lay through the Duke of Lenox stables, and then sease uppon the gates, take the keyes from the porter, and then goe to the Kings chamber and make him sure. When they had entered, and was come to the inner court of the palace, the King was then at supper, and, being told that armed men were in the nether court, he removes, and went up to the Tower as to a place of greater surety. Bothuel haveing enclosed the Chanceloures lodgings, lest he should escape, made towards the Queens roomes, quher he expected entry, but, finding all shut upon him, called to bring fire; but er any could be found Sir James Sandilands, one of his Majesties chamber, haveing supped without the palace, with a number of resolut fellows from Edinburgh, entering by the Church of Haly Roodhouse, beat Bothwell and his company from the doores, and might have taken them all had there been any light ; but Bothuell and

his company escaped in the dark the same way they came, and in the entry met John Shaw, gentleman of the guard, quhom he killed with a pistoll, but lost nine of his followers, who after examination, were all executed nixt morning. The enterprise thus defeated, Bothwell went into the North, lookeing to be supplied by the Earl off Murray, his cousin german, which the King suspecting, sent Andrew, Lord Ochiltry, to bring Murray into the south of purpose to work a reconcilement betuixt him and Huntly. But a rumor was raised meantime that the Earle of Murray was seen in the palace with Bothwell on the night of the enterprise. This was intertaind by Huntly, then at Court, to make Murray suspected of the King, and prevailed so farr as he did purchess a commission to apprehend and bring Murray to his tryal. I have set down this short paragraph and narrative to undeceive the credulous and discover the source of all.

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[Here follows account of affairs in Britain and on the Continent].

Lord Simon Fraser [of] Lovat.

To return now where we closed last anent Lord Simon Fraser of Lovat, we formerly gave an exact account of him from his birth to his bridall with Lady Kathrin M'kenzie, a woman of grace and vertue, a woman of piety, humanity, and affability. She had so much respect to this country that she kept no servants about her but Frasers; she brought none home with her but a single maid, her own foster sister, Agnes Dinguall, and at her comming invited all the gentlemen about and their wives, being once acquaint with them desired the favour to suffer their children to be often at her court and such of their daughters as fancied to attend her she would welcom them and use them as her own children. She so incurraged and indeared all the country to her, high and low degree. She had Elisabeth, daughter to William Fraser of Struy, the year she died, and her death was sad to her whom she never called but cousin. Lord Simon kept a great famely, vast expense, and spending at home and abroad; his wine in great [quantities] brought to his dore out of France, in exchange of his salmon fish sent abroad. It is a rant to speake of meal and malt spent in his

famely, for he kept an open table, his hospitality singular, lying in the center tuixt two clans; 5 bolles meale and five boles malt a weeke, beside floure, was the minimum quod sick, and oftener 12 bolles; for fishes, foule, wild and tame, beefe, mutton, venison, kid, lamb, and veale, quhat table in the North equaled his, *ut tunc ferebant tempora*? I find, the year he married, one James Fraser, afterwards Phopachy,[1] came out of Andrew Monro of Miltounes famely to my lord, and was his chamberlan 1590, 1591/ and the year after he entered his pursemaster, who gives a most exact account of his weekly expense at home and abroad. One John Cooke, Alexander Bain, Alexander Fraser, wer servants in ordinary about him/ and John M'ktaus, an expert souldiour, Master of his Horse. His beer and ale cellars were seldom closed; yet few or none ever known to be drunk about his houshold famely. My Lords method still was when he went upon journay and called his friends and servants that were to accompany him, he would tell the gentlemen that if any of them were seen drunk in his company they should never ride with him again; and, for his servants, any one of them that were discovered in drink or debauch, he would instantly call his pursemaster, pay him his wages, never to serve him again.

I shall set down here a few of his expeditions dureing his first ladyes time, which I have read in my grandfathers accounts, who was his purser. At his wedding and marriage, which was at Dinguall and Brahan, his expense was truely noble and generous, not extravagant. Again, going to the Chanory of Ross with the Laird of Muthel, his cousen, called the friends, June 1591, and convoyed him like a lord home and abroad/ going with the same Muthol to Kilravock, Calder, and Tarnway in August 1592/ his expense and retinue was high. I find him at another time going for Brahan, Foules, and Ballingown, with a great train and convoy. Going to Chanory, 1592, in November, accompanied with two tutors, Struy and Strachin, with other friends, he was admired. In December he accompanied the Earle of Athol to Chanry and all Rosse over, with his journey to Elgin to meet the Earl of Anguis, and convoy-

[1] The author's grandfather.

ing him to Tarnway forward, was a noble parrade, as the Lowland crew cryed out. He went to Tarnway to wait uppon Athol and Murray in February 93; and his expedition to Aberdeen in March thereafter was noticed by all the Court, in his retinue, thence to Muthel, to Castle Forbes Druminnor, back to Buchoin, Watertoun, Philorth, and kept a meeting in his return at Elgin betuixt Garloch and Hugh Fraser of Foyer to compose some differences; yet his expense in that journey was but 369 libs, a considerable soume in those dayes. His hunting at Brolin[1] in September after was a vast row, accompanied with 2 lords and 6 barrons, with all their trains. July 19, 1593, he went to Ballnigown to young M'kenzies, Kinnach oges bridall, with a very princely retinue; and, December thereafter, to Sutherland to see that Earl and his Countess, was much noticed by all that country. Next spring he went south; I find his expense to be about 454 libs. His journay the next harvest to Chanroy to meet Fowles anent his tocher gear, and, meeting there with M'klean his true friend, the congress was very splendid. His journay to Buchan, to speake the friends and to wait the Kings comming to Aberdeen, the account given up by his purser at home and abroad was 3000.[2] My Lords plain method after every journey was, when he came home, counted and reckoned with his purse-master, and in the count booke, subscribed the account before Hutchen Fraser Culboky, Thomas Fraser Moniak, William Fraser Struy, subscribands, and Donald Dow, minister at Wardlaw, with my hand. This I find often in that old scroll which I have by me. 80 libs.

Katharin Lady Lovat boar to Lord Simon Hugh, the Master, 1591, and Elisabeth, Shirreff Murrayes lady, 1592; and in December 1593 died of an abortion, in the painted chamber in the old Priory of Beuly, called Chamber breachk.[3] This good lady dyed desired, beloved, bemoaned of all. Her funeralls were very splendid and sumptuous, and was interred at the north end of the great alter. I sawe that tombstone intyre, with her armes and mottos richly carved.

[1] Braulin, in Glenstrathfarrar.

[2] Apparently half-merks, equal to about £80 Scots.

[3] See note, p. 201.

Athol came north.

The Earl of Athol was made Lieutenant of the North *anno* 1593; he came to Lovat and got hunting and sport fit for a King, and was convoyed back with a train band of Frasers over the hills. *Anno* 1595 the Duke of Lenox came north as Lieutenant to persue the Popish rebel Lords, Arrol and Huntly, who fled to Strathnaver. Lenox is called back, and left a deputation with my Lord Lovat, in which he carried so manfully and prudently that by his conduct then he gained the Earle of Huntlies heart ever after, haveing a hand in his reconciliation with the King. At this time Captain James Stuart, who had been Chancelour, lurked here all this while with his lady, and tooke occasion infatuatly to goe south with the Duke of Lenox, and was unfortunatly killed in a pitifull maner, as I shall give it yow here in the very words of the impartiall historian, who omits not one circumstance.

A litle before these stirrs of the Church, Captain James Stewart, who had been sometimes Chancelour, and carried the title of the Earle of Arran, was a grand enemy to James Dowglass of Tothorald. This man, after he was put from Court, had lived some yeares obscurely in the North partes, being often entertained by the Lady Salton, his sister-in-law, and was still in hope to come again by the office of Chancelary, which was yet void by the death of the Lord Thirlestan. He came south with Lenox, who acted for him, and had some conference with the King, which had greatly encourraged him; but till maters had been better prepared he took purpose to visit his friends in Kyle. Takeing his journay by Symington, nigh unto Douglasse, he was advised by his friends in those partes to look well to himselfe, and not ride so openly/becaus of Torthorald, that lived not farr off, whose uncle he had followed to the death. Steward, being a man proud and disdainfull, his reply was that he would not leave his way for him nor for all the name of Douglasse/ being overheard by a fellow, and reported to Torthorald, did so inflame him, the old ulcer remaining uncured, as he avouched to have his life at any hazard whatsoever/ So, getting sure intelligence that he had taken horse, he made fast after him with three of his servants, and, overtakeing him in a valley called Catslack, after he had stricken him from his horse did kill him without resistance. It

is averred for truth that when Captain James saw the horsemen persueing, he asked how they called the piece of ground on which they were, and when he heard the name of it he commanded the company to ride more quickly to be out of that bottom, for of a long time he had gotten a response to bewarr off Catslack, which he ever kept in memory. And, for confirmation of this, when he abode here in the North, riding by the orchard of Lovat, there is a litle den upon the left hand called Carnslack, and he, hearing the designation by the sound, he would never in his life ride that way again; so full of suspition ar those who seeke and get responses and relye on them. Of this Captain Stuart we gave an account before, when he was in the Earle of March his house, and how he married that Lady Elisabeth Stuart, formerly Lady Lovat, a leud, wicked woman; and how he came to promotion by the Court faction. True he was a pretty man, a great spirit of bravery and currage, but he was a man full of violence, and, quhen he was in place of rule, executed it with much cruelty, which was now payed home in the end by Torthorald, whose uncle he had rigidly sentenced.

The former tract of our history showes when and whey this Chancelour Stewart came North, and lived here with his lady, who had a great jointur of the estate of Lovat; and without doubt it was against my Lords will that he went away south with his consen the Duke of Lenox the yeare before; but he must have followed his fate, being, as he was, still infatuat and forward. His unhappy lady, Elisabeth Stewart, haveing gone south with him, after his death lived obscurely, and died miserablie in September 1595. The Lord Lovat went in person to Glenelg, haveing 200 gentlemen of his name in his retinue, besids strangers; his brother-in-law, Kinnach oge Kintail,[1] accompanied him, Sir Hector Fowles, Calder, Glenmoriston, and many of the Grants. His expedition to that country was not for feare off opposition or any resistance in payment of his yearly rent, but to see the country, and be known to officiat in his deputation of Lieutennantry from Lenox, and to meet with Mackleud, and to give the gentlemen sport of hunting and

[1] Young Kenneth of Kintail.

fishing as perhaps they had never seen such in their whole life. Nay, it is knowen and reported that in Lochurn there was never such a tack of herring seen, so good, so great, and such plenty, so that in Glenelg for many yeares after the country people would pray, *Dhea cuin hig M'khimmie?*—O God, when will my Lord Lovat come again?—implying that they had no such luck as accompanied him.

The next winter Lord Simon, called to Court by the King, takes journay from Beuly, November after, and came to Falkland; thence convoyed the King to Dumfermelin, where the Convention mett to consult the reception and reconciliation
Novr. 1595. of the banished rebell Lords. The Church opposed it with all their pith, but the King was very desirous and bent to have them reclaimed; and most of the nobility advanced it, and the Lord Lovat was very instrumentall in it, and so forward that he used the most forcible argument of all with the King on their behalfe, viz., that Arroll and Huntly were the greatest and most leading men in the North, and would get many to follow them, and that of late he had tried the Islanders and found out their designs, especially the Mackdonels and Mackleuds, who had a noated ruptur among them, and no doubt they would yet fall foule one of another, and glad to have such as Huntly to head and arme them in their desperat courses, which was necessarly to be prevented. The King superseeded this grand affaire, with other maters weighty enugh to be deliberat in, untill a Parliament was called, and returned to Haliroodhouse, where his Queen and Court reseeded, and wher he might more maturely fall upon methods to setle the Borders, which were now in broyles, and there have a more frequent convention of the estates, and to overaw the Town of Edinburgh, which he feared as much as any part of the kingdom, by the factious tumultuous commons and clargie which had need to be bridled, nor was there more danger threatned from any more than they. The Lord Lovat parts with the King, and returns with his uncle, Atholl, to Blair, where he was to keep Christmas with other noble persones who were invite by the Earle at that solemn time. He spent this winter most cheerfully with his relations, and in the beginning of the spring repares to Court, accompanied

with the Earle of Athol, who all this while was contriving a match for his nephew the Lord Lovat. Now there were at Court severall ladyes of honor, noblemen's childrin, vulgarly termed the Quens Maryes: the Earl of Marrs daughter, late Bothwels sister, the Earl of Mortons sister, and the Lord Boyds daughter, and the Lord Douns daughter.

When my Lord Lovat came to Court the King welcomed him most cordially, telling him freely that he was one of his best and most loyall subjects, that the Frasers never failed in their duty to the royall famely, and over the nail told him that he was providing a match for his Lordship, and therefore frankly to pick and chuse without ceremony or delay which of the ladyes at Court he fancied. Lovat thanked his Majesty for so great a complement put upon him, and told him plainly that he pitcht upon Jean Stewart, Lord James of Downes daughter, now in his Queens service at Court. The King told him she was the nearest relation he had among them all, and thought he had the disposeing of her as his own; but it was no ill sport when the King proposed marriage to Lady Jean for Lovat; he replyed that his Majesty had the Disposall of her, and that my Lord Lovat was a great and honorable match; but, Sir, he is not bonny. The King laughs heartely, and told her: Jean, Jean, though Lord Simon be not bonny, yet Lovat and Beuly are bonny. At length the Queen takes Jean to task, and flouted her out of that scruple, telling her that shee was a fool, the Lord Lovat was a match for any lady in the Kingdom of Scotland, nor was there any about her Court but would be glad and well content with such an offer. Maters in end were brought to a faire agreement; yet my Lord would proceed no further till his tutor, Strachin, was sent for to be present at the contract. The King told Lovat he was well pleased at the motion, and it was fit his consent were had to such a great and important an affaire, being so honest and good a friend to his interest, and that he was one of the tutors he wondered at within his realm. The tutor is sent for, and, glad of the occasion, is at Edinburgh in the midle of March, and instantly all was brought to a fair period. The terms of the contract in generall was that my Lord Lovat Simon was to have 20,000 lĭbs. Scots of tocher, and Lady Jean Stewart,

Lord James of Dounes daughter, should have 10,000 libs. per annum of jointer, and liferent provision to children conform. The King was pleased to complement my Lord Lovat with no less protestation than that himselfe would be cautioner for the tocher, and cause advance count and reckon every penny of it at Invernes or Lovatt. This, indeed, was a very honorable match to be married to so great a father daughter, and withall out of the Kings own famely, and so near a relation; but, as the King said of St. David that mortified so much to the Church, a sair saint to the Crown, so this was a sair and sad match to the house of Lovat, as by the consequence will afterwards plainly appear.

The marriage day is appointed, and the wedding to hold at Falkland for conveniency and privacy, whither the Kings Court was transplanted thither in the closur of March, and the
April 4, 1596. 4 of April the Lord Lovat was married to Dame Jean Stuart in St. Peters Church. G. Gladstanes, Bishop of Saint Andrewes, solemnised the marriage, and the feast solemn enugh, for it was a royall wedding where King and Queen were both present, so that I need add no more. About the beginning of May the Lord Lovat returned home with his lady, nobly convoyed; and besids the prime and flower of the Frasers in the North that waited upon them, the Lairds of Filorth and Mucholl and Dorris attended them. There was no debate then about cheefeship, for all the Frasers in Scotland acknowledged Lovat for their stock and cheefe of all their famelies, without any controversie. In their journay north they came be Marr and Muchel/and Philorth and Tarnway, Calder, Kilravock, and so to Inverness, where nothing was deficient in splendor and solemnity that might contribute to the grandure of their receptions, and kindly welcome in treats and intertainment everywhere.

Lord Simon, comming to the country, kept his inferr feast in Beuly; and that sumptuous and extravagant, for all maner of provision desireable that the kingdom could afford. The Lairds of Kintail, Foulis, Ballingown, Cromerty, with their retinue, met him at Invernes, the Laird of Mackintosh being with him before. And the house of Beuly then was singular in the North for accommodation and stowing in its two courts,

besids the great building called the Abbots house; and, indeed, this Lord Simon was but too prodigall in his expense upon buildings, for he repared Beufort and the palace of Lovat, built a good stone house in Bunchrive, had a great manure [manor] house at Inverness, and also the Castell of Dalcross from the foundation. Here were sex severall dwelling places, with all necessary appartments and conveniences, to either of which he might repare at his pleasure for commodious residences.

Lord Simon of Lovat, being now about 26 yeares of age, had with Dame Jean Stuart 6 children; the first a daughter named Anna, after the Queen; the next was Sir Simon of Inveralochy; the 3d was Miss Mary, after her own mother, this was Lady Arbuthnot; the 4 was Thomas, a hopefull youth, dyed of the stone; the 5, Sir James of Brey; the 6, Jean, who dyed a child; and Anna, the eldest, dyed in her 8 yeares of age. There were two abortiones, for this lady turning gross and too fat (kindly to the house of Doun) left off beareing too soon. Of all those children and their setlements, life, and death, I shall have occasion afterwards to treat in their proper places; and here give an account of considerable contingencies in the contemporary country affaires thir bygone yeares.

About the yeare 1593 the Spanish blanks were discovered, and Mr. George Cerr, Doctor of the Lawes, was apprehended in the Isle of Combrey and brought to Edinburgh, and incarcerat as writer of the Roll. Then, at the earnest desire of the English ambassador, the Popish Lords, Arrol, Anguis, and Huntly were forfeited in that Parliament, at Edinburgh, in May; and the Earl of Argile made his Majesties Lieutennant in the North, and appointed to apprehend the forsaid Earles. He was glad of the occasion, thinking thereby to revenge his brother-in-law, the Earl of Murrayes death; immediatly makes preparation, and a progress northward, accompanied with Tillibarden, Sir Lachlin Macklean, Cambels, Clangregors, Grants, Mackintoshes, and other pretty clanns whom either greed of prey or malice against the Gordons had prompted forward to that expedition, about a 10,000 men, marcht through the mountanous countries, arrived at Ruthven

in Badanoch in September, a garrison of Huntlies then manned be the Mackphersones; so that Argile, after setting siege to that place, was forced to give it over and descend to the Lowlands, where the Forbesses, Lesslies, Irvings, and Ogilvies were to join him; and from the North the Frasers, Rosses, Monroes, Mackenzes,and other clans were to wait upon him as the Kings Lieutenant, and join forces, as the Kings host, against Huntly and other rebells. Argile comes forward to Drum Ine in Strathdown, October 2. Arrol and Huntly, heareing of this great preparation, makes ready and comes forward against them with all their forces, lakeing neither currage nor resolution. Arroll joines Huntly in Strathboggy, and marches forward in a body of 1200 horse and above to Carnborrow, thence to Achindown, whence Huntly sent Captain Thomas Cerr and two sonnes of Tullich Lessly to spy the fields and discover the enemy, and, accidently falling upon their scoutes, killed them all except one to carry intelligence. Hereby Huntlies men are incurraged, takeing this as a presage of an ensueing victory, the first bloud, and march forward, resolving to fight Argile before Forbeses and others joined him, who by that time was at Glenlivet in Strathaven, judging that Huntly durst not face such an army as he had, yet would gladly have delayed the battle till the Forbeses came up. But, perceiving them to draw neare, ordered his batallions, encourraging his people, being numerous, and his enemies small force to resist them. He gave the conduct of his vanguard to Sir Lachlin Macklean and Achinbreack, consisting of 4000 men, quheroff 2000 were hagbuters. Argile himselfe and Tillibard followed, with the rest of the army. The Earl of Arrol and Sir Patrick Gordon of Achindown, with the Laird of Gight, Captain Cerr, and Bonnytoun wood, led Huntlyes vanguard, with 300 horse gentlemen. Huntly himselfe followed with the main body, having Cluny Gordon upon the right and Abergeldy uppon his left hand, encourrageing his men with no small rethorick, showing that onely courige would now do, and the enemy four to one; that all which they had deare to them on earth lay upon this day, and now no remedy, but obtain the victory or dye with their swords in their hands. Argyles men, being all foot, had the

advantage of the ground, upon the top of a rough hill, the lowe ground mossye and full of peat pots and myres, dangerous for horses, of which all Huntlyes men consisted, and oblidged to ride through that mossy ground er they came to the foot off the hill, where the opposit army lay seated. Huntly ordered Captain Andrew Gray (afterward Collonel of our Scots forces in Bohemia) to shoot off 3 field pieces of ordnance at the enemy, which, indeed, confused them by the slaughter of M'kneil of Barrey, one of the most valiant men of that party. Huntlies men, seing some confusion among them, presently gave the charge. Arroll and most part of the vanguard were necessitat to take a circuit, becaus of the steepness of the hill, and made straight toward Argile, leaving Macklean and his vanguard uppon the left hand, and, indeed, receaved the thick volly of the enemy. Achindown, being the first that assaulted them, was instantly slain upon the place, haveing lost himselfe by his rash forwardnesse. The fight continued cruel and bloudy a long time/ Achindouns relations, seing him fall dead, raged among their enemies, resolut to revenge his death, and rather dye with him than live after him. Sir Lachlin, acting the part of a good commander, compassed Huntlies vanguard, and inclosed them tuixt himselfe and Arguil, and had all been cut of if Huntly himselfe had not come speedely to their rescue, and was in danger of loosing his life in the adventur, his horse being slain under him; but Innermacky horsed him afresh, and so the battle began again with greater fury than before/for full 3 houres, till Argile, with his main battalian/began to draw back and retreat, leaving Macklean still ingaged in the field, fighting valiantly; at length, seing himselfe deserted of all, his men in danger to be all slain or flye, retired in very good order, fighting and flying towards the hill top, quher non could reach him, and so preserved himselfe and people by that slight. He truely behaved himself manfully and with good conduct in this battle, not only like a good Commander, but as a bold, resolut souldiour. Huntly persued the main body of Argile, killing of them, and they as many of his, as he went, till night and the steepness of unaccessible hills stopt his course, and the brooke Altchonichan seperat them/ and so they retired with very great losse.

The battle of Aldchonichan.

Argil's ensign, being found in the field, was carried to Strathboggy. The Earl of Argile in this battle left his two cosins, Archibald Campbell of Lochinneal and his brother James, with diverse of Achinbrakes friends, and Macknil of Barray, with 500 common souldioures; neither was the victory profitable to Huntly, the Earle of Arrol being deadly wounded, Gight and most part of his company killed and wounded, Sir Patrick Gordon of Achindown, a resolut expert souldiour killed, and 14 of his prime friends and 200 horsemen and soldiers more killed upon the spot. All the wounded men were transported that night to Achindoun, and a 150 dyed after off their wounds; so that there was no ods on either side, save that Huntly had the bare title off victor. Had Argiles main body stood but one houre more, with M'kleans conduct, he had carried the day, or, had he by Sir Lauchlins advice rallied and persued his enemies, had all been put to route; but most of Argiles men were unexpert foot, and Huntlys most part resolut horsemen, and most of them gentlemen. This battle was fought on Thursday, October 3, 1594, and was still stiled by the vulgar *Lāā Aldchonichan*,[1] or *Blair Aldchonachan*.[2]

Anno 1594, October 3.

About this very time the Lord Forbes had convocated all his friends, and with him joined Irvins Lesslies and the Lairds of Buchan in one body; but, heareing of this dismall defeat, it diverted their course and resolution of joining with Argyle, and concluded to take their progress another way north to joyn with the forces of Murray and Rosse, and so make a great body, and so advertise Argyle that he might rally and return again, and attacque Huntly and his accomplishes, to give them a totall defeat, which, indeed, then were easely done. But, as they are marching forward near Druminnor, Lord Forbes dwelling, a gentleman of the name of Irving was killed with the shot of a pistoll, in the dark twilight; the author of which shot, after all inquiry, could never be discovered to this very day. This surprising unfortunat accident put all in a confusion, lookeing upon this as a shrud omen, which bred jealousies in the Forbeses and their followers, being now justly

[1] The Day of Allt-Choineachan.

[2] The Field (Battle) of Allt-Choineachan.

affraid one of another, so that next morrow they dissolved, and returnd every one to his own home.

Meanwhile the rest of the clans of the North, Frasers, M'kenyes, Monroes, Rosses, Toshes,[1] conveened at Forres in Murray, waiting orders, but were stopt there by the policy off John Dunbarr of Moyness, then tutor to the young Shirref Murray, who favoured the Earle of Huntly, and Sir Patrick Gordon of Achindown, being married to his mother.

Whilst these things were in course of Argyle against Huntly, the King came to Dundee on his progresse north, where he got a certain account of the conflict of Altchonachan and its succesee, which put him in a great rage that any subject durst resist his commission. His Majesty goes forward through Anguis, demolishing severall castles, the house of Baray in Anguis belonging to Sir William Lyndsay, the house of Craiges belonging to Sir John Ogilvy, the house of Coulsamond appertaining to the Laird of Newton Gordon, the house of Slaines in Buchan belonging to the Earl of Arroll, and the castell of Strathbogy, Huntlyes dwelling. The King came to Aberdeen, where he conveened his Councell, and declared the Earles of Arrol and Huntly rebels and fugitives, with all other their accomplices and followers. While the King remaind at Aberdeen, the Earle of Huntly, with his speciall friends, fled north to Sutherland and Strathnaver, where he lurked, and, by the Kings order, the northern forces were disbanded and sent home. Simon Lord Fraser of Lovat, the Laird of Strachin, Mackenzie, and Fowles Monro, came to Aberdeen to wait the Kings motion, who in December following went south to Edinburgh, all maters in the North being composed.

In the beginning of 1595 the Earle of Huntly left the kingdom and run over to France. In the interim Arrol and Anguis were under cloud forfeited, but had many friends at Court endeavouring to make their peace. The King, to pleasur the Queen of England, keept them still at distance by severe imprestible conditiones tendered to them. Winter 1595 Huntly came to England to make friends at the English Court, which would not doe. In the spring he came to Scotland. Good

[1] Mackintoshes.

King James, who inclined to have all his dominions and subjects at peace, uppon their humble addresses to his Majesty were at last all put under bail at Skune; so that Arrol Huntly, and Anguis were restored to their former honors and dignities; and further the King honored the Earl of Huntly with the title of Marques; and by the Kings mediation all quarrells betuixt him and Arguile and Earl of Murray were taken away by the marriage of the Earle of Argyles oldest daughter to George Gordon, vulgarly Lord Gordon, Huntlyes eldest sone, and the marriage of Lady Anna Gordon, Huntleys eldest daughter, to the Earl of Murray, whose father was killed at Dunibisle.

1597. In the yeare of God 1597, the 4 day of February, there happened a dreedful slaughter at the Candlemas faire, called Bridfaire,[1] in a town called Lagy Vrud,[2] in Ross, upon the river of Connin, which was like to ingage that whole country, and clans round about, in factions and parties, like to put all Ross in a combustion. The quarrell began betuixt John Mackillchallim, a Mackleud, and brother to the Laird of Rasey, and another gentleman, John Bain, brother to Doncan Bain, Barron of Tulloch, near Dingual. This John Mackillchallim was a vile, flagitious, proflagat fellow, and ravageing robber, picking quarrells with all men every quhere, frequented marcats of purpose to defloure mens wives and take advantage of poor chapmen and marchants, pillaging and robbing their shops and packs without resistance; and non durst challange him, being a relation of the M'kenzies and patronised by them. At this faire he had 6 or 7 bold fellowes with him, and avowedly he followed his wonted rapin, non having the currage to check or oppose him there. This John Bain, a gallant, courragious gentleman, seing him abuse a marchants wife and take away his goods by violence, measuring his linnan by his bow, not onely challanged but threatned him, commanding him to rander back poor mens gear and commodities, else he would make him do it; bold language indeed; who or quhat was he that durst ask him what he did? After *verba verbera*, from words to swords, John Bain draws uppon him, and

[1] Feill Brighid, St. Bridget's Fair.

[2] Logy, Conan, Sir Kenneth Mackenzie's seat.

fought him hand to fist, mad him so seek his ground that he soon put him from his postur, and gave him two or three deadly wounds, at last dung him dead to the ground, and also killed two of his fellowes. Thus the Hector and Golia of Ardmanoch is vanquisht in view of his votaries. John Bain had non to second him but one Donald Fraser M'kallister, his foster brother, who laid so about him that none durst come near or touch his master. A bold, stout associat of John Mackillchallims, one John Mack Murchy vick William, was slain upon the spot, and three Mackenzies. The Monroes espoused John Baines quarrell as a common good; the M'kenzies owned John M'killchallim. Upon John Baines side was killed John Monro of Culargе, and Hugh, his brother, and John Monro Robertson. The black broile increased, the markets all confused, non knew who was friend or foe, many innocents killed, the husbands in the lap of their wives. The chase run down the firth towards the mill of Arkaig and the wood of Milchaich, where many were wounded, some slain; hardly can it be remembered what mischeefe was done at this fare and fray; a fury rather, that for aught I know had no parallell in story from such an origin. John Bane, with his armour-bearer, withdrawes and deliberatly escapes to Lovat without a wound or scrat upon either their skins, the wonder of all the conflict. Lord Simon Fraser of Lovat ownes John Bain, and non durst persue or seek after him, being within his sanctuary. Next morrow my Lord dispatches his faithfull servant and trusty James Fraser of Phopachy to King James, being then in Falkland, with the full, impartiall account of the whole mater. His Majesty, upon this true information, sent John Bain his full remission and personal protection immediatly with the bearer, and a warrand and power to him to charge the Laird M'Kenzie of Kintail with intercommoning, and all the accomplises of John Mackilchallim, and all under the great seal, which is kept in Tullochs charter kist to this day; which charge is renued *annuatim* against the heir of Mackenzie at his entry, and which Mr. John Bain of Delnies executed against the last Seaforth, Lord Kenneth, as his own mouth told me at his house, and withall that he and his famely owed me and my predecessor their life and fortun for the

careful, faithfull expedition, and that my said grandfather, James, put off neither shew or stocking, coat or shirt, from the time he was sent out of Beuly till his return again to Lovat.

About the yeare 1598, Sir Lachlin Macklean, an aspireing, ambitious man, at last this revengfull spirit thrust and prompted him to strick at the root of the M'kdonalds of South Isles interest and inheritance, and that by a pretended or borrowed action against the whole Isle of Ila, the ancient and first possession of the M'kdonel; and Sir Lachlin thought it an easy task to compasse this design. Sir James M'kdonald, his own nephew, the rightious inheritor of it, being now young, and his father Anguis Mackdonel an aged, old, decreaped man, not able to resist, Sir Lachlin M'klean conveens all his forces, and, in a most martial maner, in hostility invades Ila, thinking of nothing but to take present possession be vertue of his new right which he had now acquired. Sir James M'kdonell, being informed of this, convocats all his friends and followers, and enters into the same isle, his forbeares just property, indeavouring if possible to resist his uncles unjust, illegall proceedings. M'klean and he being both arrived into the Isle, severals who wisht them both well and their peace do mediat a long time betuixt them, and striveing by any meanes to agree them. Sir James, being the more reasonable of the two, was content to let his uncle, Sir Lachlin, possess the equall halfe of the island dureing his lifetime, although he had no just clame or title thereto, providing he would take it in the same maner that his predecessors, the M'kleans, had it before his time, viz. holden *in capite* of the M'kdonels; and, moreover, he offered to submit the controversy to the Kings Majesties arbitriment, thereby to eshew all debat with his uncle; but M'klean, runing precipitant to his own mischeefe, much against the advice of all his friends, who willed him to the contrare, refused all offers of peace unless his nephew would instantly resign to him the title and possession of all that island; whereupon they split and prepare both of them to fight, Sir James being farr inferiour in number of men, but some of them well trained in the wars of Ireland; so there ensued a cruel, sharp conflict at the head of Lochgruingart, and curragiously fought on either side a good

whoil. Sir James then caused his vanguard make a compasse in fashion of a retreat, thereby to get the sun at his back, and the advantage of a hill hard by. Sir James, thus having forced the enemies vantguard and repulsed them, assault the main body, and instantly M'klean was slain and fourscore of the primest of his kinsmen, two hundered common souldioures lying dead about him. His sone, Lachlan Barrach M'klean, sore wounded, was chased to there very vessells. Sir James M'kdonel was dangerously wounded, being shot with an arrow through the body, and was left most of the ensueing night for dead among the slain. There were slain of the M'kdonels 60 in all, and as many sorely wounded. Thus the warr, begun by M'klean without any ground in *anno* 1595, ended now this yeare, *anno* 1598, by his death. Sir Lachlin had three responses from a witch before he undertooke this expedition into Ila: first, desireing him not to land there uppon a Thursday; 2, desireing him for his life not to drink of a well of water near Gruingart; the 3, haveing forbideen him the two first, she told him lastly there should be one M'klean, Laird of Gruingard. The first he transgressed unwillingly, being driven upon that island by a tempest on a Thursday; the 2, he transgressed negligently before he knew the name of the place; and so he dyed at Gruingart as was fortold him; but such responses be commonly doubtfull and ambiguous, dangerous and unlawfull. Those broiles and uprors so insensed the King against the M'kdonals that afterwards, finding the original rights of Ila and Kintyre to be at his own disposall, he gave all the lands in few to the Earl of Argile, whereupon ensued all the trouble that arose since betuixt the Cambels and M'kdonalds in Ila and Cantyre. Afterward Sir James M'kdonel was warded by Argiles meanes in the Castle of Edinburgh, and kept there a long time, from whence at last he escaped by the contrivance of his cousin, M'kdonel, who fled with Sir James into Spain and Netherlands, where they were entertained by the Spaniards a long time, from whence, upon the Earl of Argiles flight into Spain, they returnd, being recalled by his Majesty *anno* 1620, and were kept there by the King, who gave Sir James a yearly pension of a 1000 merks Sterling, and a pension of a 100 mark sterlin

to M'kranald, together with a remission for all their bygon offences.

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[Follows account of affairs in Britain and on the Continent.]

Lord Fraser of Lovats famely, 1597.

We shall now return where we left/to treat of the affaires of the house of Lovat. After Lord Simon his marriage with Dame Jean Stewart, Dounes daughter, *anno* 1596, in the 26 yeare of his age, he kept home for two or three yeares in good health and lookeing most narrowly and providently to the concerns of his estate and country, without any considerable avocation to divert or withdraw him abroad/ nor did his genious or inclination ingage him to forrein incumbrances, saveing what was consequential to his honour, place, and reputation. His lady was brought to bed in Beuly of a daughter, named Anna after the queen, in March 1597, a hopefull, wholsom, curious child, and well nurst within the house. In April 1598 the Lady Lovat was brought to bed in Beufort of a sone, named Simon at her own earnest desire, although my Lord was earnestly inclined to call him James, after the King; but she would not condescend to it, as some thought, becaus the Jameses of that famely wer ramp and unruly. I find that my Lord had this year fewed the davoch land of Fanellan to William Fraser of Struy, where he built a fine dwelling house, and a stone chamber uppon which I remember to see the very date. My Lady Lovat loved the air of Beufort better than Beuly, and kept intimat correspondance with Elisabeth Urqhart, goodwife of Struy, living besid her at Fanellan, for whom she had great kindness and intimacy, takeing her eldest daughter, Elisabeth, into her service/and married her at last to James Fraser of Phopachy, her own great trusty; and though this lady had brought severall servants north with her, Stewards, Buchannans, Belfoures, Grigors, yet she inclined much to have the Frasers about her, and so, when she had setled Elisabeth aforsaid, she took Kathrin Fraser, daughter to Mr. William Fraser, provost of Taine, into her service, a smart, handsome, well bred gentlewoman, and matcht her very well to one George Dunbar, cousin german to the Shirref Murray, a great merchant, and very servicable to the house

Anna, born 1597.

Simon, born 1598.

Anno 1599, by contract.

Anno 1601, by contract.

of Lovat uppon many accounts. Thus did Dame Jean Stewart strive to oblidge the country by educating the gentlemens daughters one after another successively. I find one Andrew Noble chamberlain then to my Lord Lovat, and after him John Reed. I have severall discharges of these two, with other bonds and papers beareing their subscriptions. This year Lord Simon morgaged the barrony of Kinmilies to the late tutor, Thomas Fraser of Strachin, who advanced 10,000 marks Scots to my Lord for some speciall use; which mony continued in his hand untill his sone Thomas payed it back in Lord Hughs time. The reason I shall show afterwards. Old Culbock,[1] agnamed Hutchin Oge,[2] morgaged the lands of Kingily, which before he had in tack, becaws of Teacharse being upon the bounds of that land which his predecessors long ago possest. James Fraser in Phoppachy morgaged that halfe davach, also *anno* 1599, quhich he had in tack. My Lady Lovat, in some heasty journay, getting some bad newes of the King, lay sick at Bunchrive comming from Inverness, where she aborted, and was in hazard of her life under that fitt.

This harvest my Lord Lovat, haveing got the newes and account of Gowries conspiracie, and the Kings wonderfull escape and preservation, went south; my Lady being impatient till shee saw her royall cousin the King. They traveled be the coast to Aberdeen, Cowy, Montrose, Dundee, and over Bruchty through Fife, and came to Edinburgh in October, the King living in Holyroodhouse then. The Parliament held at Edinburgh, November 15, in which the Earl of Goury was forfeit by sentence, and all his famely. This was a most frequent generall convention of lords and pieres, quher a great old piere was forfeited; and Lord Simon Fraser of Lovat tooke his place in this Parliament as 5 Lord in cite roll and rideing, there being none before him in course but 4, viz. the Lord Forbes, the Lord Oliphant, Lord Elphinston, and Lord Gray, with whom he compeated. I have the account of my Lord Lovats expense in this journay, which was considerable, but compensed by the gifts and gold which Queen Anna gave to Dame Jean Stewart, and a godmothers gift sent to

November 15, 1600.

[1] Fraser of Culbokie and Guisachan.

[2] Hugh the younger.

Miss Anna. I sawe the silver basin and laver quhich they brought home.

A plague, 1601. This sumer, 1601, the plague burst out, and none knew how or whence. Some suspected it to have had its rise uppon the Buchan Coast out of a Dutch cask with onyons and hops cast ashoare; but, not to disput, the pestilence spread from Forth to the North, and raged here the length of Glenelg. Non dyed there nor in our farr Highlands and north isles; most of our people run to the hills, the purer aire. I have spoke with severalls who remembered the manner of their death, and some upon which it broak and escaped, and the several pits in which many were burried, as yet covered over with stones.

1602, a famin. The next yeare, 1602, was a dearth and famin all the North and Highlands over; a mildew blasted the barley, and the oates and peese never filled to any perfection, the straw blancht, and such corn as it afforded yelded no male [meal] but lick-dusted trash, without any aliment or food for man or beast. This was called by the vulgar *Blean in Chāā*, the sidd yeare,[1] becaus the corn yelded no meale, but seeds [sidds]. There ensued a great mortality all the north highlands over, but that milkness gave them some subsistance.

In September my Lady Lovat was brought to bed in Beuly of a daughter, named Mary, a strong, hopeful child; she was sent out and nursed with the Clan Liech Beatons[2] in Glenconvinth, near their hand; all the other children, Hugh the Master, and Miss Elisabeth, now of good age, and Simon, still keept within the house; and my Lady now begins to agree with his country aire as her native soil, aud boar children thick. June 1603 she was brought to bed in Bunchrive of a sone, named Thomas, a very tender, sickly child, and continued so notwithstanding of meanes and medicaments used to recover him, as the event proved in his chronick mallady, *Dolor Niphriticus*, of which I shall give account again.

Anno 1604. *Anno* 1604 the tennants of Finisk[3] incroaching too much uppon the churchmen, ministers at Kirkhill, Lord Simon

[1] Bliadhna a' chàth, 'the year of the ~~chaff or~~ corn husks.'

[2] See note, p. 145. Clann an Lighich, 'the Doctor's clan.'

[3] Fingask, now Clunes. See note, p. 60.

begins to hem them in; and, becaus the lands about the church, 20 bolles, pay hold of the Knights of Rhods *in capite*, and so of a different holding from the land of Finask, my Lord take it into his own hands in laboureing, and sets march stones up north and east quher there might be any scruple or question made be nighbouring tenants; and, to be in possession, he sets cotters and servants there, and repares the house near the church eastward upon the hill, called then my ladys jointer house, and dwelt there himselfe for his divertisement that summer. This land vulgarly is termed St. John the Baptists crofts; for which the Lords off Lovat payes yearly ten shilling Scots to the Lord Torfichen Sandilands in few tack duty, who had gotten a right of the Temple lands all the kingdom over from Queen Mary, *anno* 15 . And my Lords design of takeing that land into his own hands, besids, was to possesse the incumbents serving the cure at Wardlaw Church with gleebs conform to the present establishment all the kingdom over, as the plat and provision run by the Kings appointment; and my Lord Lovat incurraged his ministers competently, as afterwards appeared.

1605, Miss Anne died.

The next ensueing year, 1605, began mournfully to this great famely by the death of the eldest daughter, Anna, a lady of great expectation and promising goodnesse, about 8 yeares of age. She was singular for wit, gravity, piety, and composedness of nature; more could not be desired in a child. She dyed of a malignant fever, which bleeding and frequent breathing of a vein might have prevented in a great sanguin; but that was not then so practicable as now it runs in custom. However, God denyed that mean as his providence thought fit; but her death made that noble famely a Bochin or house of mourning, and that which added much to my ladyes melancholy was the King's sudden unexpected call for England to be heir of that Crown, becaus she had not occasion to see him and his good Queen, her great patroness, nor was she in any circumstance for journay or travell at the time; and few of the nobles were then called to Court, and the peeres of the North were at great distance, and the King resolved to be privat. This year also was Hugh, Master of Lovat, sent to the University of St. Andrewes for his education and accom-

plishment, his governour, Mr. Isack Reed, and John Fraser M'kvaister Shean,[1] his page, a very excellent yowth, sober, and vertuous, *ut sic ferebant tempora.*

This yeare also my Lord bought a house in Inverness from one Alexander Paterson, a great burger who had fallen low and mean after his great extravagancies, for it is reported that haveing masones upon task, building a stairecase to the sowthward of his dwelling house, he called for his wife in heast to get some of her maides to carry water for his morter; she a vertuous woman, keeping her servant maids close at their task, peremptorly denied him the use of her maides for that use. But of meer humor he caused carry out a hogshead of claret wine and poured that amongst his morter; for which abuse God punnished him and brought him to poverty and want, was necessitat to sell that great house, which Lord Simon agreed to buy. It lyes upon the south sid of the cross, 4 storryes high, with oaken forstaires or balkonies all round about; a great ~~back~~ staire case to the south, and a great geat entring from the street, many conveniencies in it, and great accomodations. The Lord Lovat lived in this house, the Marquess of Huntly in the Castle; the tutor of Lovat lived in Kinmilies, for the air of Strachin did not agree with his constitution; the Lairds of M'kintosh and Grant had hired houses in Inverness; and most pleasant was their correspondance together.

A rebellion in Ireland.

Now to set doun the contemporary affaires of the kingdom in course. In summer 1601 the Irish rebels drew in some Spanish forces into Ireland, to fortifie themselves in their rebellion. The King gives commission to the Duke of Lenox, then at the Court of England, to show Queen Elizabeth that if her Majesty thought judged that his aid should be thought necessary he would instantly employ the same for their expulsion. The Queen, giveing the King many thanks, said that if those troubles continued she would take his help and hire some of his Highlanders and Islesmen men; but she trusted to hear other newes shortly, and not be vexed long with those strangers; as also it came to passe, for the very next moneth

[1] John Fraser, son of the elder Master (of Lovat).

the Lord Mountjoy, her deputy, did, in a set batle fought near Kinsaile, defeat the Irish utterly, and afterwards forced the Spaniards that had taken the towne to rander uppon conditions of their lives saved, and to be transported again into their country.

In summer 1602, that being a scarce time of dearth and famin, the Highlanders brakeing out in excursiones and depredations, the King resolved to plant lowland men in the Isles, in imitation of Queen Elisabeths course for civilising Ireland. He thought it fit to transport the natives into the mainland, where they might learn civility; so he made a beginning at the Isle of Lewis. The undertakers were Patrick, Abbot of Lindores, Collonel William Stewart, Captain William Murray, Mr. John Lermonth of Balcomy, Mr. James Spens of Wormiston, Sir James Anstruther of that Ilk, and James Forret of Fingask. These gentlemen, furnishing themselves with armes and shiping and a great number of soldiers, tooke sea at Forth, and, in the 4 day with a brisk gale, arrived in the lake of Stornway in Lewis. Murdoch M'kleud, base sone to old M'kleod of Lewis, who carried himselfe as Lord of the Isle, at first made some resistance; but after a litle conflict, distrusting the people whom he had used with great tyrany, fled, and forsooke the Isle, leaving the indwellers to the discretion of the invaders, who, as soon as he was gone, did all submit themselves, and accepted such conditions as were offered by the undertakers. Being thus peaceably possesst, the Laird of Balcomy, to make preparation against winter to setle his affaires, purposed to return home, and, haveing launched from the coast, by reason of the calm is forced to cast anchor, is suddenly invaded by the forsaid Murdoch M'kleod with a number of Birlins,[1] the ship boarded, the mariners all killed, and himselfe made prisoner; the gentleman, hourely threatned with death, is ransomed by his friends, convoyed to Orkney, quher, contracting a fever, he dyed.

The Isle of Lewis possessed.

The rest of the gentlemen, to repaire this injury, conduced with Neil M'kleod, brother to the said Murdoch, to betray and deliver him in their hands; which he performed shortly after

[1] Birlinn, 'a galley.'

by an ambush laid for his brother, apprehends him and 12 men with him in company; the twelve men he presently beheaded. Murdoch, conform to paction, being delivered to the gentlemen, was transported to St. Andrewes, and there executed. The undertakers, now thinking themselves secure, began to build, and made a partition of lands, setling it upon the country people who had swore fidelity to them. Whilst they expected no trouble, Norman M'kleod, sone to old M'kleod, of a sudden beset them, put fire to their lodgings, many of them killed, forced them to these conditions:—1/ that they should purchass to them from the King a remission for all the crimes and offenses past; 2/ that they should resign to Norman all the right that they had acquired of the Isle of Lewis; 3/ that Sir James Spence, with his sone-in-law, Thomas Monypenny of Kinkell, should remain as pledges untill the remission was brought unto them, and such a surety given of the Isle as he devise. This condescended unto, Sir James Anstruther departed with the whole company that was left; and, for reliefe of the pledges, obtained of the King a remission and the security of the Isle that was desired; all which was sent to Norman by James Larmond, sone to the Laird of Darcie. By this meanes were the pledges freed, and for that time the whole enterprise defeated.

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In August (1605) the enterprise of the Lewis was again set on foot by Robert Lumbsden of Ardry, and Sir George Hay of Netherliffe, to whom the first undertakers had made over their right, takeing journay thither, and by the assistance of Macky, Mackenzie, and Donald Gorrum,[1] forced all the inhabitants to remove forth of the Isle, and give surety not to return. Ardry and his partners, judging all made sure without danger, returnd south in November, leaving their companies to maintain their possessions, which they made good that winter, save now and then some assaults by the Islesmen. In Spring Ardry went back with fresh provision, fell to build and manure the land; but, in end, money faileing, the companys of workemen diminishing dayly, the natives assosiating many Islesmen,

[1] Donald Gorm Macdonald of Sleat.

made a new assault and invasion, and at last outwearied the possessors, who gave over their enterprise, and content to make away their right to Mackenze for a litle soume of mony. This turned to the ruin of diverse of the undertakers, being exhausted in means, not haveing the language, wanting power to manage such an enterprise in a strange place farr off; so that Highlanders wer fittest to grapple with Highlanders, and one divil, as the proverb is, to ding out another, the M'klouds in end expired.

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[Follows account of affairs in Britain and on the Continent.]

Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat.

I return now to treat of the famely of Lovat, and Lord Simon Fraser, whom we left dwelling at Invernesse, *anno* 1605, about the 35 yeare of his age, haveing married Dame Jean Stuart, Lord Downs daughter, *anno* 1596, with whom he had a numerous ofspring, some living and some dyed young. *Anno* 1606 my lady was brought to bed at Inverness of a sone named Alexander, named after the good Shirref Murray, then present. This child lived but short, dyed of a squarame, in Bunchrive, 1608, in which yeere by greefe or surprise my lady aborted, after which shee continued tender and sickly a long time, so that non expected more children of her. But it pleased God she conceaved and boar a sone, at Beuly, September 1610, named James. This year my Lord repaired Lovat, and built the new work within the Palace, called Stewart Hall, becaus of the Earles of Atholl and Murray being both in the country and both present at the christening of James, who both would have him called so contrare to my ladys inclination. This spring the good Lady Strachin died at Kinmilies, and was interred at Beuly, a sad surpriseing death to the famely, but no fear of a successor, for the tutor Strachin never married, and survived her but a short time, who after his journay from Buchan sickned in his lodging at Invernes, and dyed there in the 67 year of his age, bemoaned of all, that was good and great, and under the highest commendation of any mortall, as appeares by his epitaphs and panagirickes in Latin and English, which I have set down in their own proper place, to which I recommend my reader.

Sir James born.

Anno 1612.

Thomas died.

The next thing that happened about this noble famely was Thomas his death, who being fostered in Abertarfe with the M'kgrewers,[1] and used too much with a grosse milky dyet, turnd dull and sullen under a complex of malladies, a stranguria, and nephietick paines in kidnies and bladder, and so in end next September was cut of the stone in his bladder by one Gilleandris Beatton,[2] at Lovat, in the ninth yeare of his age, to the great grief of his parents. He was interred at Beuly. Simon is now educat at university in the Kings Colledge, and Mr. Andrew Sample his governowr; a very hopefull yowth and of great partes, his mothers onely comfort and joy. Hugh, the Master of Lovat, being at Edinburgh, *anno* 1613, had occasion to fall acquaint with his cousin, Master of Weemes, to whom he payed a visit in his return home, and, being a while yet, transiently fell in fancy with Miss Isabell, the Lord Weemes daughter, and his affection was entertained with suitable returns of respect both be the young lady and her noble parents; so that there was nothing wanting but his father my Lord Lovats concent, which at the first motion was soon attained, and the match approven. The next summer the marriage of these two young lovers is solemnized at the Weemes, his father, Lord Simon, being present, to the singular satisfaction of all persones concerned.

Anno 1615.

In *anno* 1615 the Master brought home his lady, and the inferr keept at Beuly, which dwelling was now sequestred for his use, the two famelies being so numerous that they could not live together; so that Lord Simon and his lady lived at Lovat for some time. This excellent lady, Isabell Weemes, proved a singular comfort to this noble famely, a pious, vertuous, sober, human woman, and the mother of fine children—Mary, Lady Ballnigown, born 1617; Ann, Lady Sutherland, born 1619; Simon, the Master, born 1621; Kathrin, Lady Mucholl, born 1622; then, an abortion, being a daughter; next, Hugh, born 1624; Alexander, born 1626; then, a daughter, Isabel, who died young, two year old; the next was Thomas, born 1631; Mr. James, born April 1633; and William, born May 1635. Of all these, in their matches,

[1] MacGruer.

[2] See note, p. 145.

actiones, lives, death, and ages, I shall, God willing, have occasion to treat afterward *suo loco*. In this summer the Lord Arbuthnot comeing here designedly to visit this noble famely the second time, at length carried his design and married Miss Margret, Lord Simon of Lovats onely daughter of the first marriage; the wedding held at Lovat. This good woman lived most comfortably with this nobleman and heired his famely; and after his death was married to Gleneggis Haddon,[1] and heired his house; and after his death lived most contently a happy, fortunat woman. I had occasion to see her in her own hospitable house at Arratsmill in the Mernes.

Anno 1617 my Lord Lovat, with his lady, Dame Jean Stewart, went south to wait uppon the King, who had then come down out of England to visit his native soil Scotland, and kept a Parliament at Edinburgh in June, the last that ever he had here in person, and perhaps the last at which my Lord Lovat ever sat. The Earldom of Athol was now fallen in the Kings hands by the death of the late Earle, 1615,[2] without heires male; this vast estate was freely offered to the Lord Lovat in donation by the King, to possess all the rights and honores in his oun person, and the children of the second marriage with his cousen Jean to be stewards, and the earldom entaild upon the eldest, Simon, after his death. My Lord humbly thanked his Majesty, but declined to accept the offer; whither it was suggested in him that Athol was ever an unfortunat purchase, and possessed a people very ill to mannage, the debts vast, some competitors to contend, some such reason disswaded him, so that the King urged it no more. Severall conjectures and censures were vented upon Lovat for casting so great an offer and royall gift, judging it timorouseness and simplicitye in a noble peer to reject a step of such promotion; others construed it, as truely they might, to his temper of mind, content with his own competent estat, being free from any ambitious

[1] Haldane.

[2] The earl did not die until 1626. It probably means that he, falling into embarrassed circumstances, was ready, in 1608, to resign his earldom into the king's hands, or dispose of it for a price. In 1618 he is styled merely 'James Stewart,' and his wife Lady Mary 'Countess of Atholl,' in the *Privy Council Register*, vol. xi. 1616.

designs to involve or incumber himselfe in intricacies; but I am sure had he embraced this offer it would have saved ten thousand a year which he bestowed uppon the heires and ofspring of the 2d marriage, by which he hath quit crackt and broken the Lordship of Lovat evin to this very day. For me, I am witness, not a judge, of great mens actings, but this great estate is low, and declining every day.

It was at this time that Simon, afterwards Inveralochy, was knighted at Halyrud, the 19 yeare of his age, or 20 current; and the King gave a patent of knighthood to James also, then about 7 yeares of age, and a godbarn gift, a good soume of gold. The Lady Lovat, parting with the King, never (as she said) wanted her sigh to the day of her death. One good bargan was concluded in this voyage, viz. the marrying of Sir Simon to Jean Moncreefe, the Laird of Moncrefes daughter, in Monteith or Perthsheir, a pretty lady, and good substance with her. My Lord Lovat returning north, he sold the estate of Glenelg to Mäckleod, and bought the lands of Ferrintosh from Calder Cambel and 3000 good *per annum*, and 50 chalders of victuall in Inverallochy from the Earl of Buchan. This he infeft Sir Simon and his young lady into, giveing him the house and lands of Bunchrive for a dwelling near himselfe; thus in all, the heir of the second marriage, Sir Simon, possesst 8000 a year of the Lordship of Lovat. but the great pitty was he enjoyed it but short time, for he dyed *anno* 1620;[1] and his lady in her widdowhood married to the Laird of Leyes Burnet, which was a burden uppon Inveralochies interest all her dayes. Of this famely and its ofspring I shall happily have occasion to treat hereafter *suo loco*.

My Lord Lovats first expedition after his return north home from the south was to goe the length of Inverallochy in Buchan to see and settle his new purchase there, and once, putting the house and interest in good order for all accommodations needfull, left his sone Sir Simon and his lady there to enjoy their rents and duties, and returnd north again that summer; and now all this year sets masons and wrights awork in quarries and woods to provide materialls of all sorts to build the houses

[1] There is confusion here and on the next few pages about the date of the death of Inverallochy and his mother.

of Bunchrive and Dalcross; his lady very anxious and impatient untill they were perfected. All the freestone was taken out of Caucy quarry in Murray, his lime from South Coast, and all his beames and sparroofe out of Dalcattaig woods; and perhaps there is not a better timbered house in Murray than Dalcross Castell, as may be seen to this very day. The great motive that induced Dame Jean Stewart to build at Dalcrosse was to be near her cousin, the Earle of Murray, in Castle Stewart, who, in the meantime, was building that statly house, and were all finisht at once, for my Lord Lovat began the worke of these two brave houses of Dalcross and Bunchrive *anno* 1619, and had them both perfected *anno* 1621, as we find by the dates.

Sir Simon of Inveralochy cam north with his lady and famely in the close of 1619, and lived with his father in Lovat, sometimes at Beuly, and for their greater conveniency and satisfaction all the three families lived together, my Lord Lovat, the Master, and Inveralochy; and as I had it from severalls of their surviving servants, they kept a happy harmony, especially the good ladyes among themselves, with their sweet, pleasant children, and servants—Mr. John Spence, chaplain; David Carr, musitian; James Fraser of Phoppachy, cheef master houshold; John Burt, buttler; Agnes Ferguson, his wife, cheef wardrop woman; all the servants Frasers, the good ladyes design being to educat the gentlemens children upon succeeding occasions. The spending of this noble famely extravagant—seven bolls malt, seven boles meale, one bole floure, every weeke; 70 black cowes in the year, besids venison, fish, pullet, kid, lamb, veale, moorfoule, partridge, seafoules, wild goose, duck and mallart, etc., with all the presents and kists unaccountable; the wines in great [quantities] yearly from France, with sugar and all manner of spices, that it is incredible how any house could spend this store and provision yearly. For my own part I have been amused, nay, amased, in reading my grandfathers bookes of accounts, where he sets down the exacte particulars of the vast spending of this noble famely; and many would conclud it a very rant.

I find that Sir Simon of Inveralochy nor his lady had any great inclination to stay in Buchan, which moved them to

live with my Lord their father; and it hath hardly a paralell to see 3 ladyes of different tempers keep such an unseperable union and concord, as Dame Jean Stewart, Dame Isabell Weemes, and Dame Jean Moncreefe; nor do I see that they did part untill death divid them. In September, *anno* 1622, my Lord Lovat and his lady were invit to a feast in Castle Stewart, and Sir Symon and his lady accompanied his father and sickned there, so that he could not be brought west to Lovat, but carried to Dalcross, where he was confined to his chamber and under physick for a halfe year, still decaying; it began with a very moderat fever, and, relapsing again and again, became hectick. There was one Doctor Lovell, out of Perth, attending him, who had his feares of spells, so that after all the care and cost imaginable to the utmost skill of several consultations, this brave spirit was in end given over, put under a milk dyet, in February and March yet still worse, dyed most perfectly in senses and intellectualls as ordinarily hectik persones doe; and, as he was universally beloved, so universally bewailed. His excellent mother, as being most sensible of the loss, so under the deepest sorrow untill the day of her death, which was soon after. They designed to have interred him in Beuly, the buriall place of his ancestors, but the river of Ness turning bigg beyond ordinary, and the bridg also broken, there was no safe transport for the vast multitud, horse and foot, my Lord procured by attollerance from the Cumings of Inverness to interr him in their chappell, called St. Kathrines Isle, in Rood Church at Inverness, where there is an excellent tomb erected; the inscription, armes, and date I have set downe in its own proper place, where my reader may find it.

Anno 1622, in June, Dame Jean Stewart, Lady of Lovat, sickned in her house at Bunchrive, where she delighted most to dwell, and, without any fear or hazard of her mallady, beyond all mens expectation dyed July first, and, being most sensible, ordered all her affaires deliberatly (sure haveing taken death to herselfe), and her last request and command craved of my Lord her husband was to burry her besid her dear child, Sir Simon of Inverallochy, which according to her just desire was very splendidly done.

I cannot omit here what a wonderfull concord and correspondance was betuixt my Lord Lovat and all his nighboures, the Marquess of Huntly, living in the Castle of Inverness; the Lard of Grant, in the Bridge Street; Earl off Murray, very near at Castle Stuart; Seaforth, in Chanry; besids other Lairds and barrons. So that there was an annuall race run every yeare about the promontory of Tomnihurich: the cup and silver spurr was still provided be Earle George of Huntly, and, gain them who will, he ordered Lord Symon of Lovats name and arms to be ingraven uppon the silver cup, for he never called him but Father in his ordinary speech, my father Lovat. It was observable that, except one of the 7 yeares, my Lord Lovat and his famely carried the race, for he kept a stall of singular choice race horses. The Laird of Inveralochy without doubt was the nimblest rider and best horseman in the North, and his frequent riding did him hurt; he gaind the race 3 yeares successively; the Master of Lovat, tweice; the Laird of Grant, once; and Collin, Earl of Seaforth, once; and by this meanes these noble persones mett chapterly at Inverness once a year, and would not part of a sudden. The Marques of Huntly being Protestant, and the other Lords of Murray, Seaforth, and Lovat, of the same persuasion, made them more unit, and *fortior est copula cordis quam corporis.*

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[Here follow account of affairs in Scotland; summary of events in France, Spain, Portugal, Germany, Bohemia, Denmark, Poland, Sweden, Russia, Moscovy, Hungary, Turcomania; and lives of Popes.]

I judge it now high time to return to treat of the Frasers and Simon Lord Lovat, after his ladyes death at Bunchrive, *anno* 1622, and carry the line of our history and genealogy along with us, and what happened to and about that famely and clan till Lord Simons death, and Lord Hugh his entry into the estate. In October 1622 William Fraser of Culboky was to be married with Mary Grant, daughter to Mr. James Grant, Laird of Moynes in Murray, and invites his cheefe to the wedding. My Lord was then a widower and in his mourning, yet would not declin his kinsmans suit, for, saith he,

Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat.

marriage is honorable in all, and should be countenanced by
S. John, 2. persones of honor. Jesus was called to a marriage in Cana of Galily, and that was the way to have all sanctified, and dissorders prevented; and great mens example and authority at feasts is influencing. *Cave spectat Cato* was the old watch-word at Rome; and therefore enjoined all his friends and servants to be cautious and temperat at such occasiones among strangers, and therefore to bewarr of any miscarriage or intemperancy there under the hasard of his displeasur.

1622. At this time, a meeting was kept betuixt my Lord Lovat and the Laird of Duffus, Alexander Sutherland, anent the old clame which Lovat had against that part of the barrony of Gonfurd which belonged to Duffus, viz. Kinstery, Kinudy, and Boghole. This action was of old standing. The Earl of Murray was sole arbitrater and umpyre in the affaire, yet notwithstanding of all his persuasiones he could not prevail with Duffus to agree amicably with my Lord Lovat, who was in end induced to enter into a reduction of his whole interest, yea the very riggs of Duffus; such hazard brought his willful litigious temper him to, when the Earl of Murray had the ballance in his hand to disceed it, and a great composition offered be my Lord Lovat; yet they parted *re infecta*, and Lovats too good humor and lenity occasioned the dissapointment and dilatur. It is unaccountable what great love the Earle had for Lord Simon, whom he never called but brother; this is the Earl of Murray who was termed my noble Lord and Master, a name very suteable to his princly genious. All that I find on record of this action of Lovats against Duffus that there is a summons of wakening raised by every Lord Lovat at his entry to the Estate; and Duffus in the long day may be in hazard by it.

1624. Lord Simon, *anno* 1624, about the 54 yeare of his age, married Dame Katharin Ross, Lady Moynes. This was contrare to all his friends and relations genious and advice; a match by which he had neither credit, contentment, nor profit, and proved a moth in his famely and interest all his life, and after his death a burden of 30 yeares great jointur upon his estate, which to my certain knouledge was the marrow of his Low Country rent, the barrony of Farnuay and Goine and Finask, for I find her liverentrix in my decreet of plat of the

benefice of the parish of Wardlaw, named Dame Kathrin Rosse, *anno* 1644. My Lord lived all her time at Bunchrive, a pleasant, wholsome dwelling; and Hugh, the Master, with his lady, Dame Isabell Weemes, lived at Lovat, and the government and regulation of all the affaires of the Lordship laid upon his shoulders, which he mannaged with a gread deal of discretion, Thomas Fraser of Struy being his heritable baily, a man of prudence and moderation.

Anno 1625 Sir Alexander Fraser, Laird of Dorris, came 1625.
north to visit his friends; his lady, Elizabeth Abernethy, had dyed the same yeare, and he took this progress to divert his deep melancholy. The Lady Cromerty, being his sister-in-law, brought him thither sometimes, and Thomas, Laird of Strachin, living at Kinmilyes then with his lady, ingaged Dorris to be with him frequently, being his intimat cammerad and relation. But for the most part his residence was at Bunchrive, for my Lord delighted much in his society, being a great historian and smart schollar, and, which was above all, a pius, devout man, much mortified to the world, for his famely was low, and had discovered the vannity of the world in the many changes that befell himselfe and it. He sickned May 1626, and died in September after. My Lord deservedly gave him a very solemn burriall, and was interred in St. Kathrins Isle in Beuly Church, within the Priors Tomb, the buriall place of my Lord Lovats children; and as he was beloved of all, so universally bemoaned.

The Master, to improve Beuly, the seat of regality, resolves to set up ins and maltkilns in it, and set his marcats in toll and tribut. The 3 prime men in Beuly, William Fraser, Patrick Anguis, and John Whit, undergo the regulation of the faires, and ingages for a set soum for a tack of the faires yearely; and the Hallowmas marcat being then at Kilmorack, there happened a great riot betuixt the Frasers and M'kenzies, 1628.
and severalls wounded; therefore by Act of Court, wherin the Master sat personally, the Hallow faire is transplant to the town of Beuly for the future, and the Cross which stood westward from the Town, in the spiggadach[1] near Teawigg, is

[1] Spiggadach [illegible] An obsolete Gaelic word — meaning [illegible]

carried to Beuly and erected where now we see it, fixed in the midest of the town. It was called the Reed-Cross, either becaus Abbot Reed, Bishop of Orknay, built it, or becaus of its collowr, I will not determin; but it is a necessary ornament now in a marcat town wherein stand 3 fine faires yearely— 1/ Crose Beoday, May 3; 2/ Michaelmas day, Septr. 29; 3/ All Saints or Hallowmas day, the first of November; and Beuly lyes in a fit place for faires.

May 3.
Sepr. 29.
Novr. 1.

This noble Lord had a singular temper never to set a rent or rate upon his yearly salmon fishing of the water of Beuly, though many advised to set it *annuatim* for a liquidat duty to tacksmen. He said usually that rivers were casual and contingent things, depending upon a speciall Providence, which the overvaluing of a fishing might blast upon the common blissing which attends such casualties; therefore he erected a cirphouse [corf-house] and fixed one John Whit cainer and overseer of the water, who would yearly give away more fish to gentlemen, ministers, tenants, and the pore in charety, then perhaps the whole salmon fish in our time amounts to. 2/ He would not set his orchards under a rent or duty, but had his gardiners, to whom he gave sett sallaries, and comprised his fruit; and the men he chused to that effect were the keepers, and he usually observed that those same men were most honest than if he had called strangers. He has often got 6 chalders of good fruit out of his Orchard of Beuly, and I heard old men declare that one tree in that orchard payed the teind, that is, carried ten bolles of peares which were shaken and measured with peck and firlot, good ripe fruit. Nay, I spok to a gentleman who bought the gleanings of this same tree from David Belfure the garner, and when he had shaken the same it amounted to above 3 ferlets of good peares.

A 3d property this nobleman had, that he was never known to raise a tennant for any mans pleasure for brib or grassom, which he never sought nor tooke; and, if a gentlemans sone would seeke to raise a tennant in the incountry, he would flattly deny him, telling that he would give him land in the Highland, for gentlemen are appointed to watch and guard the country, and therefor ought to live uppon the marches, skirts, and extremities thereof to keep of theeves and sorroners.

A 4th excellent temper this good man had, that he could not hear a shrud tale or report of any, and if he had got any account of an absent friend he would confront both and put every word to the touch, which bred peace and concord from Dan to Bersheba within the Lordship of Lovat. He would often say that a resetter made the theefe, and a credulous receaver made the lyer; his rule was the 23 and the 101 Psalmes, he that backbiteth not with his tongue, nor doth evil to his nighbour, nor taketh up a reproach or report against his nighbour, and saith as he thinketh in his heart. Psal. 23. 3.

Two yeares before his death he was induced to make a dissadvantagious bargan and paction about the victuall and salmon fishing of the Lordship, and might be called circumvention and overreaching indeed. There were two cuning fellowes, John Yeoman, merchant in Dundee, and Doncan Forbes, marchant in Invernes, who got my Lord to condescend to a forehand Block (as it was called) that for advancing of a great soume of mony *prevento termino* they were to have the bole of victuall at such a rate, and the barrell of salmon at such a soume; and the next ensueing yeare both victuall and fish arose to about 3d more, and another yeare, to almost duble, which may be seen to be a vast losse to my Lord Lovat. Some base mercenary servants were bribed to draw Lord Simon to this unhappy agreement. James Glendinning, his master houshold, was blamed, and one John Burt; and it was thought that his Lady was no good instrument to carry it one; but the shame and greefe of it no doubt bred his chronick mallady, of which in end he dyed. He was often heard to report and repeat the words of the apostle S. Paul, That no man goe beyond and defraud his brother in any mater, becaus that the Lord is the avenger of all such, as we have forewarned and testified, etc. 1 Thess. 4. 6.

About the close of May 1632 Lord Simon fell into a dull melancholy, and laboured all the yeare under it; at last it seased the splen in a strong inflamation, and, not adverting to it by speedy cure, it turnd into a scirrus or hard swelling of the splen, for the mater of the splen, causing obstruction by continuance, grew thicker, and made a scirrus, which increased all the harvest and winter. At the same time Earl Collin of

Seaforth lay under a consumption, and had one doctor, John Philp, of Dundee, attending him, whom becaus of his singular love to Lord Simon he sent over to him, being at Bunchrive, the onely dwelling and aire he loved best. This Philp stayed and waited uppon him all March, but could do him no good, for he said he came too late. The poett tells us—*Sero medicina paratur, cum mala per longas invaluere moras.* At length this great man dyed the 15 of Aprile, to the incredible greefe of all his clan and kindred. The Frasers of Lovat, resolving to desert their buriall place in Beuly Minster, interred Lord Simones corps in Kirkhill, at the easter end of the church, with a pale of curious timber work above his grave, and erected that Isle and steeple there as their tomb which now we see joined to the church.

This great mans funerals were sumptuous and splendid: nothing was wanting to make it singularly solemn, regular, and orderly, the season being very inviting to the nighbouring clans to conveen. M'kintosh had 6 hundered men well appointed; the Grants 800, the M'kenzes 900, Rosses of Balnigown a 1000 pretty men, the Frasers a 1000 and more; Camerons, Mackdonels, Monroes, were not under a 1000, well ordered. Such a buriall was never seen or heard of in our country, computed to be above 5000 foot and horse. The arable ground all under breer, but trod like a common foot rode all betuixt Bunchrive and the church of Wardlaw; yet it was observable that no such fertil, fruitfull crop was ever known to grow upon thet raced land as Gods Providence sent here that yeare. His funerall sermon was preacht be Mr. William Fraser, minister at Kilmorack (for Mr. John Houston, minister of the place, flatly declined it); the pertinent, apposit text pitcht upon was that of Hulda the prophetess to King Josiah—Behold therefore I will gather thee unto thy fathers, and thow shalt be gathered unto thy grave in peace, and thine eyes shall not see all the evil which I will bring upon this place; and, as the text, so the sermon was no lesse a preaching than a prophesy. The Laird of Grant got the minister in his armes at the church door and told Lord Hugh that he would be vain of and glory in such a kinsman.

2 King. 22. v. 20.

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Perhaps men may be apt and ready to censor and reflect upon this noble peer and great hero, imputing severall acts derogatory to his wit, honor, and dignity, as 1/ the rejecting of the Kings offer and royall gift of the Earldom of Atholl. This hath been already determined, nor would he embrace that tender for many just reasons, especially the debt resting as an unaccountable burden upon that great estate, and what unwarrantable shifts of rigor and oppression hath been falln upon by the late possessor to support their grandure is too well known to all the kingdome. 2/ Lord Simons extravagant provision for the heires of the 2d marriage with Dame Jean Steward, giveing Inveralochy, an estate of 8 or nin thousand a yeare, which was more than the Earles of Cathnes, Sutherland, or Seaforth benorth us ever did, nor the Earles of Murray, Huntly, or Marr besouth us reacht in the best of times. The answeir is ready, that if Dame Jean had survived her lord she had devoured much more in jointur by either living a widow be herselfe or marrying a stranger; and who knowes not what a sway second ladyes ever had with their lords in such cases? 3/ as to the bargan of the 3 davachs of Drumchardny, Holm, and Craggag, with the Laird of Mackintosh, whose heritage it was; whey Lord Simon suffered that to goe by himselfe, it being in the heart of his own country; there was indeed a motion of an excambion betuixt Lord Simon and Lachlin More of Torcastell; and my Lord, willing to have given him land in the Leyes equivalent to these 3 davachs, and employed his two kinsmen, Hutchen oge of Culboky and Hutchen of Belladrom, to treat with Mackintosh uppon that head, but they betrayed their trust, and, finding the bargan easie and cheap, made it for themselves, and divided the land among themselves, which was below the Lord Lovat ever to challange, but fraud and senistrous purchase *non gaudet tertius heres*. 4/ As to the many morgages (called wadsets) given out by him in Stratharick, Strathglaish, Abertarfe, and Aird, there was no earthly thing he put in ballance with his kindred, whom he would still keep by him within the country, nor would he ever suffer any of them to setle among nighbour clans; and, since he had now and then need of mony, he rather take his kinsmens mony than borrow of strangers or sell land;

so that by morgage he kept the mony within his country, made them frugall, indeared their hearts to him, and his to them, being wont to say that his men wer his ammunition, his guard, his glory and honor, and few could compeat with them. 5/ As to his last match, Kilravocks daughter, the Lady Moynes, men may reflect upon him for marrying below himselfe, which was dishonorable to his famely; true, but had he married one above her qualety and a young woman, being himselfe but 53 yeares of age, he might have burdened his estate with many children to be provided suitable to their birth, and have left a great jointur to her, and perhaps proved proud, ambitius, vain, slight and despise him in his old dayes; but he married a modest, humane, vertuus, humble woman; she gave him satisfaction, had great care of him, loved his children and friends, kindly to the country. He lived ten yeares with her, nor could he in honor or generosity have left her lesse than he did; and she lived 30 yeares after him. 6/ I must not omit the sentiments which many high and low had of his unadvertant paction and bargan (called vulgarly forehand block) which he made with John Yeoman and Doncan Forbes, two sutle and greedy fellowes, to have his fishing and victuall for severall yeares at so easy a rate. This was the great mans infirmity, giveing eare to sycophant, flattering courtiours, bribed by these brockers to work my Lord Lovat to a condescendance; which put him to his after game sad sense of his folly. He had kinsemen of his own far more active men then these to do his bussiness, and there was mony enugh in the cuntry, and the gain should rather fall with them than with strangers; besids he had wise men of his relations and acquaintance to consult with; it was his weakness and omission too not to have doun it, in such a weighty mater. But what needs inlargement upon such a topick? His own trouble of mind, his melancholy mallady occasioned by it, was too deare a sacrifice and ransome for such a loss, biding us not to pore uppon a remediless evil.

To bring this paragraph to a period, this noble peere, as he was great, so he was a very good man, generous, free, and hospital, much given to charety; as he keept and maintaind peace within his country, so a continued concord and correspondance with all his nighbours, and beloved of them. His

house was a harbour to good men, whose doore was seldom shut; and, as his house, so also his heart was patent to entertain them. The Lord Lovat was called the Common Cooke of the North; at the serving in of his dishes he would invit the meanest stranger to dine with him, but not the greatest of his kinsmen, but if they stayed unintreated he made them most welcome. He kept singular order and government in his famely, quher there was never any seen drunk; yet seldom or never was his ale and beer cellars closed, and sometimes not his wine cellar; and for his liberal large expense and spending I spoke of it before, and non could know his housekeeping better than I, for my grandfather, James Fraser of Phoppachy, was above 30 yeares his major domo, and I have often seen his accounts. This noble peer was a great incurrager of arts and arms; for, as the Lords of Lovat usually spent a quarter of the yeare or more in Stratharick, all that time Lord Simon, living at Mickle Garth, keept a weekly muster of his men, training them to arching, hagbuting, jumping, wrestling, putting the stone, throwing the barr, and all manner of manly exercise.

Hugh Fraser, 14 Lord Lovat, 1633.

Lord Hugh Fraser of Lovat succeeded his father, Lord Simon, in the 43 year of his age, and in May 1633 was served and retoured to his father, the Earle of Murray, Lord Weemes, Laird of Foules, Barron of Kilravock, Lord George Seaforth, and Laird of Grant, being invit and present at that solemn service, for he was universally beloved and in very great esteeme amongst all his relations and acquaintances, south and north; and my Lord resolves now to live constantly at Lovat, it being the onely place which shee fancied, and kept a noble house. Her master houshold, one Master George Fraser, David Cer, musitian, and Mr. James Tarras, chaplain. She had her ten children with her at home, and her famely a nursery of piety, vertue, and learning, the very ornament, patern, and example to all the North of Scotland.

Now are our young gentry again getting commissiones, and providing recruits for the Swedish warrs, where many of our Scottish spirits have formerly gained honor; and there is here one Thomas Fraser, sone of the house of Belladrum, a commissionat-officer, gathering voluntyres up and down this

country, and my Lord Lovat, by his concurrance and authority, was very helpfull to him, and in a Court att Beuly got a list of severalls young men to be reased for that service. One Donald M'kwilliam, being persued, fled from Beufort up the hills of Conventh and beyond Bobleny; Alexander Urqhart, my Lord scheefe gentleman, overtakes him on horseback. The fellow being courragious and desperat, turns and desires Alexander by adjouration to keep off and let him allon; the gentleman, too forward and non with him, layes hold off him, and he runs him through the body, and falls dead uppon the spot. The rogue escaped to the hills, great lamentations made for that excellent gentleman Alexander Urqhart, and a soume put upon the murtherers head; many thereabouts were dayly searching for him. At last Thomas Fraser of Bobleny, being very intimat with him, told that he needed not feare danger, and so trained him to his ruin, brought him to his own house and treated him, and then called in two gossips protesting kindness, cut off his head, which they brought to Lovat; but blood cries litle or no memory of either of them.

Donald M'kWm. Vickean.[1]

Anno 1634 the long courting betuixt D. Ross, Laird of Balnigown, and Miss Mary, Lord Hughs eldest daughter, is now finally closed in a voluntar mutuall contract and agreement, and the marriage day set; the wedding, solemn enough, held at Lovat, and these two lovers at length enjoyed one another; with epithalamiums and nuptiall panagiricks made to the Rose and marigold, or the Rosemary of Murray and the Rosa solis of Rosse: a very loyal soule. At his time the Bishop of Murray, Mr. John Guthery, kept on his circular visitations of every church within the diocesse, came up through all Strathspey, Badenoch, Stratharick, to Cilchummen in Abertarfe, through Glenmoriston, in to Kilmore S. Durstan in Urchart,[2] and to Kiltarlety, and thence to Kirkhill in Wardlaw parish, where he hald a visitation, my Lord Lovat and his kinsmen of all ranks present, setling very good order and disciplin. After examination it was found that Mr. John

June 1634.

[1] Donald, son of William, son of John.

[2] Kilmore, the parish church of Urquhart in Inverness-shire, known in Gaelic as Urchudainn mo Chrostain, St. Drostan's Urquhart.

See p. 267

Houston, incumbent here, had marryed the Laird of Balnigown and the Lord Lovats daughter upon two proclamations, for which Mr. John was suspended *apud acta*, and Mr. William Fraser, minister at Kiltarlity, appointed next Lords day to intimat the sentence and preach here, a severe censure for so small a fault, but my Lord Bishop declared *in judicio* it was for breach of a strickt canon of the church, and the eyes of criticks lookeing on, and it was more deserving he should censor the minister of the place than himselfe be censured by the Presbiterians, now a very prevaileing party in the Kingdom. From this Bishop Guthery goe for Invernesse, and kept a solemn visitation there, where himselfe preacht, his text in the Acts: Paul said unto Barnabas, Let us goe again and visit our bretheren in every city where we preacht the word of the Lord, and see how they do. I heard churchmen and laymen commend that sermon as learned, wise, and seasonable. Act: 15, 36.

The Scots now being (as Sleiden terms them like their own rivers *rapidissimi ingenij*, violent and rapid) clandestinly contriveing plots against their good King, all chiftens of clans are resolved to muster and train their men and put them in exercise of arms. My Lord Lovat provids a good armory stored with muscats, firlocks, gunpouder and amunition. The brave young Master of Lovat, Simon, loyal at heart, being now about 15 yeares of age, takes a progress in circuit all the lordship over, and er he returnd to Lovat listed all his fencible men, furnishing them with bowes, the onely arms he loved, setled fledgers to make ready store of arrowes, and at burrialls (lest convocations should be spoke off) he always noticed the prettiest men, and oblidged every parish to set up buts for arching, and caused the young gentlemen to draw on bonspales and wagers to ingage the youth to martiall manly exercises, runing, jumping, swiming, throwing of the barr, fencing with common cudgells, shooting at marks with firelocks, till at length he needed not feare if his Majesty required to set out a regiment of well trained souldioures for his service, and defence of his country. *Anno* 1635.

In January 36, when the festivals wer over, Simon, Master of Lovat, well appointed with a noble retinue, goes to university, chuseing the first yeare to studdy at the Kings Colledg of

Aberdeen, and by the rode seing his friends the Lairds of Philorth and Mucholl, attending on him, convoyed him to Aberdeen in considerable state; and all the while he stayed there not one young nobleman in both colledges was in greater esteem, beloved of all that converst with him, the ornament of the university, as he was termed, singular at all exercises and recreations, ballown, cachpole, byars, bowles, the goffe, and artching. And it is observable that att the strickest rate he carried the arching that yeare at bowmarks and rovers, gaining the silver arrow, of all the collidgeners there, and had a 100 gentlemen of his name out of Marr and Buchan present, and joined a vast silver plat to the arrow, the frame of it a heart, and a crown over with the Kings arms upon the one side and his own upon the other. This same rich fancy I saw hanging to the arrow, 1652. In June the Master of Lovat returnd home, convoyed at the same rate with which he went abroad.

Anno 1636.

In June, at the Master's return, his mother, excellent Isabel Weemes, sickened, which began with a weakness and undigestion in the stommack, a great obstruction in the liver, an universall heat, and men could hardly know what to make of it; for doctors and persones of skill we had not then in the North, a few common chyrurgeons, and traversing sharltons out of Ireland. There was one Mr. John Sholes, an Irish man vulgarly termed Doctor Sholes, that had past some experiments in the country. This fellow was called to Lovat be my Lords and ladyes desire, and at first view he confidentlie ingages to cure her; but quit contrary, after his long stay in the famely and useing potions and topicall applications she grew worse and worse. The good ladys curious collour and complexion altered to admiration, dim yallow like a jaundice, which I judge might be her mallady, but the unhappy fellow had no skill by proper evacuations to expell the morbifick mater. Drugs and forreign medicins could not be had, nor non of skill to consult so much as her constitution, yet by Gods blissing, with simples she might be recovered; yet the vile varlet, mistakeing and misapplying quhat was administrated, she was perfectly poisoned, her body after death spotted. She was a pure, sanguin, clear complexion, a great beauty as any

could be. She departed July 10, 1636, in the 48 yeare of her age, being 22 yeares married, and but 4 yeares current Lady Lovat.

After this good ladyes death, O what a Bochim of mourning becam the whole country, the face of affairs altered, all faces black with weeping and sorrow, the joy of all hearts ceased, our dancing turnd into groning, our musick into mourning, our songs into sadness. It is incredible and unexpressible what greefe ceased upon all ranks of people; those who knew her not as well as those who knew her, wer sunk in sorrow. Her body being dissected and embalmed, coffined and laid in a vault untill her friends at south were acquainted. Her brother, the Earle of Weemes, with a fine train of his relationes, came north. Her funerals sumptuous and solemn, and her corps interred in the Isle of Mons Mariæ,[1] now compleitly finished; the great Bell, put up in the steeple the summer before, with this inscription, MICHAEL BVRGERHOVS FECIT Anno D. 1634.[2] It was the greatest in the North, being the pryory bell off Beuly, and judged too bigg for an ordinary steeple; for that cause Lord Hugh sent it to Holland and casten be the founder forsaid *de novo*, and a large hand bell besids. This good lady got the hansell tolling chaimes of this new bell, accompanied to her urn with unfeigned lamentations, which she well merited of all pious, sincere hearts; whom we commit to the sacred dust in the words of the evangelick prophet, the rightious perisheth Isai. 57. 1, 2. and no man layeth it to heart, and mercifull men are taken away non considering that the rightious is taken away from the evil to come, he shall enter into peace, they shall enter into peace and rest in their beds, each one walking in their upprightness. The Holy Spirit tells us that the voice from Rev. 14. 13. Heaven saith, Blissed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth, yea saith the Spirit that they may rest from their labours and their works do follow them. Amen.

We leave this mournfull famely melting in teares. My Lord Lovat, sunk in melancholy which continued and convoyed him

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[1] See ~~note~~, p. 252, 266

[2] There is still a fragment of an old bell at Kirkhill. See paper read by Rev. C. D. Bentinck, the present minister of the parish, before the Gaelic Society of Inverness ~~on Transactions of the Society~~ to be printed in the forthcoming volume of the Society's Transactions.

to his dying minut, quit gives over all worldly secular affaires, fasts two dayes in the week, the Wednsday on which his lady dyed, and the Saturday, not seing any in the face those dayes all his lifetime, and a set day every weeke for distributions to the poor. His sone, Simon the Master, is virtually Lord Lovat, mannages all things without and within doores, governs the country and all affaires in it, and that with the wit and prudence of the sages; and a wonder it was to all that a young youth of so few yeares and experience was endued with such a heroick spirit in the exact, grave, and sollid conduct and conveyance of all the concerns of this country and great famely. In the closur of the yeare Sir James Fraser, my Lords only
1637 brother of the second marriage, went south and matcht with Beatrix Weemes, daughter to the Laird of Fernies in Fife, and returnd home about Hallowmas; and, seing it was not meet to keep distinct famelies, they lived with my Lord at Lovat. This good woman was carefull of the children, moderat, sober, pious, and vertuously inclined, their great advantage to be so near the church, and the ordinances so regularly administrated.

This winter the Master of Lovat tooke another toure and progress south, stayed a quarter of a yeare in the University of St. Andrewes, in the Leonardin Colledge, to try the different methods of learning there from Aberdeen, where he had spent his former course. In the spring he returnd north, and passed another quarter at Kings Colledge, quher, as he said, there was more profit to be hade, where he best liked the grain of the students and genuin temper of the masters. By this time he is master of some philosophy, and, after seing the solemnity of the graduation, he returnd home in July; and now is the marriage of John, Earle of Sutherland, with Miss Anna Fraser, the Lord Lovats daughter, going on. And it was notar that, two yeares before, the Earle, passing this way with his wife, Lady Jean Drummond, to pay a visit to my Lord Lovat, that at the church stile of Wardlaw, rideing by the Earle, catcht a fall with his horse flat uppon the slippry rock; his lady gave a shout, saying, God safe yow, my heart,
July 27, 1638. yow will be either married or burried at this church; and so now it happened by a good providence that he was married to Lady Anna Fraser in this church of Wardlaw, and consumat

with a solemn wedding feast at Lovat; Mr. John Maxuel, Bishop of Ross, passing the ceremonys.

In September thereafter the Earl of Sutherland, with a noble traine, brought home his lady to Dunrobbin, and prevailed with my Lord Lovat to convoy his daughter home, for his divertisment. Sir James of Brey and good Simon, the Master, with some prime gentlemen of the name of Fraser, went also with them. By the way they pay a visit to Fowles, and came that night to Ballnigown; they rode thence over the Large,[1] and the Gordons and other gentlemen vassalls of Sutherland meet them at the Mickle Ferry of Portnicouter to convoy them forward to Dornach, where they were treated by [John Abernethy], Bishop of Cathness, dwelling there in his own house then, and in the evening down the shoare to Dunrobbin, where they were receaved with acclamations of great joy, and entertained with an inferr feast which continued eight dayes, such as perhaps was never before holden or seen in that place, the account of which, with other contingencies that happened (too tedious here to insert), I had from an eyewitness.

Now it is that the Bishops begin to be an eyesore to such as draw up with the Puritanical secte, of which some seeds are sown in Murray; some of the famous prelats at south being rudly treated, a commission is sent north from the leading faction to impose upon that sacred order here also; and some Churchmen, makeing defection with the Murray Lairds at a meeting in Forres, sent Captain Thomas M'kenzie of Pluscarden, William Ross of Clavah, tutor of Kilravock, and Mr. David Dunbarr, minister at Narden [Nairn], the *triumviri*, as messengers to famous Master John Guthery, Bishop of Murray, living then att his own Castle of Spiny; the good man, most hospitable to strangers, entertained them heartily. At length they broacht their errand, introducing the same with a preamble of the broiles and comotions at south, and what had happened in St. Geiles Church at Edinburgh against the Bishops, and the Covenanters being increased to a formidable faction, it was very desirable that his Lordship should looke

[1] Lairg in Sutherlandshire: Gaelic, An Lairig, the lairig, or moor, or sloping hill.

to his own safety, and remove out of this great house, which is an eyesore to that people. At the entry of their discourse Mr. John Hay, parson of Raffan, came in, who was plainer and more peremptor, telling the Bishop downright of a sentence and design upon him. The good man heard them calmely, and then replied that he forsaw the storm and knew quhat was designd, and that needed not dissemble their comission; and they would be all unmasked and discovered er long; and 1/ for yow, Captain Thomas of Pluskarden, yow are my vassall, and to add, a reformation from the Highlands, especially in religion, is somewhat rare, but in this is a hazard of your loyalty, and in a short time there will be litle memory of you in Murray. 2/ for yow, William of Clavah, if I had clapt the Taylor too close to your back I had not got this needle to stab me, meaning Kate Tailor whom they indulged as his whore in the presbetry to cohabit with him. 3/ for yow, Mr. John Hay, yow were ever a bussy factious body, and if I had not kept yow in the ministry out of meer charety I had been free of your din this day, but your time will be short. 4/ as for yow, petulant Davy Dunbarr, the ink of your perjury is not yet dried up (meaning his canonicall oath lately given), but yow will repent the change er 20 yeares, and will yet read your punishment and sin in your barren ofspring. All the four men I saw and knew, and Gods hand upon them all, which I mind not to record. Good Bishop Guthery was a blissing in his diocess; he married a daughter to Mr. David Collase, Treasurer of Murray, at Kinedor, a 2. daughter to the Laird of R Hay, a 3d daughter to Mr. Joseph Brody, Archdean of Murray, a 4. daughter and the youngest to the Laird of Guthery, and freed that estat, where notwithstanding of all their sentences he lived and died in peace.

Bishop Guthery leaves Murray.

The generall meeting at Aberdeen anent the Covenant.

In May 1639 there was a generall meeting appointed at Aberdeen for carrying on the Covenant, and severall commissioners sent thither from their councell at Edinburgh to try the pulses of the nobles and cheefes of clans in the North, to that effect such specious pretexts and a platform laid for reformation in Church and State for religion and loyalty, that men wer charmed to concurr and contribut all that was possible in their power to promove so good and so great a

work. Among others, Simon, Master of Lovat, convocated the prime and floure of his kindred, and so set forward on his journay to Aberdeen with about 50 horse; and at Turreff, Philorth mett him with 15 horse, all well appointed; and, as he was envyed entering that city for his convoy, so was he all the while he stayed there for his carriage, councel, and conduct in that numerous assembly. The Marques of Montross was a very leading man then, and a forward Covenanter, litle knowing or considering what a snare and fallacy lay hid under that idol mistery of the times, for men were hoodwinked and carried headlong under a mask and vigor of religion, and we may say, *Quid non religio potuit suadere malorum*, and *pudet hæc opprobria nobis hæc dici potuisse et non potuisse repelli.* Many ministers were forward in the work, Mr. David Dick, Mr. G. Henderson from Edinburgh, Mr. Andrew Cant at Pitsligo, a firy instrument. Betuixt the severall sederunts and intervalls of their sessions, it was observed that the Marques of Montross and Master of Lovat were often serious together, and at times embraceing one another, and with teares parting. I heard my own father often averr that he heard the marques protest that among all the barrons and gentlemen mett at Aberdeen he found not so sound an advice nor so deep a fetch and discovery as the wise Master of Lovat had; for his own part he admired that youth, and owed him more than to all his adviseres; and it seemes they both proselited one another, and it is known that next yeare Montrose declared himselfe ante-covenanter, and if the Master of Lovat had lived, no Fraser in the North durst, or would be, a Covenanter.

This great meeting gave up the last of June, and the Master of Lovat returnd North over the hill of Tyrebeger, be Kintorr and Inverury, where he quartered Saturdayes night, and most of his company about Leggersdenn, resolving to hear sermon at the Church of Kill Samen upon the Lords day. About 10 of the clock they came all thither, the people conveening about the ordinary time, and the first bell rung; but, as I had it from severalls of the masters train, a sad dissapointment ensued, for the minister of the parish either was unwell or found himselfe undisposed, and so he declined to June 1639.

preach to such an unaccustomed auditory, and upon this they were like to want sermon; but by a good providence the Master of Lovat had his chaplain with him, Master William Fraser, minister at Kilmorack, whom God furnished and inabled so that he preacht to the great auditory there present. It seemes the sermon, if extemporaneous, yet most pertinent and seasonable, and the subject apposit for the times. He tooke his text out of Deboras song in the Judges. They chose new gods, then was war in the gates; was there a shield or speare seene among forty thousand in Israel? The Master of Berridell, comming in to church at the reading of the text, being an auditor, told the Master of Lovat, Truly, truly, master, yow haife credit of yowr minister, and I protest the discourse might be delivered before the King; a very sound and loyall sermon, and be sure er this wark be at an end he tells a preacher and a prophet too.

Judg: 5. 8.

The Master of Lovatt returnd from Aberdeen.

The Master of Lovat returnd home through Strathbogy, over Spey, and payed a visit to Sir Robert Innes at Innes, the Laird of Duffus, the Shirrefe Murray, Culbin, Brody, Kilravock, and the Earle of Murray at Stuart Castle, and through Invernes, the Master of Berridale never parting with him all the way till they came both to Lovat together. I doe well remember the good Master of Lovats face and features coming in to Phoppachy by the way to pay a visit to James Fraser, my grandfather, upon his deathbed, quhom he loved dearly. The Master of Berrid[ale] went through Rosse to visit his allyes the Mackenzies, being married to Earle Collin of Seaforths daughter, good Lady Jean M'kenzie. The Master of Lovat followed him next weeke to Braan, and convoyed him on his road to Cathness, over the great Couter ferry, and through Sutherland to Doun Robbin, quher they parted, and never mett again. These two saints (as I may term them) had not their parallell in the kingdom for wit, prudence, grace, good partes, religion and loyalty, too, too good for those corrupt times. They were linked together in their life, and dyed in one and the same yeare; for Simon returnd from Sutherland in August, it being his last visit and expedition abroad or at home. In September William, my Lord Lovats 4 sone sickened, and, being cut off the stone, dyed of a malignant

fever, which added to his fathers greefe and melancholy; he was about 13 yeares of age, a beutifull, choice youth, his mother and fathers darling. Now, allas, we find it mater of our universall sorrow, this noble famely is decaying dayly, one dropping off after another; no sooner is brave William laid in his grave than his elder brother, Simon, the master, finds his indisposition begin, and was very uneasy all that winter, though the conjecture was that it flowed from fatigue and frequent travels, journaying hither and thither south and north. But his singular sobriety and good dyet qualefied his distemper; and his own cheerfull, facetious disposition keept him up to an incredible degree. His own maxim was:— The Master of Lovat, Simon, sickned.

Si tibi deficiant medici; medici tibi fiant,
Hæc tria, mens leta, requiem, moderata dicta!

In the spring his mallady recurred with greater violence, and was discovered to be a hectick. Old Doctor Clerk, a Highland phisitian of singular skill, attended him, haveing also consultationes from Aberdeen and Edinburgh; yet nothing would do. Dyet and cordialls, milks and clarefied whey, was his own prescript. He had a wonderfull fancy for musick, variety of which he had still by him, the harp, virginels, base and trible viol in consort. He would say oft that musick was an emblem of heaven, besids that it cheered a melancholy mind. *Musica mentis medicina mœstis.* The trumpet and great pipe, both most martiall, he would have a mornings, and vocall musick was his delight, of which he had enugh. Mr. John Houstoun, the minister of Wardlaw, and his sone Mr. Thomas, were great musitians, vocall and instrumentall, who frequently attended, besids James Tarras and David Cerr, both domesticks; and for prayers, reading, and devotion that famely was an oratory. Besids the chaplans, the ministers round about came there successively and in course; but the master delighted much in the minister of Kilmorack, Mr. William Fraser, whom he could not want, and was his sole secretary, to whom he communicated his whole mind. As he was drawing near his close his heavenly seraphick sentances and ejaculations were wonderfull, and, as he would say, God so assisted him with his wonderfull influences that he was above himselfe, and continued

The Master died.

March 20, *hora* 10 P.M., *anno* 1640.

perfect to the last; and, like Jacob in his legacy, he called the whole famely, told his father, Lord Hugh, the very houre of his death, comforted him to admiration, blissed his brothers and sisters, being all about him, giving them toakens, exhorting the servants, and then, geting his last prayer and absolution, departed Saturday. His funeralls were deservedly solemn, and was interred in his chappell at Kirkill.

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[Here follows an account of the Civil War, and of affairs on the Continent, etc.]

Hugh, Lord Lovat.

After this long intervall and digression in forreign kingdomes, we now return home to our native country, and treat in course of the Frasers off Lovat, from the death of Lord Simon forward to the death of Lord Hugh, his sone, and the contingencies that happened in this nation cotemporary with the intestin warrs. Lord Simon, expiring in Aprile 1633, the first thing that Lord Hugh Fraser of Lovat undertooke was the building of the tomb and chappell at Kirkhill, where his father, Lord Simon, was interred. The Church of Beuly wholly decayed, the Lords of Seaforth and Lovat deserted their buriall places there, the one being interred in the Cathedrall of Channory, the other at the church of Kirkhill. Their first design was to have erected the chappell at the wester end of the church, but the hight of the rock impeded that, so that they chused the litle bottom at the easter end of the church, which of old was the buriall place of the Mackrayes in Clune, who now had removed to Kintail. The Lord Lovat kept a meeting with his friends, the heads of famelies here about, viz.: Thomas Fraser of Strachin, Thomas Fraser of Struy, William Fraser of Culboky, and Hugh Fraser of Belladroum, and agreed that each of those famelies should have a share in the said buriall place, to be divided after the chappell was built; and so a competent soume of mony was stented and contributed among them, and John Ross, the master masson, called and agreed with, who undertooke the work, and finished the same *anno* 1634.

The buriall chapell of Kirkhill built and divided.

When the Priory of Beuly was demolished Lord Simon caused bring over the great bell of that church, called Clag ni Mannachi, the Monksbell, and made a frame of wood for

it, which was erected uppon the hill south-east the church, called hence Tome-Chluig, the bell hill. This bell was of vast bigness, and served to ring in to sermons on the Saboth, and towle at funeralls; but this yere it was sent over to Holland and made less, being now in dimensions fitter for our steeple of Kirkhill; it was set up there that yeare; a large, shaply bell, which were it in a wooden steeple would be both louder and sweeter in the sound.[1] The great bell set up.

After Lord Simons death, the solemnity of his buriall and other contingencies being over, Lord Hugh Fraser, his sone, steps uppon the slippery stage of state, condoling by true conjecture the casualties and contingencies he forsaw to be grappled with. His father left him under insuperable debt, and his three matches overburdined this great estate, especially by the vast provision he had made for the ofspring of the second, viz. Dame Jean Stewart, is very notare, which broke the Lordship of Lovat in snatching from it 10,000 a yeare solid rent, besids the streames of Lord Simons bounty in the splendure of his house-keeping, and gratefying his friends, had so drained his coffers, that he left his sone onely an empty purse to encounter with full bagged creditours, who were now to crave their own with gapeing greed; nor could his interest at the time furnish him to the full, and his kinsmen could not be perswaded to come off roundly with their supplyes. Some I know were very prompt to give without delay; others would give, but in convenient time, not then; but the most part agreed not to give, and to make a remonstrance, declareing the reasones thereof. And, alas, the originall cause of this had its source from the bowels of his own famely; and his resentment of it thus: That when yow find me inevitably entangled, as I have no honorable or safe retreat, yow make my necessity your priveledge, and set what rate yow please uppon your courtesies, a practice not very oblidging uppon a superiour and cheefe. And I now resolve, as more honorable for me, to be destroyed by a forreigner than to be despised at home.

In June Lord Hugh, haveing settled his affaires here, and committing the government of the country to Thomas Fraser

[1] See p. and the paper by Mr. Bentinck therein referred to.

Lord Hugh Fraser goes to Strathanick.

of Struy, his heritable baliefe, removed with his whole famely to Strathanick, where he stayed all the rest of that yeare, and next winter, living at Mickle Garth, where he had his own dwelling house, suplyed dayly with his own customes, and furnished with beefe, mutton, kid, and veal, venison, and wild foule, fish and poultry, to the admiration of his servants, and strangers in his retinue. His good lady was much in fancy with that country, and, though she wanted the language, yet gained the love and respect of all that knew her there and elsewhere, flocking. My Lords major Domo or master houshold was James Fraser of Phoppachy, whom he stilled Fear in tea,[1] the goodman, give this to the goodman, call the goodman, take the goodmans advice and councell, etc.; Mr. Patrick Fraser, his cheefe gentleman; James Tarras, chaplain; David Carr, musitian; Jo. Reed, stuart; groomes, pantry boyes, cooks, all countrymen; and the principall famelies of the name had each a sone in his Court, to educat, polish and accomplish them, and be sure they were exchanged at the yeares end, and others taken home in their place in course every yeare, which oblidged them to learn and improve their time well. In March 1634 my Lord returned home to Lovat, and there were 6 gentlemens children unchristened till his coming, some of them a month, some two month old. I myselfe was born January first, and was not baptised till March, that my Lord might be present and his good lady, my father resolving to call me Hugh, but my Lord would not suffer but to have me called James after my grandfather; nor would my Lord Lovat nor his good lady take a childs name unless Hugh and Isabel were the genuin proper names of the famely in their parents and ancestors.

This summer my Lord and his famely flitts to Dalcros, where he remained all the yeare, untill the marriage of his eldest daughter, Miss Mary, with Balnigown oblidged him to return to Lovat. But this harvest happened a rare providence, of a large pott of gold found neare the orchard. The smith of Donaldstoun, [2], vulgarly called Gow Roi,[3]

[1] Fear an Tigh, literally the 'Man of the House,' still applied to the head of the house.

[2] Blank in MS.

[3] An Gobha Ruadh, 'the Red Smith.'

a politick, wealthy fellow, and boare a great sway in the country. In September he desired one of his servants, Donald M'kallister, to goe down to the Arn buish bewest the orchard of Lovat to cut some withes and bring home a burdin of them. The copsy buish was thick, and the fellow got up into the first tree to cut his wands, and his knife falling out of his hand upon the ground made a clinking sound as if it had fallen uppon mettall. Down he leaps and found his knife sticking in the ground closs by an earthen pott, which when he discovered found it full of gold, covered with mosse after a rare manner as if it were platted. The foolish fellow tooke nothing out of it but one ring of gold, and, cutting all his burden of wands, came streight home; and, being very hungry, said to one of the smiths daughters bakeing bread at the fire, Pray, Janet, give me a bannack or two and I will give a bonny ring fit for a maid. She spared not to give him bread enugh, and he gives her the golden ring which he had found in the pott. Home comes the smith and, seing the ring upon his daughters finger, asked how shee cam by it; she declared that Donald M'kallister had given it her. The smith examined his man Donald, who told him the plain truth anent the pot; he saith to him, Donald, keep all close, and at even we will goe down and yow will let me see quher it is; meantime, do your work and task. The smith slips away allone and down to the buish, and, finding the fresh sneaded branches, makes search under the tree and discovers the earthen pott full off gold, a good prey indeed. He raises the same and carries all home, and securs the pot in a locked chest; and in the evening calls his servant Donald M'kallister, and down they goe to the buish that he might see the pot, but after all their search, nothing found there but a small pit quher the pott lay. His master told him it was a fallacy and dream, nor had he seen any such thing as a pot with gold. The fellow averred the truth stoutly, and told he might trust his own eyes that saw it, and after he had taken out the ring covered the pott again with mosse and left it so till he might have a fitter occasion to take it away. The smith threattened him, telling him that it were husted, and never to speak of it to any body, lest it might bring them both to trouble. But it was hardly possible to conceale it; the rumor

of the gold spread abroad, and comming to my Lord Lovats eares, he calls for the fellow, Donald M'kallister, examined the mater before his court, confesses the whole mater of fact; the smith also conveened, denyed any accession to that mater, nor was he in the knowledge of anything relating that pot of gold save the ring which his daughter got from his boy, Donald M'kallister. The ring is presented to my Lord, which he wore uppon his finger all his life after; the fancy and frame of the ring was like a seale, two hands clasped and a cross above. The Reed Smith is committed to prison, and confined untill he made confession, which the stubborn fellow never did, and Donald M'kallister was nicknamed Donil i Noire[1] to his dying day, whom I remember to see frequently after about my Lords house in Lovat. The smith, after all the trialls and tortures that were invented and inflicted, could never be brought to any confession, carryed from the pit of Lovat called Gormag, and secured in the irones in the vault of Beuly, quher in process of time he dyed. Marryed 6 daughters, one to Thomas Fraser in Croftblair, another to John M'keanroy vick himmy[2] in Englistoun, a third to M'kdonell oig in Conventh, a 4 to Farqhar oge in Dunballach, who got most of the gold and was the main instrument of makeing the smith deny the clame and rendering him obstinat; this Farqhar, with his wife, went to Lettir iu,[3] where the English had a forge and ironworke under Seaforth. Among these Farqhar changed his gold and was cheated; the duble pistolets, Spanish royal gold, duble duccats, Florentin and Hungers gold, and our Jacobuses, were pieces rare and antick, whose value he knew not, and finding himselfe trappanned and gulled in the gold, he crackt and afterwards in his light fits he declared and discovered the truth when it was too late; litle or no memory of all the generation this day.

Common tradition carry that Lord Hugh, who dyed in Touy, when he married Athols daughter, she brought north with her a great quantity of gold and jewels, chaines, rings,

[1] Domhnul an Oir, Donald of the Gold.
[2] John, son of Red John, son of Simon.
[3] Letterewe in Gairloch.

and bracelets, besids forreign golden coine, and got enugh of Scots gold in gifts, so that she had a rich treasure, but one Kennady, a maid of hers, had got her hands uppon her coffers, stole most of it if not all, and hoarded it in an earthen pot, hiding it in a secure bank. Being suspected, was apprehended and uppon some presumptions sentenced to be drouned in Poul ni Park,[1] and after a duck or two for confession she reacht her hand with signs to the place where she had secured it, but death prevented the full discovery of it; and this is thought to be the same which the smith had found bewest the orchard. This is a conjectur, but it is sure the gold was found.

Anno 1635 Lord Hugh finished the oakden loft in the Church of Wardlaw, and made also a stare up to it, and a small gallery to enter in, but in cielering above was not entered uppon becaus of the death of the carpenter, Rory Bain, after all the materialls were provided, and so delayed it *pro tempore*; and, the trouble ensueing in the kingdom, neither Lord nor Tutor ever minded it to this very day, and pitty to neglect such a convenient seat. Formerly Lord Simon sat below in a dask of James M'kthomas in the south-east corner of the church, carying his own name, which I saw, but now removed and an oaken desk of Thomas Fraser of Beuforts put in its place, built in *anno* 1680. The Bishop of Murray, Falconar, removing doubts anent it, now my Lord hath some troubles throught by matching his daughter Mary to the Laird of Balnigown, and his sone, Simon the Master, sent to the University, as I declared at length before. But, alas, his troubles increased afterwards by the death of his excellent lady, Dame Isabel Weemes, the vertuous daughter of a famous father, a lady incomparable for beuty and vertue, in whose breast centered a school of all liberall sciences; her house and famely a nursery of piety and good order; her honorable qualefications might have expiated the covenanted guilt of all

1602.

[1] The Pool of the Park.

the Wemeses; holy, mild, modest, prudent, humble, charitable—*Sicut spina rosam genuit Wimese Isabellam*—

—— From prickled stalk, as sweetest rose,
So Isabell faire, from Weemeses growes!

1637. In July the Booke of Liturgy is sent to Scotland and read first at Edinburgh. The commotions about ceremonies in England flowes hither also. And such an inundation happened here that harvest that all rivers and brookes run over there banks, to the great loss of many. The river of Connin did great hurt uppon bordering lands; the water of Beuly much more up about Maines and Agasis. The burn of Jack came down with such a torrent that it run through Easter Moniak, destroying houses and cattell, especially sheep; it run down to Drumchardny, tooke away the very halfe of Culbokys yard in Drumchri, then a pretty fruitfull orchard, supplanted his dwelling house, run down through the bottom of Bogroy, which land never recovered to this very day. The dissaffected and unsound suborning the vulgar heads with notions that this was inflicted as consequence to the Reed Bookes, termed be them Leurichin Dearg,[1] such whimsees were now put in the rables heads, for our Scots had petitioned against the Liturgy or Service Book, entered into a Covenant, and the Marques of Argile heads them and declares for it; all the northern clanes are ingaged in it, the Earles of Cathness, Sutherland, Seaforth, Rosses, Monroes, Frasers, Forbesses, M'kintoshes, Lairds and Barrons of Murray, are all embarked; the Marques of Huntly and the Lord Bamph arme for the King to the number of 1000 horse, with their accomplices; and all the north convocat, Cathness, Sutherland, Rosse, Murray, makeing up forces of 5000, and set forward, coming to Elgin, and neare Spey in a vast body of foot and horse. The Gordons and Ogilvies, finding themselves no competent party for such a vast number, and fearing more forces from south, they retire and dissapeare; and the northern forces uppon this return home and disband.

5000 in an army goe to Spey.

The next year, *anno* 1639, a vast confluence of nobles, earles, lords, barrones, meet at Aberdeen about the Covenant, to the

[1] Na Leabhraichean Dearg, 'the Red Books.'

vast expense and disturbance of the North of Scotland; but the fire is once kendled, Church and State engaged, intestin broiles feared, as the sad consequence since hath confirmed. All the meetings now in Scotland have their warrands flowing from the Generall Assembly which sat at Glasgow 1638, and pretend to have their power derived from the Kings Majesty, thus—

> The Generall Assembly and Solemn Convention of the Kirk of Scotland, indicted by the Kings Majesty, and met at Glasgow the 21 November 1638.

[Follows the narration of the Acts and proceedings of this Assembly, with Mr. Fraser's comments.]

This Assembly in their proceedings occasioned a wonderfull commotion throughout the kingdom; such as were sound and loyally inclined feareing the worst by the alteration in Church and State in the fatall consequences which ensued. Those that inclined to innovation keept their meetings in several places south and north to carry on the Nationall Covenant, called then the Solemn League and Covenant. Most of the nobles corrupted, the gentry byassed, churchmen amused and amazed, and such as were sound among them overawed that they durst not vent themselves among their bretheren, feareing to be betrayed and discovered, and therefore lurked with a seeming compliance, judging *Qui bene latuit bene ne vixit.*

The Earle of Sutherland was deeply ingaged in the time, serving faction to carry on the common cause, and indeavoured to influence his father-in-law, my Lord Lovat. Several messages and meetings betuixt the Frasers, Mackenzies, Monroes, and Rosses; Cathnes demurrd; our Highlanders were at a great distance, and were not yet reacht, the maxim holding true, *Procul a Jove, procul a fulmine.*

Assembly at Edinburgh, 1639.

Meanwhile a Generall Assembly is indicted at Edinburgh, August 17, 1639, in which Mr. George Graham, Bishop of Orknay, gave in an abjouration of Episcopacy subscribed with his hand, which publickly read in audience of the Assembly, and thereafter ordained to be registrated in the Assembly Bookes, *ad perpetuam rei memoriam.* This stumbled many,

John, Earl of Traquair, Commissioner.

Mr. David Dickson, Moderator.

and weakened the hands of many a faithfull churchman to see the adversary get such advantage; this abjuration and recantation of Mr. Graham was subscribed at Breeknes in Stronnes, the ij day of February, *anno* 1639, and before thir witnesses, Master Walter Stewart, minister at South Ronaldsay; Master James Heynd, minister at Kirkwall; Master Robert Person, minister at Firth; and Master Patrick Graham, minister at Holm, my sone. In this Assembly an act approving the deposition of the ministers by the Commitees, and another act anent receiving of deposed ministers next yeare.

Assembly at Aberdeen, 1640.

An Assembly is conveened at Aberdeen, July 28, 1640; they acted nothing the first day in attending of his Majesties Commissioner, and, finding there was none, they proceeded according to their liberties.

Master of Berridels death.

The sad surpriseing newes of George Sinclar, Master of Berridell, his death affects many, and my Lord Lovat is so much the more concerned that there was such an intire amity betuixt him and his own sone Simon, Master of Lovat, these two excellent hopefull youths being the ornaments of the North, and surely their untimely deaths portend ruin to both their countries, as the sad event hath verefied. And now my Lord Lovats deep melancholy increases to a degree, being deprived of his onely propp, his hope and stay, his eldest sone, so that he sequestrates himselfe more strickly than ever from all worldly affaires, and his brother, Sir James, hath got the mannagement of the whole lordship, and had fixed James Fraser in Finask, and Thomas Fraser in Donaldstoun, conjunct chamberlaines, and Alexander Fraser of Foynes, constable of the Fort of Lovat, *pro tempore*. The Master of Lovat, Hugh, is sent to the University of Aberdeen, and his uncle convoyes him thither to see him well setled in the Colledge, and honorably tabled according to his degree and qualety.

Assembly att St. Andrewes, July 20, 1641.

In July the Assembly is indicted to sit at Saint Andrewes, and John, Earle of Weemes, the King's Commissioner to that meeting, who reading his majesties letter to the Assembly, they were not a litle vain to get anything of the royall assent and approbation to their proceedings, as appeares by their answeir to his majesty, and subscribs themselves Your Majesties Most humble Subjects and faithfull Servants; the

Mr. Andrew Ramsay, Moderator.

Acts of Ass: p. 34.

ministers and elders mett together in the venerable Assembly at St. Andrewes. They but sat here for one day, and are translated to Edinburgh, whence they date their letter to the King, July 27. Hugh, Master of Lovat, being then at St. Andrewes, his uncle, the Earle of Weemes, brings him along with himselfe in very good order to Edinburgh, and there made his acquaintance with Lady Anna Lessly, daughter to the Earle of Leven, Generall Lessly. This lady he married next spring, which match proved fatall enugh to our great and ancient famely of Lovat, as shall afterwards be declared in its convenient place.

This November, my Lord, with advice, transplanted Saint Mauritius marcat from Dunbachlach to Beuly for pretended conveniency of accomodation to strangers; and, indeed, Alexander Fraser of Foynes, whose dwelling was in Dunbachlach, was content to be rid of it, haveing more trouble than profit by it, for ten load of firr was all the custom that this faire afforded to him yearlie. And Beuly may now be properly called *Nundinarium*, a place of faires, there being four there; 1. is Cross day, May 3, called *Inventio B. Crucis*; the 2. is Michaelmas Market, Sept. 20, called *Dedicatio Sancti Michaelis Archang*: the third is Hallowmas, Novr. 1, the feast of All Saints, *Omnium Sanctorum*, which of old was at Kilmorac, a very unfit place for a faire; and now the 4. is *Sancti Mauricij*, vulgarly called Fail Mauri,[1] which holds upon the 11 off November, all one with *Martini Episcopi et Confessoris.*

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[Follows account of the General Assembly of 1642.]

This spring [1642], the Master of Lovat's marriage with Levins daughter is in agitation, some for it, some against it, most of his best friends displeased at it, and his father, my Lord Lovat, so discontented with the design, that he will not heare of it, and it bred a ruptur betuixt his Lordship and Sir James, his brother, that he seemed too forward for this match. There is some demurr in the mater, the terms of agreement difficult without my Lord's concent. At last, Sir James Fraser

[1] *Feill*, a fair.

of Bray and Hugh Fraser of Struy are sent forth, commissionat be the Lord Lovat if possible to get the Master dissuaded, there being other more honorable matches in his offer, the Earl of Murrayes daughter, the Earle of Cathness, the Earl of Seaforths daughter, a young widow, being Dowager of Berridell, then living in Chanory, and a vast cut and composition overturd for renouncing her jointur. What greater incurragement, credit, and honour could a young nobleman desire then such allyes, and excellent hopfull ladyes, near nighboures, ancient famelies, vast wealth, and monny in aboundance; but there is an infatuation in it, and its ingraind in mans nature. *Nitimur invetitum semper cupimusque negata.* It is mater of greef, we consider not our happy occasions til they are over, nor good offers till they are lost and gone. 'Tis a true saying, Blissings appeare not till they be vanisht; the commedian was then serious when he wrott, *Tum denique homines nostra intelligimus bona, cum quæ in potestate habuimus ea amisimus.* Fond men till we have lost the good we had—we understand not what their values made! And we are apt to see and advise the good of others more then our own, and that which we would perhaps envy others for, and count them happy in the enjoyment, we neither project nor purchas that for ourselves; so that *Aliena melius ut videant et indicent quam sua.* This is a fault which is to all men known, that they see more of others than their owne.

This appeares but too palpably and patent in this too, too forward enterprise of the match that he is now intending with the Earl of Levins daughter; but the Master of Lovat hath all his great friends at south for it, the Earl of Weemes, his uncle, the Lord Begony, the Earle of Kingorn, and Sir James, his uncle, and Struy, quit byassed by them. The strong faction of the times, aboundance of ready cash, power, and preferment—Lessly being Generalissimo—were very prevalent; he was to get 50,000 marks of tocher. 40,000 of which was to be immediatly advanced for cleareing off the pressing debts uppon the estate of Lovat, now impendent; and this young lady infeft as to joinctur in the barronies of Dalcross and Kinmilies, and in case shee survive her husband, the Master, she liverents ten thousand a year; the Earle of Weemes, Bute,

and Sir James Fraser, tutor of Lovat, back cautioner; this soume to be yearly and termely advanced at Leith, *sub pœna et periculo.*

The marriage betuixt Hugh Fraser, Master of Lovat, and Anna Lessly, Lord Alexander of Levens daughter, is at length solemnised and consumat at Holyrood House, April 30, 1642. It is an extravagant rant to speake of the glory and expense of this sumptuous wedding feast where 11 peeres were present, besids General Persones, barrones, and gentlemen. All May and most of June was spent in visits and treates in city and country; these great persones, invited and regald by all sorts, relations, and acquaintances, even to the nausious astonishment of such of their retinue who accompanied them from house to house, *quo tendit sæva libido.* About the close of June this new married cuple came off from Edinburgh, accompanied with a noble train of peeres and gentlemen, the Earle of Weemes, Lords Leven and Begony, Ruthven, Lord Saintclar, etc., Comming through Murray, they were punctually attended and treated by all the lairds and gentry. They payed a visit to my old Lady Lovatt, Dame Kathrin Rosse, at Moines, and that night to Dalcross, where they lodged, well entertaind and accomodated. This castle being the ladyes own joinctur and mannur house, it was proper she should see it, and abid a night in it *in transitu*; and herselfe was heard to say to her friends and convoy that they were welcome to her habitation, and most cheerfully treated them at a great rate. Here the gentlemen of the name of Fraser, Stratharick, Leyes, and Aird met them, convoying their young cheefe in state through Invernes, quher they were sumptuously treated with all sorts of wines at the Cross, and tables covered; it is to be remarked that Provost Forbes acquitted himselfe to purpose, being formerly a servant of the famely of Lovat; his carriage and conduct att this occasion was gratefull, and obsequious to the full. The Cuthberts now were great at Inverness; they mustered the train bands of the town in the streetes to keep off the rable, and attended these noble persones to take a view of the castle, which was then in good order indeed.

Master of Lovat married, April 30.

After this complement payed to the Master of Lovat and his croud of convoy at Inverness, through the streets and over

His inferr at Lovatt, July 12.

the famous wooden bridge, there are 400 young gentlemen in armes well appointed uppon the green to conduct them forward; its true, some of the Lowlanders never saw such a sight of Highlanders in armes; and all present declared that the best peer in the nation might be vain of and glory in such a brave guard and attendants. All of his own name at Bunchrive, Inveralochy, gave them a welcome and gentil treat. Thence to Lovat, where they arrived as at their journayes end in health and safety; at the gate my Lord Lovat, with 20 grave gentlemen of his name, met them, and pray what could be wanting here for preparation and feasting splendid enugh, an inferr, all things considered, that of a long time there was none such in the North; liquors of all sorts, meat, mirth, musick, and good management of all things.

This was a wonderfull fruit yeare, and aboundance of all kinds, field and garden fruits, berries and cherries, summer peares, and pipens, such varieties and plenty, that the Laudian and Fife gentlemen declared they came not to visit the rude Highlands, but the cultivat Canaan. They admired the orchards off Lovat and Beuly, the fishing of the river and linn [1] was charming; hunting, fishing, fouleing, arching, good divertisments; nor was tilting, riding, jumping, combating, wanting; for men began now to learn the use of armes, and, alas, soon after they got sad triall of such. The Earl of Sutherland, Balnigown, and Fowles, came here to visit the Lords; and, as there was good fare and cheere, so there was merry, joviall, facetious society.

In the closur of August, young Thomas, Laird of Strachin, and his lady, Lord Pitsligos daughter, came north for a visit; the old Laird and his lady, Dame Margret M'kleud, living still in Moniak; Inveralochy lived at Bunchrive, Culboky at Drumchrie; all these, and many mo circularly situat near Lovat, kept a charming correspondance. About the beginning of September, the Master takes a progress to Stratharick to divert his young lady with hunting, and brings along with him both the Lairds of Strachin, Simon, Laird of Inveralochy; Sir

[1] The fishings of the Linn (*i.e.* the pool, at the foot of the Kilmorack Falls) are early mentioned in grants.

James Fraser, his uncle, living then at Beuly; Hugh Fraser of Struy; William Fraser, Culboky; Hugh Fraser of Belladrum; and Major Hugh Fraser, Culbokies brother, newly returnd from the Swedish warrs. These and a great many more off the young gentlemen of the country, a gallant, noble convoy, well appointed, and envyed be many, went with them, and 300 off the Stratharick and Abertarff men in armes mett them att Dorris, and thence forward to the country, conducted by these spritly swift footed guids. The first night they lodged at Farralin, and next morrow to the Forest of Killin, where they got fallow deer hunting to their mind, and such princly sport as might alleviat the dullest spirit, and such as perhaps most of them had never seen before, and fed that night uppon fish and venison, evin to a fouth *caro ferina* and *caro cervina* in such plenty, that if Diana were there, she might have got a sufficient sacrefice, as the poet sings of her:—

> *'Quæ semel est triplici pro virgine cæsa Dianæ,*
> *Nunc quoque pro molli virgine cerva cadit!'*

After varieties of divertisements and recreations in the Forrest of Killin, they descend to Mickle Garth, and there take up their residence in my Lords manure house, the whole country contributing all manner of necessaries for the famely; and then, shortely after, they go all up to Abertarfe, where the M'ranalds, their old deere friends, wait upon the Master, and welcomed him and his court *ore tenus*, to take sport in these fields, where deer and roe, hart and hare hunting, was now in prime and plenty. All the wheil Providence ordered the weather so favourable, that it seemed rather like the summer solstice then the autumn equinox. After a short stay in Oberchallider [Aberchalder of Glengarry], they return again through Stratharick, surfited with all the rarities which that place could afford, and traveled home be Inverness, and so home to Lovat in October, where my good Lord Lovat waited to welcom them.

About the 20 of October, a gentleman with letters and mentall message arrived at Lovat from the Generall, Earl of Leven, heasting the Master of Lovat and his lady south uppon weighty emergents, that himselfe was called up to England, and

withall that he had provided an honourable post for his sone, the Master, a Lieutennant Colonell place being in his offer, a lucrative imploy for saveing his estate and interest. This was a sad as well as sudden surprise upon my Lord his father, who, to dissemble his trouble off mind, called a meeting of his friends, mainly the three great pillars of his famely—the Lairds of Strachin, Inveralochy, and Sir James of Bray, his own brother—to consult of the whole course and sum of his affairs; accordingly, all met freely and frequently, *nemine absente*. The first thing which my Lord proposed was how his sone, the Master of Lovat, and his lady, a stranger, should be furnished with mony for their journay. All being mute for a while, old Strachen reply, I hope, my Lord, your revenues and rents are not all exhausted nor missapplyed, but that the tutor and administrator of your estate can provid so much as may carry and cleare their expenses south with. Sir James declared that paying of debt, and interest advanced, had drained all the mony he could gather; the furnishing of his nephew, the Master, at colledg and Court, and providing my Lords famely, had exhausted much. The Master of Lovat, too hot and heasty, told his uncle plain language, Sir James, yow have extreamly injured this noble famely, haveing wrested the helm of government as well as the estate out off my Lord my fathers hands; yow have in hand men and mony to yourself; yow are like to involve yourselfe and all my name in intricacies and precipices; the differences of the times and intrigues of government, maters of State and religion, as maters run now betuixt King and Kirk, Sovereign and subject, is too hard a pill for yow to swallow; do not ingage my brave kinsmen and followers needlessly; keep home and looke well to my fathers concerns; be not courting nor currying the favor of too forward statesmen, that have now declared themselves for a covenant against the King's Majesty; this will have a fatal close. God prevent our feares. Meanwhile, uncle, let me know before my Lord my father and my honorable friends what yow have done with my rent thir severall yeares; the chamerlans are all accountable to yow and non else; theres litle or nothing resting be the tenants; I am now major, and must looke to my interest; give me an account of yowr intromission, or by all

that is good (drawing his whinger) I will make this compell yow to give an account. This with reverence to my honorable father and friends now present, called here to wittness what trust yow got, and to examin how yow have discharged your intromission. I am now called south; I must goe, though against my inclination; therefor, presently provid mony for my journay; I will not goe begg nor thigg amongst my friends, whilst my own interest can beare my charges; dispatch, and in a few dayes clear all *sub periculo*. There was a good providence that this great confluence of friends mett in the orchard and not within doores, where noise and altercations might be heard, and a clamor made of it amongst enemies. But what was said was pertinent and seasonable, and the true mind and meaneing of my Lord Lovat and the sentiments of all present. The old Laird of Strachin used great freedom with Sir James uppon this head; Inverallochy also and others joined their suffrage on the affaire, but to litle purpose. Seing the expedition required heast, it terminated in a contribution amongst the friends, and truely they concurred cordially and instantly, made up a considerable soume. I remember my own father, Mr. William Fraser, sent twelve pieces to Lovat, for which I have a reset *in hunc diem*.

About the beginning of November, the Master of Lovat and his lady take their journay south, and the Lairds of Inveralochy and young Strachin convoy them. Sad and melancholious was the parting farewell betuixt him and my Lord his father. With many teares he expressed himselfe in the words of old Jacob, I Gen. 42. 36. am now bereaved of my children, Simon is not, and yow must take Benjamin away; all these things are against me; the Gen. 43. 14. Lord God Almighty give yow mercy and favour before the man, that he may send yow back; if I be beraved of my children I am beraved; but it is born in with a strong impulse uppon my spirit that we will never meet again. And in this prediction he was a prophet, declareing with St. Paul to the Act 20. 25, elders of Ephesus that he should see their face no more. And he prayed for and blissed them, and they all weept sore, and fell uppon his neck, and kissed him, sorrowing most for this that perhaps they should never see one anothers face no more. verse 38. Nor count I now my life deare to me *singula quoque verba*

spiram mortem et amorem, as one saith; *O verum valediscendi morem Christianis dignum;* now it is no parting without potting and healthing, *quæ turpissima κοκλοποσία*; *principum derisio a parasitis traxit originem*, which cursed custom had its beginning from court parasits. With much adoe, they kept Alexander from going along with his brother the Master, they were so linked in love one to another; but my Lord, his father, would by no meanes part with him, being now a pretty youth about 16 yeares of age, and was his fathers onely comfort.

The Master of Lovat is now gone from us, leaving all his friends in a deerfull despondancy, and his old father in deep melancholy. He spent that winter at Edinburgh, a place unfit for him, considering the aire and misdyet he was ingaged to grapple with among a croud of ranting gallants and officers, and many of his acquaintances and relations flocking about him, and himselfe being of an easy sweet plyable temper, yelded too much to their insinuations. In February there happened a competition of arms and allyes to fall betuixt the Master and one Major Hume, a Swedish captain. They fell hot, and maters terminated in a duell, quher the Master, after a thrust or two, had the better of him, and afterwards a reconcilement was made up betuixt them, and, after a rant of an excessive botle of wine with his commarads at Lieth, the Master sickned, fell in a fever, which, notwithstanding of the care and contrivance of phisitians, proved malignant, and dyed of it about the midle of April, the same time twelvemonth that he married. *Ah voluptates, nimium fugaces, cuncta caduca.* This was truely an excellent youth, and off signall promising goodness, wit, and vallour. His antagonist, Captain Hume, with teares, said of him that if he had gotten dayes and triall in the warrs, he would have acquired parts and preferment to adorn his martiall vertue with honours, rewards, and splendur, and his name among the surviving gallantry of his actions might be transmitted with credit to posterity; but, alas, in his journay from the north, he brought back with him such an indisposition of body that he was never throughly well after. Phisitians were not freed from the suspition of heasting his death, although his own too great latitud in the extravagancy of a misdyet might be the principal cause.

The sudden unexpected newes of his death comming to his fathers eares, sighing, said, in the words of David for Absolom, going to his chamber weeping, O my sone Hugh, my sone, my sone Hugh, would God I had dyed for thee, my sone, my sone! I shall now mourn all my dayes, and my grey haires shall be brought with sorrow to the grave. Hadst thou attaind to the dayes of thy ancestors, for valour thou hadst proved a hero, for wit a worthy, an ornament of Mars and the muses; but, farewell, I shall goe to thee, thow shalt not come to me. The Master's lady, Miss Anna Lessly, was left with child, and seing it was uncertain whither male or female, Alexander was tearmed Master of Lovat, which title he ever after kept among the vulgar. 2 Sam. 19. 33.

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The Master of Lovats funerals were deferred till May. From the North, the gentlemen that went to attend them were Sir James Fraser of Bray; his uncle, Hugh Fraser of Struy; and his brother, Thomas Fraser of Eskdall; Hugh Fraser of Foyer; James Fraser, younger, of Culboky; Hugh Fraser, younger, of Belladrom. Those went be Buchan to wait uppon Sir Simon Fraser of Inveralochy, Sir Alexander Fraser of Philorth, Lord Andrew Fraser of Mucholl, Hugh Fraser, Laird of Tyrie, who went all in one body to Edinburgh. The funeralls were very solemn, splendid, and costly, and the corps interred within the Abby Church of Holyrood house. This young nobleman died bemoand and desired, universally valued and beloved, regreeted of all. The Master of Lovats funeralls.

This summer the Marques of Huntly and the Laird Drum Irving, haveing taken a flight to Sutherland and Strathnaver for security and divertisment the yeare before, are now by order and command of the Privy Councel to return, and the shirrefes of every sheir to convoy them south. In the close of May, Thomas Fraser of Strachin, Sherref Principall of the shire of Inverness, with a select number of Frasers and many other gentlemen of this shire accompanying him, went in progress through Ross to Portincouter or Mickle Ferry, where they receaved these nobles, convoyd them through this shire, the Earle off Sutherland and the Laird of Balnigown accompanying them this length; and it was the Marques of Huntlyes earnest George, Marques of Huntly, convoyed through the country.

desire to see my Lord Lovat, so that they came by Dingwall and over the Ferry of Beuly, where my Lord met him, and waited uppon him to his own house, where he entertaind him that night; he dined next morrow with Strachin at Moniak, and thence to Inverness, and so forward to Narden, where the shereff off that sheir receaved them.

My Lord Lovat goes progress to Sutherland,

My Lord Lovat, to divert himselfe, went now to Sutherland accompanied with both his sones in law, the Earle of Sutherland and Bailnagown, whither they came the first night, and so forward to Doun Robbin, where Sir John Sinclar of Dunbath, knight, waited their comming, having a design uppon Lady Katharin in marriage, and had often proposed it to herselfe and others concerned; but neither the Earle of Sutherland, who loved her as his own child, nor the Countess, her sister, prevail with her to close with that offer, nor could shee give any reason but that Dunbeath was a harsh, unpleasant man, and shee could not love him. He was a widower at the time, and had no children, and was to secure her in 30 chalder of victuall, besids monny, and that in Ross or Cathness, and never asked what portion she had, for the great respect he had for herselfe beyond any, and his affection to the house of Lovat. Yet the young lady would not yeld, but weept and mournd continually, full of greef and melancholy, and would often say she rather dye than marry Dunbeath. One day she walkt out to the fields, and James Clerk, the Earles scrivener, with her, who used many arguments with her of the greatness of the match, the goodness of the country, the riches and antiquity of the famely; yet the more he urged the more averse she was, weeping still whenever that was motioned. They are descending down the Breaside from the Castle, and meets with a fellow called Donald Glasshach,[1] a common servant about the house, who accosted Lady Kathrin, checking her severly for her willfullness, speaking in Irish to her (haveing no other language) *Cathrin, hā tu tōishach*, yow are unwise,[2] marry the great Laird of Dunbeath, he will make yow a wealthy woman and leave yow happy, for I see a lord uppon each shoulder of

[1] Donald from Strathglass.

[2] *Tha thu 'na t-oinnseach*] 'You are a foolish woman.'

yow, whom yow will marry after Dunbeaths death. This man had the second sight, and could forsee anything that happened about the place. This same story the forsaid James Clark told me *verbatim*, besids the other casualtes that befell that gentlewoman; and, besids, for confirmation, she should have two lords after Dunbeaths death. I was in her house at Bervy, being Lady Arbuthnot, and after his death she married the famous and renouned Lord Fraser of Muchel, for I payed her a visit, living in the great house of Carnbuilg in Buchan, being then Lady Fraser. So that Donald Glashachs prediction came to passe, and Lady Kathrin was at last induced by a good Providence to marry the Laird of Dunbeth, Sir John Sinclar; and my Lord Lovatt stayed at Dunrobbin till the marriage was consumat, and returnd home again in September.

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[Account of the General Assembly of 1643.]

In October [1643] the Scots Covenanters muster their army, and forward to the Borders. James, Marques of Montross, siding at first with them, they pretending nothing less than the preservation of religion, the honor and dignity of the King, the lawes of the land, the freedom of the nation. But discovering these false pretexts to draw people to their side, yet all to supplant the King, and join the sectarians in England, he for a while dissembled his intents, seemed forward for, and went with them, in their army, which were convented at Duns, consisting of 18,000 foot and 2000 horse; and suspecting Montross, whose letters sent to the King were detected by false courtioures, they sent Duke Hamiltoun to kisse the Queens hands, and, with intent to overthrow Montross his councels, perswading the Queen there was no fear off an army, and that the King had many mo friends in Scotland, telling her of Montroses youth, his rashnes, his ambition, the hatered he bare unto the Hammiltons, even for their fidelity, honesty, discretion, their power and loyalty. So that Montross was not regarded, and their malice against him spread, and laboured all they could to render him odious to the people, and thereby unserviceable to his Majesty, and oblidged to themselves fit instruments; the preachers throughout the

kingdom using their mercenary tongues to rail against the King and his faithfull subjects as the enemies of Christ, being themselves the while the very scandall and shame of Christianity. Meantime, Montross, on a sudden, quhen he suspected nothing, with Lord Napier, Lord Marchiston, and Sir Sterling Ker, were committed prisoners to the Castle of Edinburgh; and in Februar the Scots army crossed the Tyne and marched forward.

Montross visits the King at Oxford.

Shortly after, a Treaty ensued, and, a pacification being made betuixt both kingdomes, he, with his friends, were set at liberty, and now the King, when it was too late, seing himselfe grossly abused, sent for Montrosse and askt his advice quhat was best to be done. He told his Majesty the desperat estate Scotland was in, and wowed fealty to his Majestie, if he were pleased to give him commission and trust, he hopt God would assist him in so rightious a cause, and therefore would ventur his power and person in his Majesties quarrell. The King, applauding his magnanimous resolution, thankt and incurraged him, recommending him to the Marques of Newcastle, who supplied him in mony; and so, with Sir William Rollock and one Sibbald, entered disguised into Scotland. Montross, passed for Sybbald's man, came to Sir Patrick Grham of Inshbrakies house, near Tay in Perthshire, there got newes of ij hundred Irish sent over be the Earl of Antrum under command of Colonel Alexander Mackoll,[1] who soon undertood of Montrosses commission, marched to him, and submitted to his command. Next day 800 out of Athol in arms joined with him; impatient of further delay, haveing gotten this handfull of men, desires to be in action, and marcht to Buchinty, quher the Lord Kilpont, sone to the Earl of Taith, joined him with 500 men. Now resolves to set uppon his enemies, and, understanding that the Covenanters randivouzd at Perth to the number of 6 thousand foot and 700 horse, he made all the speed he could thither. These were commanded by the Lord Elcho; hearing of Montross his approach with that few, contemning the paucity of their

[1] Alasdair Mac Cholla Chiataich—the famous Colkitto of Milton. He was Alexander Macdonald, son of Coll Macdonald, an equally noted leader of men.

enemies, they grew to a foolish confidence of victory, but Montross so well ordered his army, that their confidence failed them, for, joining battle, they were overthrown, two thousand being slain and more taken prisoners. Montross his first victory at Perth. Tipper Moore battel.

We may now think Montross furnisht his Irishes and Highlanders with cloaths, arms, and ammunition; and Perth submitted herselfe to the conquerour, to whom he did no hurt, but stayed there three dayes to refresh his souldiors, and turns down towards Esk, whither came to him the Lord Ogilvy, with his two sonnes, Sir Thomas and Sir David. And now receaving intelligence that an army of the Covenanters, under the command of the Lord Burleigh, lay at Aberdeen, with long marches he hies thither, sets uppon them, and after a long fight, puts them to the rout with the loss of almost all their foot, who, flying for refuge into the city, Montroses men cam in thronging amongst them through the gates and posterns, and laid them on heapes all over the streets. This battel was fought September 14, 1644. After this defeat, Montross, calling his souldiers back to their colloures, entered the city, and allowed them two dayes rest; and then, feareing a surprise, and that his men might turn secure, he removes to Kintor, a village ten miles north from Aberdeen, where he expected some of the Gordones to join him, but, none comming, he removes his forces up to the mountaines and fastness, feareing to be beset, and not able to hold out alwayes without reliefe; and, hiding his ordnance in a mosse, he leagurs uppon Spey river banks apposit to the old Castle of Rothimurchus, and sheltered among the firr woods. The battell of Crabstone, Sep. 1644.

At this time the Covenanters garrishond Aberdeen, and sent the Laird of Lares [Lawers] and Lothian Kerrs regiment to Inverness, where they garrishoned; and, to the great trouble and cost of the country, the towne was sconced round with an earthen wall, a deep trensh, rampards, and pillasads, a strong port to the east, another to the south in the top of the Castle street, another at the bridge, the 4 low at the church. Every parish came in to the town successively till all was finished and Inverness made a considerable strength. The Castle and Kings house they abused, cutted down the planting, statly ashes, and plaines about the Gray Friars Forts and garrisons up and down.

and St. Maryes chappell yard.[1] In the country, Culboky made a sconce on the Carse off Kingily; Major Fraser, his brother, comming home, *anno* 1642, as I told before, drew this draught in the frame we see it, corners and bastians, a very pretty fensible strength.[2] Lovat also was fortified with a deep trench and ditch, a strong bulwark of earth within that, and a garrishon put there, and Alexander Fraser of Foyness made captain and constable of it that yeare. The house of Beuly was also fortified, and John Fraser of Clunvacky, captain there, who also built a neat sconce eastward from the orchyard uppon the edge of the plain carse. Such apprehensions of intestin wars possest mens spirits, every nighbouring country jealous of another, all affraid of future evills; relations, affinity, consanguinity, cannot secure men. God Almighty beginning to have a controversy with the land, becaus there is no truth, nor mercy, nor knowledge of God in the land; by swearing and lying and killing and stealing and committing adultery they burst out, and bloud toucheth bloud, therefore shall the land mourn. I can say now by experience, with the affected and afflicted prophet, the good man is perished out of the earth, and there is non uppright among men; they all lie in wait for bloud, they hunt every man his nighbour with a net. Trust ye not in a friend, put no confidence in a guide; keep the door of your lips from her that lieth in thy bosom; for the sone disshonoreth the father, and a mans enemies are those of his own house, etc. *Non socer a genero fratrum quoque gratia rara est. Non hospes ab hospite tutus*, etc. *Non pater a genero.*

Hose. 4. 1.
2.
3.

Mica 7. 1.
2.
6.

My Lord Lovat to Sutherland.

This spring my Lord Lovat tooke a progress through Ross to Sutherland to visit his friends, and had a select number of the prime and flour of his kinsmen with him. Some of his ill natured M'kenzies instigat Seaforth to set an ambush for

[1] St. Mary's was of old the name of what is now the High Church. The chapel, which stood in what is still known as the Chapel Yard, appears to have been attached to St. Mary's. Remains of the Grey Friars Church are still to be seen.

[2] There are slight traces of this sconce in a field, called 'the Fort Field,' on the home farm of Kingillie. Mr. T. R. Biscoe, the proprietor, writes that there is still 'a story of Sir James Fraser of Brea getting hold of a gun, and saving the lives of a number of women and children by getting them into safety there.'

him, such was the gum and suspitious temper of nighbours at that time; but his Lordship was very well guarded to defy such designs. In this journay he visited Foules, and thence would needs see his good friend Mr. David Monro, minister at Kiltern, who convoyed his lordship to Roskeen. Here Mr. Robert Monro was minister, who gave my Lord an account that at the reparation of that church the bones of Sir Almond Fraser were raised, and being kept here in the charnell, his shin bone being set uppright on the ground reacht the mid-thigh of a tall man then in my Lord's retinue. Tradition run of this Sir Almond, prebend of the chaplanry of Roskeen, that when his viccar brought his teind lambs he would cause tye his 4 feet with a garter to know be the weight good or badd, and such as was light he could heave and throw over the chappell roofe. Famous Bishop John Fraser settled 4 church-men of his own name within his diocess of Ross, viz. Mr. John Fraser, rector of Dingwall; Sir Paul Fraser, in the Chaplenry of Alnes; Sir Almond, at Roskeen; and Sir Andrew Fraser, at Kilmoor Wester.[1]

There is nothing heard now up and down the kingdom but alarms and rumores, randevouzes of clans, every chiften mustering his men, called weaponshowes. Montross and Mackoll in every manes mouth, nay the very children frightned with expressing Boocy Tross; and if a few goates be seen uppon the topps of hills in a twilight its concluded to be Coll Coll Mackoll [Colonel Alexander MacColl]. This spring, in May, the M'kdonels regiment quarter about Beuly; the M'kleuds regiment in the parishes of Kilernan, Killmoor Wester, and Siddy; the M'kenzies regimented quarters in the parochins off Urray, Contain, Dingwall, and Fotterty. True it is all were carrying on the same common cause and interest together; yet, like fiends and foes one to another, the Mackdonalds, with spullying and rapin up and down the cuntry, killing sheep, cowes, and oxen, to the shame of their profession in a civil country, that Alexander Fraser, governour of Lovat, told them plainly they had forgot their former flight out of this country quhen they got the retreat and forced to leave their

Mackdonells mustered at Bewly.

Mackenzies and Mackleods muster.

[1] See pp. 116-121. There is confusion between Sir Almond and Sir Paul.

querns and bowes and baggs, whence that place near Lovat is to this day called Craft-ni-balgan.[1] After this M'kdonell himselfe came over to Lovat and made his appology to my Lord for his peoples misdemeanour and rudness. My Lord told that he had ordered quarters and competent provision for his camp; and sometimes my Lord would order some wheat bread, barrells of beer and ale, and bottles of aquavitæ, to be sent to M'kdonalds quarters, besid the civil entertainment he sometimes gave him at his own house in Lovat.

This spring and summer many prodigious signs, apparitions, spectraes, strange sights, were seen everywhere, which presaged warr and revolutions, such as men fighting in the aire, horse and foot, retreating, returning again, visibly observed. People mustered in rank and file uppon our hills, that the spectators observed their cloaths, armes and stature, and have often alarmd the country that Montross and M'koll were invading us, yet all evanished again and again. Two of our fleshers going one morning in to Invernes saw an army, foot and horse, marching before them, and heard the ratling noise of their armes till they came and entered into the wood of Bunchrive, and then dissappeared. Another evening three men whom I know, going to the ferry of Beuly, saw an army of marshalled horse and foot in Blarenicuilich, the very collour of their horses and cloths, kettledrums and ensigns apparent, to the wonder and admiration of many. There was also two prodigious whales came up this firth with a high spring tide, the one persueing the other, and fastned both uppon the lee shallow sands tuixt Tarridell and Spittle, where Rory M'kenzie of Redcastle might pretend a property and sease them, but he permitted the whole countrys on both sids to make pray of them, and, to my certain knowledge, they were so bigg and high that the people made use of small ladders to reach their top; the like never seen or heard off in the Murray firth. These I saw myselfe, being present about them often. There were also two purpoises or spout whailes that ran up the River of Ness and under the bridge, and reacht the Isle a mile above the town, where they were killed. Some vented by conjectur

[1] Croi nam Balgan, 'the Croft of the Bags.'

that those two bigg whailes were an emblem of the King and Parliament, persueing one the other; but, alas, those things portended no good. Another wonderfull accident happened above Beuly; three severall evenings two parties fighting that men saw the glistering of their swords shlashing at one another; this I had from an eye witnesses. There was also another rare thing; the spring well[1] above the town of Beuly had the stream of it running bloud 3 dayes. It appeared like the washing of carrion or intralls of a beast. This hundreds came to see as a wonder and prodegy, and I run among others in the croud to view it; and the ministers adjacent were sent for to see it, but non could know or conjectur what to make of it. Also, in Mary well near Kirkhill, they observed three ovall pieces of clotted bloud as broad as trenchers flotting uppon the water. My Lord called Mr. John Houstoun, the minister, to see this sight also, and men conjectured that some waggish person had cast such things in the water to frighten the gasers.

Cross Beo fontain ran a kind of bloud.

This spring Montròss thought it not safe for him to stay in the woods of Spay. Heareing of convocationes he retires into Badenoch, whence he sent Alexander M'kDonell, who commanded the Irish, with a party into the Highlands to invite them to take up arms with him. Meanwhile, he descends himselfe to Strathboggy, and, waiting the Gordons and Ogilvies, he removes to Fivy Castle and possesses it, where indeed his confidence had well nigh destroyed him, for Argile and Lothian, with 2500 foot and 1200 horse, came within two miles of him, but Montross, with 1500 foot and 50 horse onely, got up to a cragg hill above Fivy and kept them off, so that though Argile severall dayes attempted to assault him he carried away nothing with him but loss and disgrace. At last he tooke the advantage of the night, returns to Strathbogy, thence to Ballveny, and so to Badenoch; thence he heasted unto Athol, and joines with M'kdonell, and so made a good company. Argile being then in Dunkellden, and frighted with the report of Montross his comming, though 16 miles off, bids his men shift for themselves, and he himselfe fled as fast

Montrosse in Badenoch and Strathbogy.

[1] That is, the spring at Wellhouse, at which the Beuly cross at one time stood. The marginal note indicates that the cross was known as Crois Beo, the Living Cross.

as he could to Perth. Hereuppon Montrose passes into the country of Argile, and harasses the same with fire and sword. But heareing that Argile had gathered a considerable army of Lowlanders and Highlanders and were marching up through Lochabber, he heastens thither, and got intelligence that they lay at Inverlochy, about 3000 foot and 500 horse, marched night and day; they being secure were on their backs ere they were awarr, and giving them battle defeats them with a great slaughter, no less than 1500 being killed in the chasse and retreat for 10 mills, mongst which were many gentlemen of the Cambells whose deaths were answeirable to their names, dying *in campo belli*, in the field off warr. Earle of Argile himselfe was neare to be taken, but narrowly escaped be boat. Argil had with him in this ingagement a thousand of the Murray and Mearns militia, and many of them that escaped engaged very cordially with Montrosse, finding him, as truely he was, very successfull.

The battle of Inverlochy. Feb. 4, 1644.

And now heareing that all the clans benorth him, such as M'kenzies, M'kdonels, M'kleods, Mackyes, etc., were ingaged dayly randivouzing and at head in the fields, he thought it not safe to go thither, but down through Abertarph and Stratharick quher he had friends and got good intelligence among them, marcht thence through Strathern[1] and Strathspey, to Balveny, quher the Lord Gordon joined him, and now made up 2000 foot and 200 horse, and marches to Brechin. There lay Sir John Hurry, Generall of the horse for the Covenanters, with a great party, and neare hand was General Baily, a commander of great account, who had been fetcht out of England to withstand him. He onely allarmd them, and marches through Anguis to Perthshire, and there made up his army. Baily, understanding where he was, intends to surprise him, but he found Montross provided for him, who so valiantly repulsed his assault that he, killing some and routing others, he forced them to a retreate with shame and reproach.

The 1 of June the Generall Assembly sat at Edinbrugh, and Mr. Robert Douglas their moderator. But the Kings

Assembly, June 1645.

[1] Strathern, now Strathdearn.

Majestie haveing now discovered their dismall designs sent no comissioner this year to them, being left to themselves. The first thing I find presented is a letter from the Presbetry with the army in England unto the Generall Assembly; next, Master Robert Dowglass is sent to the army in England, and Mr. James Bonar elected Moderator of the Assembly. 3. A petition from the distressed Christians in the north of Ireland, subscribed your distressed bretheren and supplicants. 4. Act concerning the Declaration subscribed be the Scottish Lords then at Oxford with the King's Majestie. 5. Act against the rebels in the north and south and all dissaffecters of the Covenant. 6. The letter from the Commissioners at London to the Assembly with their answeir to it, and to the Presbetry with the army. 7. The letter from the Divins of the Church of England to the Generall Assembly, subscribed Westminster, May 17, and subscribed William Twiss, prolocutor; Cornelius Burges, assessor; Hen. Robruh, Adoniram Byfild, scribes. 8. The Generall Assemblies answeir to the right reverend the Assembly of Divines in England, June 1644. 9. The Assemblies letter in ornate Latin to the Kirk of the Netherlands, *Ecclesiis Dei quæ sunt in Unitis Hollandiæ, Zelandiæ, alijsque fœderati Belgii provinciis;* and subscribed *Vestræ dignitati et fraternitati adictissimi pastores et seniores nationalis sinodis Scoticanæ et nostro omnium nomine et mandato*, Ja. Bonar, moderator.

In all this Assembly not a word off nor to the Kings Majesty in their proceedings, as if he were now out of date, or not worth their while. But I find a commission for visitation of Orknay, Zetland, Caithness, Sutherland, Ross, to Mr. William Falconar, Mr. Murdo Mackenzie, and Alexander Brodie of that Ilk.

Edinburgh is now in a muse, heareing of Montrosse his great success, and therefore a day of humiliation and fast is appointed, especially that their Generall Baily was so trappand and baffled be him. But Generall Hurry, haveing thus before missed his mark on Montross, intended to make it up on the Lord Gordon. Montrosse, feareing he should be overmastered, thought it necessary to oppose Hurry as soon as possible, as well to secure so dear a friend from so eminent danger as to

be nibling at the enemies forces now assunder, and to cutt off that power by peecemeal, which he well knew if it were all in a body would be above his strength. Baily is now called south; Hurry left in Fife and Anguis. Montross acquaints the Lord Gordon of Hurys design, who is now on his guard, and send All. M'kdonnell [Mac Coll] through Athol, Badinoch, Lochabber, to secure the Highlanders, and to winter among them, seing now all the forces had gotten to their quarters, and Montross himselfe lurks in Pierthshire all that winter amongst his true friends, and the Lord Gordon is very bussy in the north to provid men and amunition for spring. In April Generall Hurry goes north, marching slowely with his few troupes to Aberdeen, intending to secure all he could thereabouts, whilest meantime Montross, by continued journayes, marches into Marr, and there M'kdonald [Mac Coll] comes to him, and soon after they join with the Lord Gordon, who had raised a thousand foot and 200 horse. Hurry at this time is within 6 miles of him, who, understanding of Montrosses comming, retires with all speed northward to Inverness, and Montross as heastily followes after in his reer to Speysid, and so over to Murray. Now is all the North in feare; detachments from Cathness, Sutherland, Ross, repair to Inverness, Rosses, Monroes, M'Kenzes, Frasers, as thinking that Montross and his forces was besieging that garrison. At this time Major Fraser, having been in Ireland with many mo, suppressing the rebelion there, is now returnd home Collonel, and offers his service to my Lord Lovat, his cheefe, as fittest to have the conduct of the Frasers now uppon their march. But Sir James Fraser would not hear of this, which was after repented. The post scout bring account to Inverness that Montross came over Spey, so that the forces all there are readdy to march. May 3, Generall Hurry goes over be boat from Inverness to Kessok, where he and Earl George Seaforth were closse together that night; the intrigues betuixt them hatcht may yet appear openly by the event, but, after tossing some bottles off good wine, parted the next morning, and Hurry came to Invernes.

May 4. May 4, in the morning, all the forces march, the Laird of Lares his regiment, a detashment of Lothians, the Frasers under Struyes command, Lieutennant Collonel, the M'kenzies,

Rosses, Monroes, M'kintoshes, all march in a body forward; Hurry, commander in cheefe, with his troupes also; and no stop till they came to Narden River,[1] 12 miles eastward from Inverness, quher they are certified that Montross lay with his army at Aldern, who, feareing to be overpowered, had a great mind to retire, for, not onely Hurry pressed so vehemently uppon him that it was scarce possible for him to retreat, but Baliy also, with a southern army much stronger then Hurrys, was gotten betuixt the mountaines and him, so that, feareing to be hemm'd in betuixt two armies, he resolves to try the fortun of war without delay, and commit the success to God. To gain all the advantage he could he marshalls his army in the bottom, westward of Aldern. Hurry and his Covenanters drawes up opposit to him about Kinudy, a farr greater number than he. Montross and the Lord Gordon sat both uppon the Castlehill; Allexander M'kdonell [Mac Coll], with his men in both woods northward, made the first approch with his yallow banner and fired uppon the enemy, and they give him a reparty so that his ensign was killed, the yallow banner fell 3 or 4 times, and he retires for recruites. The Strathboggy regiment to the south set forward, quhen, meantime, Hurry gives a word of command, whither wrong given or mistaken, Captain Drummond whiles [wheels] his horse to the left for right hand, and confuses the foot. The troopes in dissorder, the foot regiments in no less, gives way to Montrosses forces to advance uppon them. Allexander M'kdonell in a furry, with his Irishes and Highlanders, run throw them, killing and goaring under foot. Montross, seing him so forward, he saith to the Lord Gordon, Fy, my Lord, sturr or Mackdonnell will carry the honnour of the day. Uppon this the Gordons run forward, horse and foot, crushing all before them as they went. Lairs and Lothians regiment stood in their ranks and files, and were so killed as they stood. True this battle was fought with much eagerness on both sides, each party striving to outvy the other in vallour. At length the Covenanters were overthrown, 3000 of their foot souldiers being slain, but most of their horse escaped by a more timely than honorable flight.

The battle of Alderan, 1645.

[1] The river Nairn.

Very many killed among the banks and buishes about Kinudy, Kinstary, Brightmony. Hurry, with his broken troups, fled forward to Invernes, that as well commanders as souldiours hastily and dissorderly betook themselves by night over the how-foord when non persued them; so that now is Thomas the Rymour his ambiguous prophesy fullfilled and discovered:

Betuixt Arr, Both, and the See
Manny a corp shall burried be.

In this fatall, unfortunat fight fell the brave Laird of Lairs, Colonel James Campell, and 5 captaines, 4 lieutennants, Major Cashore, Captain Bruce, Captain Wood. The forsaid Captain Drummond, comming to Invernes with his broken troup, was set up in the main guard, and a councell of warr called, which condemned him by martiall law, and was shot at the post uppon the high rodde as yow go to Tomnihurich. Here dyed a gallant gentleman and a stout soldier, not for any bad conduct of his own but the false word of command which Colonell Hurry had given him to marr the whole battell. The Frasers and M'kenzies suffered most; in our country there were 87 widdowes about the Lord Lovates eares; this we got for our dissloyall, rebellious covenant which we fought for. That, as Jocusta told her two sonnes with terror and teares, to stay our quarrels and lay down the cause at her foot—*Bella geri placuit nullos habitura triumphos.*

Here Fraser Fraser kills, a Brown doth kill a Brown,
A Boid a Boid, and Lieth's by Lieth overthrown,
A Forbes gainst a Forbes here doeth stand,
And Drummonds feight with Drumonds hand to hand,
There doth Magill cause a Magill to die,
And Gordon doth the strength of Gordon try.
O Scotland, wert thow mad? Off thine own native gore
So much till now thow never shedst before.[1]

My Lord Lovats sentiment of this battell.

The newes of this fatall bloudy battell spread soone over all the North, the M'kdonells and M'kleuds, on their journay, but

[1] In the margin against the above paragraph is:—'The Laird of Lares fell in the field and was burried att Calder Church, with 4 captains, Bruce, Cashore, Campbel, Shaw; and 5 lieutenants and 200 soildiours. Fam[ous] Captain Crichtoun and Captain Bernard Mackenzies have monuments set over them in the Cure of Aldern Vale.'

comming, were *in tuto*, and glad they appeared not against the King so openly, for every man was now concluding that the Covenant would have no success. God would blast upon mens disloyall designs; the King would yet gain his just point; and his brave Generall Montrosse would carry all before him. Ever and anon the cry and grones of men and women for their lost friends were universally heard. My Lord Lovat had his own sad share, for many of his kindred fell in this battle; how often would he cheid and challange his brother, Sir James, for his forwardness in this quarrell, that he forsaw the sad event quhich now is come to passe by mens sudden precipitancy and furious zeal. *Ne quid nimis.* I am, saith he, in deep mourning for my great relations who died a natural death by the hand of God, and now must renue the same for such of them as are killed by the hand of men; and I forsee that I shall not long survive them. God will in mercy close my eyes in peace, and shall not see the evill that is to come. Thomas, the young Laird of Strachin, being taken away out of his own house by the Lord Gordon to the Castle of Strathbogy, and riding all the way in single stockings, the weather being sharp, dyed shortly after his return. My dear cousin, old Strachin, dyed this March, being sick of the times that we live in, and I am sure the time of my departure is at hand. God prepare me for my latter end.

Captain George Scot his ship at Inverness.

Two yeares before this one Captain George Scot came to Invernes and there built a ship of a prodigious bignes, for bulk and burden, non such ever seen in our north seas. The carpenters he brought with him north, and my Lord Lovat gave him wood, firr and oake, in Dulcattack woods [in Glenmoriston]. I myselfe was aboord of her in the rode of Kessock, April 1645, and many mo to whome she was a wonder. She set sail the very day before the battle of Aldern, and among other passengers that went in her south Collonell Fraser and his lady Christina Baily were there. Hugh Fraser younger of Clunvacky, and Andrew Fraser in Leyes, John and William Frasers in Leys his attendants. This ship rod at Ancer in the river mouth of Narden, when the battell was fought in view. This Captain Scot inlarged the ship afterwards as a friggot for warr, and sailed with her to the Straights, and his

brother William with him, who was made Collonell at Venice, whose martial atchievements in the defence of that state against the Turks may very well admit him to be ranked amongst our worthies. He becam Vice-admirall to the Venetian fleet, and the onely bane and terror of Mahumetan navigators; whither they had gallyes, galeoons, galeasses, huge warships, it was all one to him, he set uppon all alike, saying still the more they were the mannier he would kill, and the stronger that the rancounter should happen the greater should be his honnor, and his prise the richer. He oftentimes so cleared the Archipelago of the Musselmans that the Ottoman famely and the very gates of Constantinople would quake at the report of his victoryes; and did so ferret them out of all the creeks of the Hadrrattick Gulfe, and so shrudly put them to it, that they hardly knew in what port of the Mediterranean they might best shelter themselves from the fury of his blowes. Many of their mariners turnd land souldiers for fear of Scot; and of their maritim officers many tooke charge of caravans to escape his hand, which for many yeares together lay so heavy uppon them that he was cried up for another Don John of Austria or Duke de Orea by the enemies of that Scithian generation. In spight of which and the rancor of all their unchristian hearts he died in his bed of a fever in the Isle of Candy, January 1652. He was truly the glory of his nation and country, and was honored after his death with a statue of marble, which I saw near the Realto of Venice, April 1659.[1]

Montrosse his new resolution.

This May the Earl of Lindsay, the prime ringleader of the Covenanters next unto Argil, had raised a new army, and

[1] In his unpublished 'Triennial Travels' our author gives a long account of Venice, which he visited in April 1659. 'I staied full 7 dayes in Venice, and truelie I never sturred more in so much time all my life. I could have a fresh hospital everie night. I lodged 3 nights in St. Marks hospital, and verie well treated. But there were so manie English, Scots, and Irish in Venice that I could have free bed and board whole 3 months from them for nothing. Mr. Gieles Johnes was our great friend: we were recommended to him, living in Cala Longa at St. Maria Formosa; John Moore, an English Lieutenant; and one John Scott, sone to Captn. George Scot who died in the Venetian service. I saw his effigie sett up in Murina, and an description declaring that he had built a ship in his owne countrie in Scotland, and, like a free noble spirit, spent himself and itt in the States service.' The statue or 'effigie' does not now exist.

passed over with his forces into Anguis, intending to be a reserve unto Baily. Montrosse, resolving to quell this new army, marches against him with such speed that the newes of his approach was not so swift as himselfe, whilst Lindsay was within 7 miles of him and all things ready for an assault, when most of the northern men privatly run away from their culloures, and, going back the way they came, returnd into their cuntry, by which meanes that victory slipt through his fingers, which he had almost grasped in his hand. Montross, thus tristed, takes up new resolutions; he sendeth the Lord Gordon and Mackdonell to leavy more forces; and now Lindsay, pretending to do some famous exploit, takes a thousand old souldiours from Baily, and, leaving him as many new leavied men in their [stead], marches north. Montrosse, haveing notice hereof, desires to fight him, and sends a trumpet to offer a set battell, but Baily answeires that he would not receave orders to fight from an enemy. Yet, at last, through the rashness of the Lord Balcarise, a Colonel of horse, who precipitated himselfe and the troopes under his command into danger, he was forced thereunto, whereuppon a bloody fight ensued, wherin Baily was overthrown with the loss of the greatest part of his army, and a considerable losse uppon Montrosse his side also. Mackdonnell and the highlanders behaved bravely, running down the horse with their bowes and arrowes. The brave Lord Gordon fell in this battell, to the great greefe of all that knew him, his death being universally bemoned and bevailed, even off his enemies as well as friends. The plounder here of horse, arms, amunition, mony, and cloaths so considerable that all Irish, highlanders, and others were charmed to follow Montross everywhere. This battell was fought at Alford, July 2, 1645, vulgarly called Blare Aford.[1] It lyes in a brave plain near the river of Done, below the church, a common passe where they hade conveniency of burialls. The battel of Alford, July 2, 1645.

Montross, haveing obtained this great victory, marches into Anguis, where he met his cousin Patrick Grahame with his Athol men ready to live and dye with him. Shortly therafter

[1] The Field of Alford.

M'kdonnel [Mac Coll], with a great power of highlanders new levied, came to him, so that, being reinforced with such an army, he resolves to make his way into the very heart of the kingdom; and, passing over the Tay at Dunkelden, encamped in Methfen Forrest. The Covenanters at that time held a Parliament at Saint Jhonstoun, but, heareing of Montross his approach, secures themselves by flight. He, to increass their terrour, drew near to the town, and made a formidable shew. The town of Pierth would have advanced him a good soume of mony were it his pleasur to seeke it, but he thought it not safe to descend into the champion [champaign] ground further, haveing such want of horse, which was soon supplyed by a party from the north by a party under the Earl of Airly and Sir David his sone, also the Earl of Aboin, and Collonel Nathaniel Gordon, and many mo. Being thus recruited he thought it not good to lose any time, but marched forward through Monteith, Buchannan, Sterlinshire, and over Forth to Glasgow, streight towards the enemy; and, haveing many brave voluntiers joined with him in this journay, pitcht his camp, refreshed his army, and, having in vein proffered them battle, at last it came to a pitcht field in a place called Kilsith, where the Covenanters under Generall Baily and Hurry overmatcht him in number, yet came so farr behind him in valor that he obtaind over them an absolut victory, haveing the killing of them for 14 miles; so that of all their foot it is said there did not an hundred come off, nor did their horse escape very well, of whom many were killed, some taken, the rest disperst. Their ordnance, their arms, their whole spoiles, came clearly to the conqueroures, who by report lost not 20 men; on the other side were slain 6000, a great disproportion in number; and did not the effects which followed this victory make it the more credible it might seeme to some a falshood, if not an impossibility. The Covenanters were 3 for one, and trained men, horse and foot, and looked uppon Montross his army as greenhorns and unexpert in martial theatres; but they found themselves Scots men, wise behind hand, *sero sapiunt Phrigi*. This fatal day was fought in the plaines of Kilsith neare Glasgow, and any man may judg what pannick feare possest that city.

The battel of Kilsith, the 17 of August 1645.

Now presently after this great, unexpected victory there was a great alteration all the kingdom over; the cheefe of the nobility who sided with the Covenanters, some fled to Barwick, some to Carlile, some to Newcastle, others into Ireland. The Marques of Douglas, Earls of Twadall, Annandale, and Heartfild, the Lords Seaton, Drummond, Fleming, Maderty, Carnegy, and Johnston, with many others of great quality, submitted themselves. Such as formerly did but privatly wish well to the King now expressed it openly. The cities and cuntries that were further off began to dispatch their commissioners to profess in their names their alledgiance to their king, their duty and service to his vicegerent, and freely to offer him men, arms, provision, and other necessaries of war. The city of Edinburgh, to ingratiat themselves with the conquerours, they released their prisoners, of whom the cheefest were the Earl of Crawford, and James, Lord Ogilby, sone to the Earl of Airly, whom, with their delegats, they sent to Montross (being yet in his camp near Glasgow), promising obedience for the time to come. Yea from all the cities and countries benorth Tay the very same. Thus the whole kingdom everywhere sounded nothing but Montross.

All our nobles fly the nation.

Meantime, before he would proceed further, he sent tuo Commissioners into Glasgow with a trumpeter, telling the citizens that he was loth to suffer his army to enter within their walls, for that they would prove but a prey to them; therefore ordered the Magistrats to stent the whole incorporation, for he would have a fine of them. This was immediatly obeyed, and in less than 48 houres there is the soume of ten thousand libs collected; the provest and magistrats goe out and invits his Excellency the King's Generall to come in to the city with his cheefe officers. Montross was not nice, enters the city with a great retinue, is nobly treated with all his officers and this vast soume delivered to his deputies, and takes leave of them and departs, with an acclamation of joy accompanying him, ringing of bells, sound of trumpets and drumms, the whole town in arms to accompany; and I heard it said by an earwitness that had he sought duble the soume it would be granted. Edinburgh was preparing to advance the same exaction. But the infatuation was, when he should have

Glasgow a tributary to Montross.

generously distributed the most of this mony to his deserving commanders, he said that plunder might well serve, and inhanct all to himselfe. Thus was he puft up with ambition, and vain of his victories, and proud of his conquest, which was his bane and brack—*Eheu quo tendit sæva libido!* Thus he lost the affection of his dearest sworn friends; so that what thing on earth is permanent—*ah voluptates nimiùm fugaces cuncta caduca!* Many of his souldiers, being loaden with spoil, ran privily away from their colloures, and returnd home. Presently after, their very commanders desired furloghs for a litle while, pretending that the enemy had no army within the borders of the kingdom, and therefore their service for the present might be well spared. The Earl of Aboin, whither the governour would or no, carried away with him not onely his own men but all the rest of the northern forces. Yea, Alexander M'kdonell, who had hitherto continued so faithfull, departed into the Highlands with more than 3000 stout men, and sexscore of the best Irish, promising faithfully their sudden return; yet he never saw Montross in the face again.

His officers desert him.

Montross, now deserting and deserted, and seing it would be no better with his small party, passing by Edinbrugh (into which he would not enter, the plague then rageing in the city), led them through Lothianshire, and in Strathgate joined with some forces, joined with the Marques of Douglas, and then marches to Nidsdale and Annandale and the country of Ayre, that he might there raise what horses he could, and, comming to Selkirk, a great free brugh, he quartered his horse in a village, and his foot in a wood closs by, his army consisting of 500 foot and a weak party of new raised horse. Now, Sir David Lessly, being sent for out of England to help the Covenanters in their exigency, knew well Montross his weak condition, that er he was discerned by his scoutes he was within less than a mile of him with 6000 horse; Montross at the time being bussy in dispatching letters to the King; but uppon newes of Lesslies comming he mounts the first horse he could light on and gallops into the field appointed for the randezvouz, where he finds a great deal of noise but no order, the cavalry being litle acquainted with duty, and being dispersed into their quarters, dreaming more of baiting their

The plague in Edinburgh.

horses than maintaining their lives and honour; yet a good party, and these for the most part noblemen and knights, who made all speed thither, and gallantly undertooke to make good the right wing; but they not being above 150 in all, and being assailed by so potent an enemy, multitud overcomming valour, haveing tweice repulsed their enemy with loss, at last they betooke themselves to flight. The foot, fighting a good while stoutly and resolutly, were forced to yeld, but found litle mercy from the Conquerour, putting them all to the sword. Montross, seing his men routed (which he never saw before), rallying about 30 horse whom he had gathered up in that confusion, he desperatly charged through the enemy, who, hotly persuing him, to make his flight the more honnorable he chargeth his pursuers, routs them, and carries away one Bruce, a captain of horse, and two cornets with their standards prisoners. Thus by his vallour and courrage, though defeat, there was a kind of victory on his side. This is the battle of Philiphaugh, so much noised; it was fought the 13 of September, *anno* 1645.

Now let any rational man judge, if Montross had carried his army with him whom he had at Glasgow when he fought Kilsith, what figure he would have made here at Selkirk. I am truly of the mind he had made a prey of Lessly and his 6000 horse; then without doubt all Scotland would have been his, and then England had yelded to the King; for certainly there was never so great a probability. But there was too much stress laid uppon the arm of flesh, and we were vain of our victories, and God blasted uppon them all. Therefore thus saith the Lord, let not the wise man glory in his strength, Isai. 9. 23. vallour, or wisdom, but let him that glorieth glory in the Lord who exercise judgement and righteiouseness, for the race Eccles. 9. 11. is not to the swift nor the battel to the strong, but time and chance happeneth to them all. The King's interest in Scotland is now wholly lost. But Montross will yet venter; he heasts north, crosseth the Forth, came into Leven, where Aboin bringeth him 1500 foot and 300 horse, but his forces too weake to resist so powerfull an enemy as were then in the field to oppose him, for Fife and Anguis were blockt up against him; and the Convention of the Estates was now

A Convention of the Estates at St. Andrews.

held at St. Andrewes, wherein were condemd Jo. Ogilby, Earl of Airly, and was to be execut, but the night before the execution his sister, Lady Anna, came to pay him a visit and take her last farewell of him; and being a while privat together she exchangd garbs with her brother. She stayed within, and Airly came out in the ladys garb, never suspected becaus he was of equal pitch with his sister and like one another in features, and so escaped. At that time also were condemned and execut Sir William Rollock, Sir Philip Nisbit, Alexander Ogilby of . . . , Colonel Nathanael Gordon, Sir Robert Spotswood, Andrew Guthery, sone to the Reverend the Bishop of Murray, and Andrew Murray, brother to Tillibarden. The crimes objected against them was no less than high treason; the facts they were guilty off was loyalty to the King.

M'Kenzies and Mackdonells.

Montross comes to Strathbogy, and conduces with the young Lord Gordon to come north through Murray to try the pulses of the clans and barrons, whilst himselfe ventered to the Highlands to raise men and prepare his forces. Most of our chiftens of clans are now hankering; the M'kdonels and M'kleuds are resolved to join Montrosse; also the M'kenzies and M'kyes are above boord. My Lord Lovat, now tender and valetudinar, can do nothing openly, yet his heart is honest; but all the power over and conduct of the Frasers were in Sir James the tutor his hands, now at the south and deeply engaged with Argile and the Covenanters, and is their onely factor in the north; and in November returns home with commission to fortify and reinforce the garrison of Inverness, and was more active in this then became him, as he had cause to repent him too late afterwards. My Lord Lovat thus expostulats with him. Alas, brother, I am this day weake and ye sones of Zeruia be too hard for me, as David said to Joab. Is there no medium, no mediocrity in your procedings? Yow are so biggot and tenacious in your principle, so lincked with Argile and that faction that there is no separation? But I tell yow it is a bad quarrell and cause which yow espouse, and, besids conscience, quhich should be a Christian guid, yow will draw the odium of your nighboures uppon us. The M'kdonnills and the Mackenzies will declare

2 Sam. 3. 39.

The Lord Lovats expostulation with his brother Sir James, Brey.

openly for the King, and, like the Senenses, in the Florentin warr, we shall be a prey to both. Not that I ever feared any neighbouring clan, for my kindred and followers are numerous, active, vallarous, warlick, and curragious, both gentlemen and commons, and can cope and compeat with any one clan; but no *Hercules contra duos.* And the Frasers were never dissloyall, and that is the stain and imputation that we shall lye under for the future, and it is the sin and stain of the nation in generall, yet in this it is not *solatium miseros multos habere pares.* I have indeavoured in my own time to train and incurrage my people; they are also well furnished with arms, and I have an arcenal at Lovat stored with all manner of arms which I have bought at a good rate from Collonel Fraser when I gave him the quarter land of Kiltarlity in excambion of the 200 muscats, firlocks, guns, and picks which he brought to the country, besids the field pieces and artillary which I had before; and there will be need of all to defend the country from incursions, for, if ever we found it true it is now, that we have thorns in our sids, and confirm the old adage and panagyrick the poet gave us:—*Inter hyperboreos natus, Fraserius heros. Espinis docuit surgere posse rosam.*

His sore sufferings.

I have drunk deep in the cup of sufferings, and non hath pledged me. I have swame through a see of sorrowes. I am the man that hath seen affliction by the rod of his wrath, and God allone supported me; and, besids the deaths of an excellent wife and good children, my father hath left me plunged in difficulties and debt; and, considering what was given off to the sones of this famely, second marriages and others, 1. to Culboky, Foyer, Struy, Strachin, Inveralochy, Brey, the very halfe of my rent and revenues remaines not intire, and the greatest burden that now lyes uppon this estate is my daughter in lawes jointer, 10 thousand a year, to be advanced at Lieth every Whitsunday. This was a bargen partly of my brothers makeing; and the broust that yow have brewn, drink now your fill of it. My mind lay not to that match, though driven to it by the parsuasions of a prevailing party. Litle contentment or credit have I of it any maner of way; none to represent my sone and heir now dead but that poor child Hugh, born May 2, 1643, now with his mother at Edinburgh.

Lament. 3. 1.

She will soone think of another husband, and I must pay her dury [dowry]. I have not troubled the estat of Lovat, nor burdened it with a groat these ten yeares bygon, but my bare aliment; three of my sones are dead, William, Simon, and Hugh; 3 I have alive to survive me, Alexander, Thomas, and James. *Providebit Deus*, God will provid for them; the seed of the rightious will not want; I cast them uppon Providence. They have three sisters, setled and well to live; I shall recommend one to each of these for their subsistance till the world setle. All Brittain is now in a confusion; England is an Aceldama or field of blood, and Scotland is following fast uppon the tract; bloud is terrible, and who can think on it and not quake, that our land is defiled with bloud, and not shed by an aliens hand. God hath been pleased *talem nobis avertere pestem*, to free us from this plague; but intestin, civil, uncivil broiles, O, who shall wash our land from these aspersiones! It is not a condition but sanction of nature *parce civium sanguini*, to spare the bloud of citizens, connatural, colateral, conational with our selves. But *parce sui sanguini*, spare thy own bloud, thy brothers, thy bone and flesh, with pain born, with expense nurtured, must fall in a moment, and by whom? One son of Adam by another, one Scots man by another! The proverb is now exploded, *Homo homini Deus*; nay, *homo homini Dæmon*. Sir James, brother, yow are shortly like to come to that honour yow never expected, and perhaps not shaped for, to be Lord Lovat, an honourable station indeed; when I am gone yow will neglect the country, run to Edinburgh, and be Jackmanizing Argil, put your kinsmen uppon expeditions, let them run your errands, inhance them to your trifling bussinesses, to carry on the grand cause, and so neglect their own affaires, turn spendthrifts, then give them louse reins and turn theeves to repaire their loss. This is my suspition of yow, nay, my prediction of them. I have all my time kept them in order and unity, peace and industry, supprest all outrages, nipt vices in the bud, and was a good example of prudence, providence, piety, and sobriety before. Now I adjure yow before God, mannage well the great trust I leave uppon yow; be a good chiften, governour, councellor,

The Master of Lovat, born May 16 [*sic*], 1643.

His reflection upon the times.

Exod. 7. 1.

and examplar to my kinsmen and people whilst they have yow, for *nil vehemens durabile*, nothing violent is permanent; therefore prepare to dye young, for yow will not come an old gray head. God direct yow.

My Lord Lovat's sickness, and last discourses.

About the beginning off December my Lord Lovat sickned, and, takeing death to himselfe, he could not want his ministers *per vices* successively by him, for he loved their converse and conference. His own minister and pastor was frequently with him (viz. Mr. John Houstoun), but he had a great affection for Mr. William Fraser, minister at Kilernan, though in another diocess, for, he said, that is my friend for he always, tells me truth and conceales nothing from me; he flatters not, he dissembles not, he would have me a terrour to evil doerss a comfort to such as do well. He was a true prophet, and fortold me what is come to pass in my famely, and I must trust his predictions. My Lord called his children before the ministers, and gravely declares with Jacob, I call yow together, Gen. 49. 1. my sones, gather yourselves together that I may tell yow that which shall befall yow in the last dayes. I shall say with Joshua, behold I goe this day the way of all the earth. I Josh. 23. 14. am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departur is 2 Tim. 4. at hand; I have fought the good fight, finished my course, kept the faith, now is laid up for me a crown of rightiouseness, etc. Now is my death to me more welcom, and my departur hence more pleasant, seing I must leave my unaccomplished actiones to be performed by yow in whose persones I question not but that my memorial shall be retained as in a monument of eternall fame. Many things which are be death prevented, see yow accomplish; let your place and power be swayed and governed by justice, protecting the innocent from the tyrany of oppressoures, wiping away all teares from the eyes of the afflicted, for then above all things have I esteemed myselfe happy. Bewarr of the raging sin of the times, places, and persones quher yow live. Be sober and temperat, chast and continent; as yow would wish others to doe, even the same doe ye. Fear God, honor the King, and medle not with Prov. 24. 21. those that are given to changes. The way to reform others is to reform yourselves; keep up the honour, the antiquity, the true history of your ancient famely; incurrage vertue in

every one; countenance vice in none. These will be day of liberty corrupted and corrupting times; God preserve from being tainted with them. I was wont to say that he dissallowed the too forward fury of our reformation and the present revolution. *Ne quid nimis*, my motto. Both these have not onely destroyed our noble monuments, but manuscripts; and, among the fatal overthrowes of many more, this of Beuly yow see is altogether rased and ruined, at the dispose of some then in commission, whose overheasty actions in those behalfes hath left us a want of many truthes, which otherwayes we might have had. My sone Alexander, thow wilt be great and have many advantages, and a happy, peaceable, flourishing time; but its my feare thow 'le want mannagement and improvement: easiness and credulity is the bane of many. Give a deafe eare to sicophants; let not those gloworms hang on yow; what was your brothers ruin I am affraied may be thine; prepare to dye young, for yow will never reach my dayes. My sone Tome, thow wilt wrestle with the world, but thowle be the man yet, live long and see many dayes. Since Lord Thomas his time thow wilt live longest; thow shalt have the name and honor, but litle or no profit; but from thy loines shall they come who will do great things. I see yow will die a violent death; but thy temperance and moderation shall lengthen thy dayes, for thow wilt not incline to excess. My sone James, thow art my youngest, thow wilt have projects, and currage to prosecut; thow wilt take a flight; thowl appeare uppon the stage, and evanish, *filius noctis*, or *unius diei oriens et moriens*; thow 'l be seperat from thy bretheren. But Tomm shall survive yow all, and be the last of my famely. The very line wil be almost [extinct?], yet at length their [line?], which had long lain burried in their own ashes, will yet begin to revive and flourish, being wearied of the insulting tyrany of O. C.,[1] begin to take fresh spirit, and to seeke one of their own native race to rule over them. I must go, but leave yow my sones, a ball to be tossed about in fortunes tennis court, but, which of yow shall unravell the web which your brother Hugh hath woven? Yow will see happy, serene,

[1] Oliver Cromwell.

halcion dayes yet, when the sword is sheathed which now rages.

* * * * *

Lord Hugh Fraser of Lovat his death, 1645.

After all these sentiments, reflections, expostulations, and declarations to his famely and friends, and many other excellent advices, which I had and heard from an eye and ear witnes, this good man dyed in peace at Lovat the 17 day of December, being Tusday, in the 55 yeare of his age, *anno Domini* 1645.

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Hugh Lord Lovat his character and description.

To give Lord Hugh Fraser of Lovat his due character, now being dead: he was a man of sound wit, a good wholsom constitution, a man off currage and resolution, a great justitiary, pious, prudent, religious, humble, modest man. When master he went circuit, condingly keeping courtes once a year in person through his lordship; he would heare the meanest, redress wrongs and injurries, suffer no oppression, enjoin his chamerlanes and baliefes to do all kindness possible to his poor people. So exact in genealogy that he could give an account of the meanest tennants origen and parentage once hearing his name, whither stranger or native in all his country. Would not suffer one man, gentleman or tenant, once he came to 18 yeares off age, but to have armes suitable for him, which made him advance 2000 marks to Collonel Fraser for muscats, firlocks, and picks in the begining of the warrs. Arching he preferd to all martiall arts, saying that it was a manly exercise. In his time the country was throng'd with pretty men of all sorts, gentleman and yoman. He was singularly just in his promise and paction, a word was enugh, and would have that done by all men quhatsomever. To this end he kept one Alexander Dunbarr, a nottar,[2] still near his gate at Lovat, and another in Stratharick. He was punctuall and strickt in keeping ordinance. I heard his minister say that still my Lord Lovat was his second bell upon Sunday, never missed sitting in session to carry one disciplin, saying that it was the first court within the kingdom, and never dine or suppe upon

[1] See notarial instruments by Dunbar, in connection with Montrose's war, in *Urquhart and Glenmoriston*, pp. 156-158.

Sunday without his minister, and would often send his horse for him. His famely was an accadamy for arts, learning, and devotion, and hospitality was his delight; orderd once a weeke so much victual for the poor, and monny uppon the Saboth. He would regreet that ministers had too mean stipends, and, by his atturnay, voted for an augmentation to them *anno* 1640. And, when decreetes of platt were procured, he gave localities of land to all his ministers, and would not suffer customs, carriage, or any exaction to be imposed uppon these platts of ground; for, saith he, In Egipt, evin under Pharaoh and a famin, the lands of the priests was free, for they had a portion assigned them without any trouble or bondage; nay, when the yearly tribut of 40 thousand lĭbs gathered by the name of Dane gilt, imposed for 40 yeares in England together, and payed out of every man's lands except onely the clergy, who were exempted from the same, this shall be my rule in this case tuixt me and my pastors. Severall weighty reflections he had uppon the transactions, omissions, and commissions of both his predecessors and his own: 1. Their neglect of the Church, having so much of its revenues in their possession for severall ages, and never compendit to God by mortification, erection, or reparation of churches, hospitalls, bridges, or pious uses; so that he lookt upon the paction made by his predecessors anent the priory of Beuly litle better than simoniacall and sacrilegious, and a moth in the estate of Lovat, and alas what can atton this guilt or expiat this crime and imputation. 2. The feudary lands of Rindown and Ardnichrask to the Mackenzies, Garloch and Redcastle, which he looked upon an omen or introductive presage of their getting all that barony at last, this he could not digest or win over. 3. The manner of wodsetting the 5 davachs of Abertarph to the M'kdonalds, very enemies to the famely and Frasers, takeing their mony, which was but 10 thousand marks, to redeem the wodset of Kinmilies then in his cousin Strachins hand, and meerly for a triffling jarr between the two ladies for the use of a scurvy chariot, *anno* 1634; putting a dissoblidgement uppon a near relation, and doe a curtesie to a rude rascall and stranger of whom he could never expect a favour; and God knowes when that land shall be redeemed, if ever.

Gen. 47 22.

Feudum, et fide vel fœdere inter Dominium Vassalium.

4. The feudary tack given to Tommy Shives of the lands of Moortoun, which was a pendicle of the barrony off Kinmilies, a plat very capable of improvement, and no marches made or designed betuixt that and Bunchrive, which gave him way to incroach at his pleasur, there being no bounded evidence to limit him, as is very clearly seen this day. 5. That there was no paines taken in the controverted marches betuixt Dounchea and Dulcromby to the east, and Bochrubin to the west, lands belonging to Mackintosh and interjected within the lordship, and as it hath so may yet breed strife and contention betuixt nighboures, and may terminat in fead and bloud; and he was ever a man of peace, and a good nighbour, mediating and composing differences, a singular arbitrator. 6. The dividing of the mosses betuixt Farnway and the 3 davachs of Corbet, now in Culbokies and Belladrums possession, giving them so large a share to the detriment of his own lands and tennants, what infatuation or simplicity made him condescend to this without deliberation, but feasted and insnared in the house of Rinmany. 7. That ever he yelded or concented to his sone the Masters match with Lessley of Levins daughther; such as sprang out of the dunghill and kennell, bad blood, bad principles, bad purchase, bad practices, which act posterity will repent and rue. This he could never heare off with patience. *Nulla fides pietasque viris qui castra sequuntur. Venalesque manus, ibi fas ubi maxima merces.*

No faith or conscience common souldiers carry,
Best pay is right then, bands are mercenary.

Hugh Lord Fraser of Lovat, his last farewell to this fond world!

Farewell, fond world, so vofull, full of care!
Map of all mourning, toil, trouble, and dispare.
The Race is run of mine abode with thee,
With joy I change to heavens eternity.
Cease, poets proud, min *Eulogies to frame,
From Elegies let all my friends refraine,

*εὐλογία honestas sermo praise.

For epitaphs and panagyrick verse
The . . . . . [?] eth one of Job doth well rehearse!
And doth declare in some degree my life.
How I did live 'mongst nighbours still but strife.
Not an o[ppre]ssor, nor covetous with greed,
But aye relieving orphants in their need;
Boath rich and poor may now declare with groanes,
I did not eat my morsel all alone.
Nor gold my god, nor yet my confidence,
But faith and truth my surest evidence.
The Churche I guarded, was the clergies stay,
The law I ownd, kept justice from decay.
A terrour to the evil, and a comfort
To rightious men whom I did still support.
No cries shall rise 'gainst my posteritye
But that my lands are conquest faithfullye.
I hope that God, my good and glorious Prince,
Shall care for them and still be their defence
Gainst graceless, godless rebels and all others,
For countrys ruin flocking aye together.
Send to the King, send to your friends along,
For help and aid for to revenge your wrong,
But as for me, to Heavens Im in the throng,
To God and angels there to shew your wrong;
And I assur yow all that are in griefe
Shortly from thence to yow shall come reliefe,
For to solace sad soules; yet confident,
And will reward neutralls indifferent,
And send a foil unto our mortall foes,
I say Amen, Amen, Lord, be it so.
Now my *Yule royall I will keep above
'Mongst saints and angels with the god of love.
Farewell, fond world, all friends I bid adue
Till they and I in glore our loves renue.

*Christmas, for he died 8 dayes before the feast of the Nativity.

Montross his project.

Now the Kings great generall, haveing his feathers this while bygone plumed victory (except the ruffle he got at Philiphaughs), flies forward amain, and, going to the Castle of Strathbogy to pay a visit to the Marques of Huntly, haveing

by messengers often fruitlesly solicited him, now invites him in smooth and gentle language to associat with him in the war for the safety of the King and kingdom, and gave him so full satisfaction in all things that, as being at last overcome, he gave him his hand and promises that not onely all his men but he himselfe would come in person in the head of them, and wait uppon him with all possible speed next April; and, for the better management of the war, they agreed, that Huntly, then wasting over the Spey, should make his way on the right hand by the sea cost of Murray, and Montross was to goe round about on the left hand through Strathspey, and so to besiege Inverness, a strong garrison of the Covenanters, on both sides. Haveing thus pactioned, they both part, and Montross goes to the Highlands to prepare his men for the enterprise.

Lord Lewis Gordons cruelty.

At this time Lord Lewes Gordon was Governour of the castell of Rothes, and, with a number of flight fellowes, horse and foot, ravaged up and down the country uppon all suspect persones, burning cornyards, and pillaging all townes and villages as he went through, putting taxes and stents uppon the people at his pleasur, still makeing his garrison at Rothes his center, for thither he sent his prey and pillage of cattell, cloaths, wool, flax, poultry; plunder of all sort fit for portage was carried away, so that all Murray betuixt Spey and Nesse was wasted by his flying party. Few fencible houses kept out, only the castell of Innes, Burgy, Inshochy; to these three severalls retired for safety. Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstoun was a good friend to many about him, and prevailed with Lord Lewis to spare the corns, especially in the parish of Duffes, Aves, and Cinedward. Some they favoured as their own, such as Innes of Most, Duncinty, Laird of Kocstoun, Captain Thomas [Mackenzie of] Pluscaden, and Tannachy Tulloch. Those indeed were loyall, but the Innesses, Brodyes, Dunbarrs, Kinards, nay the Stuarts and Rosses, were made a prey, for Lord Lewis was a merciless cruell man, and had his master burner with him, who uppon the sign given him would instantly set fire to the cornstacks, and put all in a flame. The barnyards of Geddes, Brody, Calder, Clava, Kilravock, and Castle Stuart, were all burnt to ashes; and the very

Castle of Lethem.

Burning the corns through Murray.

instant time in which Lord Hugh Fraser of Lovats corps wer interd at Mons Mariæ Chappell his great cornyard at Dalcross was all in a fire to our view. Of this inhumane fact I myselfe was eye and hundereds witnesses at that solemn buriall.

April 1646, Montross came over Spey.

In April Montross marched with his army over Spey to besiege Invernes, the most considerable garrison of the north, and the haven there most commodious for entertaining forreign forces. Now, had Huntly with his army come up to have blockt in that side of the town he undertooke to do, the garrison, for want of provision, had been forced to yield, nor durst other forces persue them. But he, triffling away his time in Murray without honour or profit, gave Major Generall Miedtown [Middleton] time to raise two regiments of horse and foot, and provid to march north. Montross, disparing of the Gordons, sat closs siege to Invernes the 29 of April 1646, fixt his gunns uppon the top of the old castlehill, called *Castrum vetus*, under a hathorn tree due east, and batters hot. The river foordable and litle, severalls of his horse and foot rallied out in scouts westward to the Aird, and surprised the people of Farnway, sowing their seed. Manny of the Mackenzies joind with Montross at this siege, and Mackdonalds too. I remember that Rory M'kenzie of Dochmiluag, with 6 horsemen, sallied out through the parish of Wardlaw, pillaging all along. He basely killed one John M'kgeorge, tennant in Phoppachy, and Thomas M'kthomas, an old man, miller to his own father in law, Hugh Fraser of Belladrum, at Rindowy. By providence the sea being at low ebb, all the people escaped through the lakes, thither no horse could venter, and so tooke refuge in Culbokyes sconce and Lovat, two convenient forts and strongholds. Lieutenant William Fraser, vulgarly William Geilach,[f] stopt the passe and common rode above Rindowy in Blarnigale, having 4 men in arms with him, takes out a great barrell of strong ale out of the drinking house, and sets it on the high rode and rids stradling over it, broaches the vessell and calls to all going by to drink the King's good health. Not a man, horse or foot, came near him for two dayes; some road by below him, some above, and

Besieged Inverness 29.

They sallye out to the countries round about.

[f] Highland William.

never any came neare him; all the while he appeared so formidable to Montross people. When he drunk a health it was accompanied with a shot; and there he continued like a centinell for some dayes untill the fury was over and all was setled and every man called back to his post at the siege of Invernes. Meantime, I shall say that betuixt the bridge end of Inverness and Gusachan, 26 miles, there was not left in my countrie a sheep to bleet, or a cock to crow day, nor a house unruffled; so severe was the depredation, onely the garrishones were safe and preserved mens lives: 1. the garrishon of Inverness; 2. the sconce of Wardlaw, built be William Fraser of Culboky; 3. the fort of Culboky; 4. the fort of Beuly; 5. the Isle of Ages [Aigas]; 6. the Doun of Litle Struy; these 6 preserved thousands of soules, men, women and children, who had recourse for safety to these fortes to preserve their lives, otherwayes all had perished in the fury of this surprise and onesett; *proh dolor.*

Meantime, the siege of Inverness continues, the garrison defending most valiantly, securing the skirts of the city, burning the stone houses and kills [kilns] near the bridg end south-west, to prevent shelter for the enemy. They were well stored within, and as well without, yet enemies in both their . . . [?] Montross, a wise and valiant generall, acted his part stoutly, but had no supply, and therefore full of feare, and zealously advertising Huntly often (who had notice of his straites) yet receaved no answeir from him but what relisht of scornfullness. Nay, so farr off were the Gordones from affoording him assistance, that Montross, haveing sent three troops of horse to lie at the foords of Spey to observe the motion of the enemy, and if they came, to send him often and certain intelligence, Lord Lewis, Huntlies sone, who then commanded the castle of Rothes, invited the captaines to a banquet in his castle, persuading them to leave off their needless guards, and that the enemy lay very farr off, where with dainty cheer and store of wine he detaind them so long till G. Ma. Midleton, with 600 horse and 800 foot had got over the Spey, and marched through Murray; so that if Montross had not got notice another way, he would have a sharper bout now than he had at Selkirk and Philiphaugh. But, whither by Midletounes

Montross surprised, raises the siege, May 5.

gentill connivance, or some other chance, the trumpets sounded two miles or more beyond Ness, the nearest end of Petty, which allarmd Montrosse his camp, that he escaped beyond the Ness, and mannaged his retreat so well, that with little losse, he came to the Capplach, and so marched with his few forces safe over the Stock foord of Rosse, and leagured two miles above Beuly, in the Wood of Farly, May 7.

Setles his camp at Farly in Ross.

The great Montross, the Kings Generall in Scotland, is forced thus to raise his siege at Inverness, knowing his enemies too strong for him in horse, leaving his camp open for his foes, with all provision and ammunition; but that which troubled him most, his two brasen ordnance cannons, which he got in gift from the Earle of Newcastle, lost also uppon their rests, which were taken in to Inverness, and lay uppon the street near the cross and Court of Guard for 6 yeares thereafter; which I have often seen and handled; never removed till the English came there 1651. I shall not deny but Midletoun was well content that Montross escaped his fingers. He rides in to Inverness with his victorious train, horse and foot, welcomed and well treated there; and, after refreshing his forces, without delay marches out, and forward through the parish of Wardlaw, and leagured that night in the Moore of Blair in Cuinligh, a litle above the Stockfoord of Ross, and Montross in his view opposit to him, encamped in Strachines wood in Fairle. Next morrow they treated and corresponded one with another by their messingers and trumpets. The two camps, directly in view one of another still, Midletoun as much affraied of Montrosse as Montross was of him; dallying time thus for two dayes, and nothing threatned less than a set day for a pitcht battell betuixt the two generalls. Meantime, Montross, after refreshing his forces, timous in a morning fireing his camp, escaped to the mountaines. The first thing that alarmd Middleton was the great smoake appearing, and an account that he was gone. I set down this to satisfy my reader, being myselfe present, and an eyewittness of all this account which here I have written.

G. Midlton marches to Ross.

Sir James Fraser of Brey, tutor of Lovat, after giving entertainment to Midletoun and his cheefe officers at Lovat, con-

voyed him in great state over the ferry of Bewly, and so forward down through Ross, 600 horse; Brahan Castle was fortified, and alsso Reedcastle, fit enugh for a flying army; and I remember that going by Redcastle, Rory M'kenzie, landlord there, came out with a few friends and waited uppon Midltoun, takeing a drink in the green, and no more; and a single horseman came to the gate of the castell and called out for Mr. William Dun, an Aberdens man, schoolmaster there, and, after a shoort discourse, both parted. Midltown, marching forward, and Sir James Fraser with him, came that night to Chanry with his forces, quher they quartered; and finding that the Bishops Castle there, a brave strong house, was possessed by the M'kenzies, ordered them to deliver up that house, which presently they did; and the generall delivered the keyes to Sir James Fraser of Brey, which he keept for some yeares, putting a garrison therein the next spring, which bred emulation 'tuixt the two clans, as hereafter I shall declare and discover in its own place. G. Middleton, diverting himselfe a while there, went to Cromerty to see that castle, and then returnd back the way he went, doing no great hurt in an enemyes country, and with a very slow march went forward to the south.

Returnd again south with his army.

Here we may see and behold a bitter and unnaturall contest. It is not so much *Scotus contra Scotum*, one Scotsman against another, but one nighbour against another, brother against brother, the sone in law against the father in law, Ephraim against Manasse, and Manasse against Ephraim. Israel is not true to Judah, the renting of the ten tribs from the two hath made both the two and the ten miserable. We are all bretheren, both by fathers and mothers side; it is more than enugh that both our fallings out hath been a greefe to both our parents, proceeding yet our bretheren shall smart for all. Whither we be victors or vanquished, we may beshrew ourselves. Let us think we may behold our mother calling to us to stay our quarrells, and to lay down the cause at her feet, otherways as Locusta told her two sones:—*Bella geri placuit nullos habitura triumphos*.. We undertake a war whose victory shall have a sorry triumph; let every starr in our orb know his station, and run his course without erring. O, let us pray

A reflection uppon our contention.

for the peace of Jerusalem; pray we that the deceaved may find their erroures, correct their opiniones, and submit their judgements and affectiones to the rule of truth; yea, that the wandering sheep may return, the goates become sheep, and be brought into one fold under one sheepherd. God, that is able to turn a stony heart into a heart of flesh, work this change uppon us all, unit all our hearts to himselfe, to one another, make up the breach tuixt sovereign and subject.

Mackenzies join with Montross in a Remonstrance.

Now, the Mackenzies, haveing joined openly with the Kings generall at the siege of Invernes, and that Ma. Gen. Midlteoun raised the siege and persued Montross the forsaid generall, they begin to avow their engagements with him; therefore, George, Earl of Seaforth, with a select number of his name, in the meantime that Midletoun was in Ross, went to the hills to meet Montross in a remoat secret place, where they entered in a bond off association, and formed a Remonstrance against the Solemn League and Covenant and all the owners thereof, from the highest piere that sate in the Councell of State to the lowest subject, and sent a coppy thereoff to the Mackdonels, Mackleods, Mackyes, Cathnes, Sutherland, Grants, M'kintoshes, Gordons, etc., Frasers, Camerons, etc. A duble also of this Remonstrance was sent to the Councell of State then sitting, and to the Comittee of the Kirk. This bred a great jealousy and commotion throughout the whole kingdom; the Steates, feareing that Montross would now convocat the Highlanders, and make up formidable forces and enter again into the heart of the kingdome, Major Generall Midleton is called south in heast, but be the way he besieged the Marques of Huntlyes two castles of the Bogg and Strathboggie, both which were surrendered to him; and, planting garrisones in both, he repares south again with his army.

Strathbogy Castle surrendered to Midletone.

Generall Assembly at Edinburgh, June 1646.

June 3, a Generall Assembly met at Edinburgh, and in the 2 Session the Kings letter is presented by Master Robert Douglass, minister at Edinbrugh, and openly read, showing them that, seing he could not conveniently send a commissioner to be present with them, assures them that his constant endeavour is to maintain religion as it is establised in doctrin, worship, and church government within this kingdom, recommending himselfe and the distracted of our kingdom to their

most earnest prayer to God in our behalfe, expecting their faithfullness and loyalty in their respective charges, which is the duty of every faithfull Christian, especiall ministers of the Gospell, biding them farewell, from Newcastell, May 28, 1646; for our trusty and well beloved the Moderatour and other members of the Generall Assembly of the Kirk of our kingdom of Scotland. 2. A strang act concluded uppon in their 1. Session concerning publick satisfaction of married persons for fornication committed before marriage. 3. Sessio. An ordinance for excommunication of the Earle of Seaforth.

Act for excommunication of the Earl of Seafort.

The Generall Assembly, haveing taken to their serious consideration that perfidious band, made and contrived in the North lately under the name of an Humble Remonstrance against our National Covenant and the League and Covenant of the 3 kingdoms, which tendeth to the makeing of division and fomenting of jealouses betwcen both kingdomes to the prolonging of those unnaturall wars, to the impeding of the intended uniformity in religion, and to the subversion of all the happy ends of our Covenant; and, finding that George, Earl of Seafort, has not onely most perfidiously himselfe subscribed the said wicked band, contrary to his solemn oaths in the Covenants aforsaid, and most arrogantly owned the same under his own handwritings in his letters to the Comittee of Estates, and to the commissioners of the preceeding Assembly, but also hath seduced and threatned others to subscrib that divisive band, and to join with him in prosecution of his treacherous and wicked designs therein masked with the pretences of religion and liberty; boasting also his pursuance of that Remonstrance against all deadly the opposers thereof whither King or Parliament. This, with another treacherous band of union which the said Earl treacherously entered into with that excommunicat rebel, James Grhame, after the sentence of forfaultry and the dreedful sentence of excommunication were pronounced against him, oblidging himselfe therein, under solemn oaths, to join with that forfaulted rebell against kirk and kingdom, and to oppose all their publike resolutions for persuance of the happy ends of our said Covenants. All which, with his vile, reproachfull aspersions and calumnies against the kirk and state, and their publik and lawfull

endeavoures and resolutions, with his other wicked and perfidious practices at length discovered in the proclamation of the Committee of Estate and the declaration of the Commission of Assembly against the said perfidious band and Remonstrance, together with his base treachery to the Estates, being intrusted by them with ample commission, and incurraged for discharging thereof with mony, ammunition, and arms in a good measur, notwithstanding whereof, contrary to the great trust put uppon him, it is notor that not onely he did not joyn with the forces raised for defence of this kingdom, but rather on the contrary actually joining himselfe and his forces with that excommunicat rebel, James Grahame, and these unnatural bloody rebells, his followers, did beleager Invernes, a town garrisoned by the Estate for defence of that part of the country, and, though all fair meanes have been used for reclaiming the said Earl from that wicked and perfidious course by publick declarations and proclamations, and particular letters sent to himselfe from those that had power in that behalfe, as also of summonds direct against him to answeir to the premisses, often called, he appeard not, but still remains obstinat in his wicked courses: and, after mature deliberation, having found his frequent, fearefull, and gross perjuries, his perfidious and wicked perjuries, by band and oath, with the publick enemies of this Kirk and kingdom, and his other treacherous and wicked practices so contemptuously and pertinaciously persisted unto, to be hynous offences against God, and high contempt against all ecclesiastical and civil authority; therefore the Assembly, moved with the zeal of God, do, without a contrary voice, decern and ordain the said Earl of Seaforth, George M'kenzie, to be summarly excommunicat and declared to be one whom Christ commandeth to be holden by every one of the faithfull as an ethnick and publican, and appoints the sentence of excommunication to be pronounced by Master Robert Blair, Moderator, in the East Kirk of this city, uppon the next Lords day, being the 14 of this moneth, and that thereafter publick intimation be made thereof upon a Saboth day, before noon in all the kirks of this kingdom so soon as advertisment shall come unto them.

Sentence of excommunication pronounced against Seaforth, June 14, 1646.

In this Assembly also an Act for censuring the complyers with the publick enemies of this Kirk and kingdom, and carried charge with the rebells, and accepted commissions for raiseing horse and foot unto them; those that have been penners, contrivers, publishers, of James Grahams proclamation for indicting a pretended Parliament, the same being full of blasphamies against the Solemn League and Covenant of the 3 kingdomes, and of vile aspersions of treason, rebellion, and sedition, most falsly imputed to the Estates and most faithfull and loyall subjects of this kingdom; and also those that procured protections from the rebells, executed their orders, to have invited them to their houses or given them intelligence, to have drunk James Grahames health, or to be guilty of any other such grosse degrees of complyance; that all and every one of them shall humbly acknowledge their offence upon their knees, first before the Presbitry, and thereafter before the congregation uppon a Saboth, before the pulpit, and in case of contumacy, and not satisfying in manner forsaid, that they be processd with excommunication, besids the civil punnishement inflicted uppon all such by the estates in their persones and meanes, forthwith to be executed.

A letter to the King's Majesty.

Act for renovation of the Commission for prosecuting the Treaty of Uniformity in England; and the Assemblies Answeir to the Kings Majesty subscribed in name of the National Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland by the Moderator, Master Robert Blair, the Assemblies letter to the Right Honorable the Lords and Commons in the Parliament of England assembled at Westminster, subscribed as forsaid; the Assemblies letter to the Right Honorable the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Counsell of the City of London; the Assemblies letter to the Right Reverend the Assembly of Divines in the Kirk of England assembled at Westminster, subscribed by the Moderator aforesaid; Act recommending all persones of integrity who suffered by the rebels, to the Commitee of Losses.

Committee of Losses.

The Kings Generall, the Marques of Montross, haveing now retired to the Highlands with his forces, there is a profound hust and silence in the north, a cessation of armes among clans and cuntries; the proceedings of the Estates and Assemblys

being so rigid against loyall persones (now termed rebels and malignants), that, though many of them would willingly rise and act for the king, are forced to lurk and be quiet, haveing so powerfull an adversary to graple with, a heavy yock uppon their necks, and enslaved to a submission; garrisones everywhere over their heads, troupes of horse quartered up and down the country, ministers for most part trumpeters, thundering threates from their pulpits against all noncompliers with Covenants and the Estates of the kingdom. The Earl of Seaforth, being under the sentence of excommunication, and severe censures sent out against all who correspond with him, appeares not openly, non conversing with him except some few of his own name. The Mackdonels and M'klods keep abstract at home; Ross, Sutherland, and Cathness, complying with the government in Church and State; Frasers, M'Kintoshes, and Grants, swayed by their chiftens and superiors, linked in the Association and Covenant; Sir James Fraser, tutor of Lovat, gives up his famely, being to goe south, purposeing to be at a point and agreement with Dame Anna Lessly, Mistress Dowager of Lovat, and also to give up the losses sustaind in this country by armies and incursions, knowing that others are getting reparation.

The famelie of Lovatt disperst

Meantime, there is a great mortality within that nobil famely at Lovat; for, besids the death of the brave Master Simon, his brother William, Hugh, late Master of Lovat, Lord Hugh, his father, one every year successively, most of the servants dyed, 5 or 6 in one month, viz., James Fraser, Master Hector Fraser, John M'khimmy, John Fraser M'kjames, William Clerk, and Alexander Mackjames. Thomas Fraser, sone to my Lord Lovat, to divert himselfe (being now 15 yeares of age), is gone to Ross and Sutherland, and, resolving to setle a while with his sister Kate, the Lady Dunbeth. James Fraser, younger sone to my Lord Lovat, being now 13 yeares of age, is tabled with Alexander Fraser, Foines, Governour of Lovat, and to be at school with Mr. John Houstoun at Kirkhill. Alexander, the Master of Lovat, is called south to his uncle John, Earl of Weemes, a very leading peer off the times, whose project it was to procure him a post in the army, being now 20 yeares of age. Sir James of Brey, having obtained the

Sir James Fraser of Brey goes south.

concent and concurrance of all the curators of the Estate of Lovat for selling the barony of Kinmilies to Collonell Hugh Fraser of Kinaries, purchases an act of Parliament in his own favoures also to that effect, for strengthening his right, and so agrees with Collonell Fraser, giveing over the heritable right of that barrony to him, and also the heritable right of the lands of Kingily to William Fraser of Culboky, and the heritable right of Belladrum to Hugh Fraser, then tacksman of the saids davach of land; sold the davach of Buntait to the Chisholm of Commer; and made up 50 thousand marks. And now Sir James of Brey is tutor of Lovat, sole superiour of the country, sways in grandeur beyond any lord we ever had, is a great minion at Court, the Marques of Argiles creatur, carressd by all; the Kings cause weak, the Covenanters carry all. When he came to Edinburgh is attended like a prince, calls a meeting with the Lord Leven, agrees with him anent his daughters jointur, and, with the concent of all concernd, curators and others, gave her present advance of 45 thousand marks in a cut for her jointur, a very considerable soume indeed; but as the proverb is, Better finger off than ay bleeding, far more profitable for the estate off Lovat to dispense with a skirt of the lordship to clear that lady off at once, than the yearly advance of 8 thousand marks jointur, which in 20 or 30 yeares might consume all. Whatever character men might put uppon other actions and undertakeings of Sir Jameses, this was weisly doon, and approven of all. So that this dowry is cut off, and the next month thereafter Lady Anna Lessly is married to Sir Ralph Sidden off Dalavill, a considerable knight, liveing near Newcastle. This grand affair being brought to a happy period.

The Master of Lovats Lady cleared off, for £2500 sterling.

The next thing that Sir James pursues was to make application to the Lords of the Commitee of Losses, and, haveing good friends there, he is soon heard, and, giving up a list of the losses which this country sustained by the flying armyes under Montross and others, it amounts to the soume of 10,000 libs, and, by the major vote of the Committee, there was 10 thousand marks alloted for him to be distributed amongst the Lord Lovats tennants that suffered the loss of cattell and goods, and a bill drawn uppon the Exchequer for a

The losses of the country repaired.

ready advance. This soume lay in Argiles hands, well enugh secured, and Sir James, at his return home, agreed with the persones loased, leaveing localities in their own hands of their dutys to compense their losses, and the monny continued in Argiles hands untill the yeare 1659, in which the Lord Lorn advanced it to Major Beatman, who had married Miss Jean Fraser, Sir James his eldest daughter, who had no offspring, so that portion and parties perished.

The young Lord Lovat setled in Weemes.

Hugh, Lord Lovat, a young child of about 3 yeares of age, is now taken to the Earle of Weemes, his grandfathers custody, who most kindly cared for him, his mother, the Lady Dalavil, being now gone for England with her husband, Sir Ralph, and the Estate of Lovat most happily free of her trouble by the forementioned agreement; so that now, if God send peace and good administrators, this great famely may yet flourish.

The Master of Lovat, Alexander, haveing gone south also this summer, and his good friend and cousin, Mr. William Fraser of Phoppachy, with him, he stayed for the most part in his uncles famely at Weemes, and, being wearried with long delayes and fruitless expectations of a setlement, he at last expostulated with the Earl of Weemes, whey he was sent for to the North, and after his tedious stay about his famely, betuix your Lordship and my other uncle, Sir James of Bray, I am frustrat of my hopes, slighted and neglected by yow all, and nothing done for me nor kept up according to my quality; and, though yow were not my uncle but one of the noble curators of the house of Lovat, yow are concerned to care for my credit and contrive some way of honourable living for me, and if I be thus used any longer, and that yow provoke me to return north again, I will purchase for my selfe, and turn John Dow Gare among yow at last. My Lord Weemes could not understand what he meant by John Dow Gare, and asked Mr. William Fraser who this was? He told his Lordship that this John was a notorious leading robber and outlaw that troubled all the North with excursions, and never traveled without 20 stout fellowesattending him well armed, put a tax uppon townes and villages as he went through, and made all compon with him, bribing him with loane and soumes of mony; and, my Lord,

The Master of Lovats contrivance to gett a captaines commission.

yow will do well to mollify his temper and prevent his youthly forward and froward designs, for if he once take it in his head, being my Lord Lovats sone, he will get manny to follow him, and if he join with the rebels, he may creat trouble enough, and anger yow all. The Earle of Weemes, takeing this seriously to heart, called for the tutor, Sir James of Bray, and, consulting together, they procured the Master of Lovat a commission to be captain of a troop of horse in Sir David Lesslys regiment, where he wanted for nothing, a statly horse, good garb, gold, and mony. It is true the hand of Joab was with him in this, but afterwards it was neither remembered nor requitted by him to the forsaid Mr. William Fraser, who brought him south uppon his own cost and charges.

2 Samuel 14: 19.

Now is the Kings Generall, Montross, takeing fresh currage uppon some hopes which he hath of recruits and reinforct again from the M'kleans, Camrons, M'kdonells, Stuarts of Appin, and Athol men, so that he is induced again to advertise the Earl of Seaforth and his M'kenzies of his resolution, and to make use of his artefice to influence his nighboures round about to be in a readiness forthwith to rise at a call to accompany the General and make a body, join the Gordons, and carry all along with him southwards. Seaforth sends message to the Mackdonalds of the Isles, Mackleuds, and Macky, and meantime sent Rory M'kenzie of Dochmiluag over to Lovat to meet with the Frasers, now in absence of Sir James of Bray, their tutor, if they could be inclined to join with them in this jointur. I happened to be att Lovat then, the 20th of July. Dochmiluag crossed in a litle coble at the Barnyards, where Thomas Fraser, Struy; the balief, Hugh, younger of Struy; Culboky, Belladrom, Clunvacky, Rilick, Foyer, Boblenzie, and many mo walkt east out of Lovat, and mett him upon the banck, who delivered his message to them with great freedom. Old Struy, being the cheefe and prime person there, gave him this answeir:

Rory M'kenzie of Dochmiluag sent messenger to Lovat.

Sir, yow are sent to us with a message, as it seemes, from your cheefe. I hope he doth not question us, who were ever kindly nighboures to him and all round about us, and we were ever known to be faithfull, loyall subjects, and who dare doubt us now in this juncture, the Frasers haveing given proofe

Thomas Fraser of Struy's answeir.

The battell of Rosslin fought be Fraser 1302.

of their loyalty in the worst of times when the two kingdomes were in open warr in the quarrel of King Robert the Bruce, quhen the Fraser fought 3 battles in one day, and carried them at Rosslin, and soon after Lord Simon of Lovat lost his life at London, with Sir John Logan, for his loyalty; and if now the League and Covenant be a test of dissloyalty, the whole kingdom is ingaged with us, and the Mackenzies first urged as well as joined with us in that oath; and now to desert us, as it is a surprise uppon us, so it is too late. 2. To invit and call the Frasers to join with yow in a Remonstrance, a band of that nature is against the civil and ecclesiastick constitution. The Earle of Seaforth being now under the sentence of excommunication pronunced against him by the Church, and publick intimation made thereof in all the churches of the kingdom, and also under the censur of the civil magistrat, itts no way safe for any subject, but rather great danger and hasard, to concurr, nor yett to commun, with him uppon any mater. 3. That yow say the Kings cause and interest is now weake and at stake, and therefore fit to give it a lift. Our rising and appearance for him may well ruin us and not raise him at this instant time, and shortly it will appeare if Montrosse, the Kings Generall, prevail, we as well as others will not onely be free but forced to rise and join him, and a very short time will determin the event and sucess of his project. 4. And finally, the Frasers at this time want a head, and so can do nothing rashly of or by themselves, the Lord Lovat but a young child, 4 yeares current, Sir James Fraser of Bray, tutor of Lovat, the superiour of the country, ingaged at south, and also Alexander Fraser, Master of Lovat, absent there. So that we can give no positive answeir to any proposition untill their return, but wish well to the royall interest, and pray God prosper and preserve the King. Allexander Fraser of Foiness, Captain of the garrison of Lovat, being impatient, expresed himselfe thus. I will declare with Elihu that dayes should speake and multitud of yeares should teach wisdom. I said I will answeir also my part, I also will shew min opinion, for I am full of mater, the spirit within me constraineth me, behold my belly is as wine which hath no vent, it is ready to burst like new botles. I must speake that I may be refreshed, I will open my lips and answeir,

Job 32: 7, 17, 18, 19.

let me not I pray yow acceptt any mans person, neither let me Job 32 : 20, 21.
give flattering titles unto man, for I know not care not to flatter. Then he applied himselfe in Irish: *Ruory chuoillich hanig tu le teachterachti shuid aggis ta gaulis aggid duin*, Rory, yow are come with a message to us, and yow have malice at us.[1] It is a bold impudence, nay, insolence, in yow to undertake a commission to us whom yow love not, and we care very litle for yow; we cannot trust yow, for few of your own friends do. Your sword but latly dropt with the bloud of our poor, innocent nighboures in your transcursiones through this country, and your tongue now drop flattering compalations to us. I am limited by the law of nations to have a respect to embassies and messingers that passe betuixt countries and clans, otherwayes, as Samuel did to Agag, I would with my own hand hew yow in pieces before the Lord as your reward, that yow might 1 Sam. 15. 33.
confesse with Adonibezeck, as I have done so God hath requitted Judg. 1. 7.
me. Yow openly avowed and owned the common cause and quarrel at Aldearn, and clandestinely joined with Montrosse at the siege of Inverness, that yow might ravage as a rageing wolfe throught his country, and kill poor, old, harmless and armles men in a flight to save their lives: *egregium vero laudem et spolia ampla reffertis!* Yow may glory in and be vein off your vassalage; do yow think, Rory, that the great Montross trusts yow? He sees now that he hath very bad success since the Mackenies mingled with him, *lapsus in initio mali augurij est*, a bad omen to the cause. Yow were stout Covenanters last yeare, and quhat are yow now? That oath lyes upon yow, but God will not be mocked, nor juggled with. If the design of the Covenant be wrong and a pretence, God will judge, discover, and revenge it; nor do I think that Montross doth court yow, knowing yow so well alrady; and came yow here to pump us? I hop we are not so shallow; is this your kindness to your friend? haveing got a wife from us did yow plow with that hiefer? Your father-in-law here is an Achan in our camp, betraying us, discovering our secret intrigues to yow, but he shall do so no more perhaps. We had litle confidence in yow

[1] *A Ruadhraidh ghaolaich, thainig tu le teachdaireachd thugainn, agus tha gamhlas agad dhuinn*: Rory, my beloved, you have come with a message to us, but you bear malice toward us.

before, but now being excommunicat we cannot correspond with yow. True, yow M'Kenzies are my mother kin, and I should love yow, but it is doing good for evil, for I expect non from yow. Your name have ever jealoused the Frasers, becaus time out of mind they have done greater acts of loyalty than ever yow were capable off; yow envy our strongholds and forts, haveing non such yowr selves; but they were not built in rebellion, but for the safety and preservation off the country against supplanting nighboures. Now go home, Rory, and looke to your cowes in Glen Orrin, a fit employ for yow; but forget not to give an impartiall account of quhat was told yow here.

I was myselfe present at the time, eye and ear wittness to what passed betuixt Captain Alexander Fraser of Lovat and Rory Dochmiluac, whom he made as mute as a maide, and turnd as peale as a peach, and under a pannick feare, his leggs trembled under him going in to his boat; so that I can judge he came not back with such a message. This Alexander off Foines was a bold, dareing man, feared no flesh, and had the sole government of the fort of Lovat, and of all other fortes of the country up and down, to regulat them all at his pleasur, and also commendant of the forces, muster master of the men in armes, haveing a wonderfull dexterity to mannage all those posts successively when occasion offered, and had so much awe and authority that all persones of whatever degree were obedient to him and ready at his call. He fixt a watch in the hight of the country, the first that ever we had, and had his deput captain under him, so that sorrners and vagabounds durst not incroach uppon us. His brother, Collonel Fraser, wondered at his conduct, and oft averred that he had as much skill in warlick maters as if he had been a traind soldier in France or Germany. In a word, he had as much sway and superiority no less absolut then if he were lord or master of Lovat, keeping a house and table as hospitall as any barron, and a rettinue conform; nor could any man observe that he was vain of his place or power. At Craig Ellachy, uppon the banks of Spey, when the host lay there, and Montross his highlanders opposit to them on the south side, the scoutes in the reflecting on upon a troch [*sic*] would ask who is your chiften;

Alexander Fraser off Foines a martial spirit.

they replyed Alexander M'Koll; the other party would ask, and who is yowres? Alexander Roy Fraser Mackoll would say, truly there are not two such Alexanders in the King or Covenanters camp, and that was no lye; the one would invit the other to meet at a certain place; at last they stole an oportunity of a congress, and tooke their bottle of fraternity, and parted intimat friends, keeping closs correspondance ever after. This I had from C. Alexander Fraser his own mouth.

Till now we have beheld the famous Marques of Montross ascending the zenith of power and promotion; but casualties falling out, parasits and flatterers stepping in, occasion changes at Court, and the favourits of great Princes find often cause of feares. Some buzing into his eares that his deserts were farr greater then his rewards; but *meritum sibi parit mercedem.* Without suscitation, scruple, or stint he resolves to make his progress over all the North Country, and compassed the Highlands, and had er the closur of June secured most of the chiftens of clanns, marching through with a considerable party, dayly listing souldioures, to incurrage the well disposed and to reduce those that were refractory. But whilest he was bussie about his designs, being in Cro Marr, there came a herald unto him from the King (who, I kno not by what missfortun, had cast himselfe uppon the Scotish Covenanters at Newcastle) whereby he was required forthwith to lay down his arms and disband and depart into France, and there to wait his Majesties further pleasur. He, being astonished at this unexpected message, bitterly bevailed the sad condition of the King, that had forced him to cast himselfe uppon the mercy of his deadly enemies; yet, not to be guilty of that crime, especially lest the Covenanters should put his actions uppon the Kings accounts and use him the worse for them, seing they had him in their power, he, according to the King's command, disbanded his army, and disposes of his affaires and himselfe another way.

The Kings message to Montross.

This renowned James Graham, Marques of Montross, was extracted from the ancient and famous famely of the Scotish Gramij, whose valiant and loyal actiones have eternised their names to all posterity. His grandfather and father were advanced by King James 6. and King Charles the 1. into places of the greatest honnour of the kingdom, which they

A short description of the Marques of Montross.

most happily discharged with the love and good affection both of King and people. This honorable person, whose life we relate, persisting in his predecessors steps, may give us cause to think that vallour and loyalty were entailed on that famely. The first honor the King conferred upon him was to be his high Commissioner to the Parliament in Scotland; shortly after emitted his declaration for the King against the Covenanters, and, joining with the Irishes, and the addition under Kilpont, and for his vindication he caused Mr. Sibbald preach upon that text of the Reubinits and Josh. 22. 22. Gadits: The Lord God of Gods, the Lord God of Gods he knoweth, and Israel he shall know, if it be in rebellion, or if in transgression against the Lord, save us not this day. Where, at Tippermoor, near Pierth, he obtaind a great victory, his souldiers for want of arms and ammunition makeing use of the stones lying advantagiously on the fighting ground, killing no less than 2000 men of the Covenanters under the command of Tullibarn, Elcho, and Drummond; quherupon Pierth city opend her gates to the Conquerour. Then makes an incursion into Argyle, quher he makes miserable havock, and next February fought the battle of Inverlochy, routes Argyl, killing 1500 uppon the place. Next he defeats the other army, quhich he defeated at Brechin under the comand of General Hurry; afterward offers battle to Baily; then marches after Hurry, who had recruited, and, having taken Dundee in his way, discomfits him at Aldern in May, killing 1800, and dispersing the rest. Seekes out Baily, to whom was joind Earl of Lindsay, and at Alford hills forced them to fight, utterly routed them, and obtaind a remarkable victory, and 1200 killed. After this comes to St. Johnston, where he alarmd the Parliament there sitting, and so forward. At this time very strick acts were made against the Gypsies, being so numerous and uneasy to the kingdom, so that the prime of them offer their service to Montross, who accepted of them, being pretty men, Browns, Balifs, and Faas; and at a place called Kilsith sets uppon the great army under Baily, and, after a very cruel battle, in conclusion success and victory cround Montross's head, and 6000 of his enemies were slain in this fight. The Covenanters fought very resolutly, but the

fortun of Montross still prevailed. The nobility now everyquher assist him, the towns and cities declare for him, so that the kingdom which afforded men and assistance for the invasion of another kingdom was not now able to defend itselfe. Montross, being seased of all places of strength even as farr as Edinbrugh, where the royall prisoners were delivered to him, going forward to England, at Philipshaugh was surprised by David Lesly, who fell upon him before he could retreat; but Montross resolutly charged through, brought the flying remaines of his army safe into the Highlands, quher he began new levies. Besieged Invernes in May 1646 yeares. But now the fortun of the King failing everywhere, he was that August ordered by the King, then in the Scots custody, to disband and depart the kingdom within a month, as it was articld betuixt the King and the Covenanters, and that they should find him shipping with provision and all things necessary. But they, seekeing to circumvent him, sent him no ship for his transportation untill the last day allowed for his stay; the ship itselfe ill victualled and worse rigged. So that, when Montross shewed himselfe ready to depart, the master of the ship told him that he must have some dayes allowed him to pitch and rig his ship before he durst venter himselfe to the wind and waves. Moreover, there lay great English ships of war every day in sight about the mouth of the River Esk, by which he was to pass, attending there in favour of the Covenanters, for their much desired prey and booty, that by no meanes he might escape their hands.

Montross ordered to disband and depart out of the kingdom.

Montross, now smelling out their designs, had sent some beforehand to search diligently the havens in the North, who by good fortun in the haven of Stanhiv found out a small bark of Bargen in Norway, the master whereof was soon agreed with; thither sent Montross severall of his friends whom he knew could not be safe for never so short a wheil in that country; and they, on the 3 of September 1646, haveing a good wind, put forth to sea for Norway; and that same evening Montross himselfe, accompanied onely with one James Wood, a worthy preacher, by a small cockboat got into a bark which lay at anchor without the haven off Montross; and, being clad in a course suit, the Lord and patron passed for

Montross sailes over to France.

the chaiplains servant. This great loyall general, haveing cleared himselfe out of his enemies hands, went over to France safely, where, by the generall concent of the princes of the blood and the rest of the nobility, he was designed Captain Generall of all the strangers in that kingdom, a pleace of great honour and trust; but Cardinal Mazarin, a professed enemy to Scots in France, thuarting his designs, he tooke his journay into Holland, where the Prince then was in pursuit of his former intentions. But Duk Hamilton, a name fatall to the house of the Stewards, who formerly was his irreconcilable enemy, was now his competitor; so that Montross, seing no good to be done, traveled up into Germany, and so to Austria, and at the Court of Vien he was courtiously entertaind by his Emperiall Majesty Ferdinand 3; and, among other severall honours conferred on him there, he profered him freely the command of ten thousand men for a standing army against the Swede; but, peace being concluded betuixt these two potentates, this was prevented; and so he traveled over the Alps into Italy.

Now the King's affaires, breathless and gasping to death in Scotland, this great soul of it being gone, all the loyalists disprited, designs on foot for forfaulting, imprisoning, banishing the leading peers, a sad bondage and heavy yock now wreathed about honest mens neck, troops of horse dispersed all over the north, and the time serving clargy praying for success to the forces, all strickly noticed who reflect uppon the Covenant. Garrisones planted up and down the kingdom by order of the states; a garrison planted in Dounfarmlins house at Fivy, another in the Marques of Huntlies castle of Bogg of Gight and Strathbogy; a garrison planted in the Castle of Braan uppon Seaforts nose, one Captain Scott, governour. The Earl of Seaforth designing to leave Rosse and goe to Lewis, the remoatest of all his interest. Sir James Fraser of Bray, governour of the garrison of Inverness, and also of the Bishops Castle in Chanory of Rosse; his commission to both these is to commense the current year 1647. The fort of Lovat strickly kept yet, and all the gentlemen in the country had their particular apartments within the great house, Struy, Belladrum, Bobleny, Rilick; and Alexander

Garrisons planted in the North.

Fraser, the governour, lodged in the great low Hall, with his numerous train. The M'kenzies are become so ill-natured to Frasers that Mr. William Fraser, minister at Killernan, was forced to leave his parish and come over to Lovat, and got the masters chamber, quher he bestowed his domicells, continueing there untill there was some setlement in the countries.

Now, the King being with the Scotish army at Newcastle, and no forces standing out for him in all the three kingdomes in field or garrison, the last who stood out for him were the Marquis of Ormond in Ireland, and the Marques of Montross in Scotland; and both these by the King's command desisted their hostilities. The Scots, in the next place, to draw the King in the last snare, they tender their Covenant to him, pretending that unless he would take that they durst not bring him to Scotland. This the King refused not if they would first satisfie those scruples concerning church government which lay uppon his conscience; which to effect, they employed Mr. Alexander Henderson, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, the oracle of the Kirk, to converse with the King. The first paper that past from his Majesty to Henderson anent the reformation of the Church of England was at Newcastle, May 29, 1646; Master Hendersones reply to the King, highly approving his tenet, was June 3 the same yeare. The Kings 2 paper was June 6, Mr. Hendersones duply to the King June 17; his Majestys 3d paper was June 22, Mr. Hendersons 3 paper concerning the authority of the Fathers and practice of the Church was July 2. His Majesties 4 paper was July 3, and his Majesties 5 paper was July 16, in all which the King mannaged the disput from Scriptur, primitive fathers, and practice of the Church, so accuratly, to Mr. Hendersons admiration, that his Majesties parts being so great and cause so good which made all Mr. Hendersones attempts successless, and so succumbd in the disput, and might be called a royall proselit. These papers that passed betuixt the King and him may be seen at length in the closur of εἰκὼν βασιλικὴ, the Kings book, to which I recommend my reader.

The disput tuixt the King and Mr. Alexander Henderson at Newcastle, July 1646.

Whilst the King is att Newcastle the bargan was struck at London betuixt the Parliament and Scotch Commissioners;

Propositiones presented by the Parliament to the King, July 24.

and for 200,000 £ the Scotch delivered up the King to the English Parliament; yet, to mask their perfidy, the Scots added this caution, that there should be no attempt made uppon the Kings person, but, being entertaind at one of his own palaces, he should be there treated with uppon propositions from both nations, which should be spedely sent to him.

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[Here follows the further history of Charles I. till his death.]

Irelyand being now under a deep chon [?] are up in armes, under the conduct of the Marques of Ormond; and Scotland in the same circumstance, which breeds terror to the Juncto at Westminster. Duke Hamilton being prisoner in England, the Marques G. Gordon of Huntly retreates to Strathdown, and there lurks, expecting that all the loyalists will instantly covocat. M'kleuds, M'kdonells, M'kleans, are waiting advertisement. As for the Frasers, Grants, M'kintoshes, the troopes are continually lying upon their necks, so that they dare not budge. The Earle of Seaforth takes shipping at Cromarty, escaped over into Holland, and is now with the king,[1] and hardly survived his woyage when he sickned at Roterdame, where his ague and a complex of malladies seased and confined him all this year. Sir James Fraser, tutor of Lovat, being now at south, and haveing man'd the Bishops Castle at Chanory in Rosse by putting a garrison there to his small credit, deriving his power from the State, the M'Kenzies invites Lieutenant Hugh Fraser, the governour, to a treat, surprised the centinells, ceases the house and possesses it, dismissing the souldiers and their officers, who came over to Inverness, the said town being garrisond at the order of the States by Sir James Fraser, governour off the same. At the same time the Marques of Huntly, being now at Dallin Boo [Dalnabo] in Strathdown, *sine timore non sine fraude*, without feare, not without fraud, is betrayed by his supposed trusty friend, Alexander Innes of Condraught, and Major Menzies,

Chanory Castle taken.

[1] Charles II.

a base villan, by order of the State takes him prisoner, and convoyes him to Edinbrugh, and delivered him, knowing whose errand he went to get mony, the wages off iniquity, to himselfe. At this time there is a printed proclamation thrown about the streets of London, showing there were loyalists through England that would keep the old path. The tenour was this: We the Noblemen, Judges, Knights, Lawyers, Gentlemen, Ministers, Freeholders, Citizens, Marchants, etc., and other freemen of England, doe according to our alleageance and covenant by these presents do heartily, joifully, and unanimously acknowledge and proclame the illustrious Charles, Prince of Wales, next heir of the blood royall to his blissed father King Charles, whose late wicked and traiterous murder, we do from our soules abominat, and all parties and consenters thereto, to be by hereditary birthright and lawfull succession rightfull and undoubted King of Great Brittain, France, and Ireland, and the Dominions thereto belonging, and that we will faithfully, constantly, and sincerly, in our severall places and callings, defend and maintain his royal person, crown, and dignities, with our estates, lives, and last drop of our bloud, against all opposers thereoff, whom we do hereby declare to be traitors and enemies to his Majesty and kingdomes: In testimony quherof we have caused and ordered these to be published and proclaimed through all countries and corporations of this realm, the . . . day of February, the first year of his Majesties reign. God save King Charles the II.

Proclamation for King Charles 2. in England.

The Estates and Parliament of Scotland representing the nation, receaveing this proclamation, do now, with all manifestation and expressions of sorrow, bewail and deplore the Kings murder, and on the 10 of February testify the truth of their constant alleadgeance to the crown, did in most solemn manner proclame his sone, King Charles the 2, at Edinburgh, the Cross there being hung with tapestry, and their Parliament Lords in their robs, the Chancelour himselfe reading the proclamation to the King-at-Arms. The night concluded the same with all usuall demonstrations of joy and gladness.

Proclamation in Scotland.

At this instant the Lord Loughborrow, brother to the Earl of Huntington, Collonel Tuke, Collonel Hammond, Sir Frances

King at Hague.

Heath, gave them the slip from Windsor, and so escaped to Holland. The King, now keeping his Court at the Hague, furnished with blacks and other mournfull emblems of his fathers death, at the charge of the Prince off Aurange, whose most signall kindness to the royall famely must not passe without a due commemoration. The Kings attendance here were the Marques of Montrosse, the Lord Hopton, Lord Wilmot, Lord Culpepper, Lord Wentworth, Sir Edward Nicolas, Sir Edward Hide.

At the sorrowfull and murnfull tidings of the King's death in Holland, Marquis of Montross wrot these lines with the point of his sword on the sands :—

> Great, Good, and Just, Could I but rate
> My greefe, and thy so rigid fate,
> I 'd weep the world to such a straine
> As it should deluge once again !
> But since thy loud-tongued blood demands supplies,
> More from Briareus hands then Argues eyes,
> Ile sing thy obsequies with trumpet sounds,
> And writ thy epitaph with blood and wounds !

Some writ that though the King had not the courteous invention of an epitaph by any of his friends to memorize him, that he [Montrose] was so zealous of the fame of his great master, Charles I., that with the point of his sword he wrot those lines.

Feb. 22 [1649], the Mackenzies and Mackyes and others got to a head, haveing mustered 700 horse and foot for the Kings service, in a compleit body crossed over the Ferry Kessok, and randivousing at Markinsh, in view of Inverness, about 9 in the morning Collonell Hugh Fraser, living then in Kinmilies, joined them with his retinue, and so they march forward towards Kill Baine,[1] and crossed the foord above the Isle of Inverness, the river being extream litle (a good providence to their cause), then they drew up in a battallian above the town at Aldniskiach, whence they directed a trumpet and two single horsemen very martially with a message to the garrison to surrender. Major Murray, deput governour under

[1] The ancient name of the western part of Ballifeary, Inverness.

Sir James Fraser of Bray, now at south (who was Collonell) goes about to secure the portes aud put the fort in a fensible postur. The whole town in a confusion, not knowing whom to owne. The Major in the first place sets uppon secureing the castle street gate towards the south, where the besiegers lay, and, being bussied ordering the pillisads, a beame of wood fell uppon his brow and wounded him sore, which raised his passion and rankled him, a bad omen and introduction. A muteny was made in the streets by his souldiers as he returnd from the port; one Sarjant John M'Kenzies, a pretty man, having a sword in his hand, obviates the Major, who, drawing his pistoll, shot him dead through the heart, and fell instantly uppon a dunghill midding, and expired gasping. I can averr this for truth, being myselfe, with one John Cuthbert, my schoolfellow, closs by him, and got sparkles of his bloud uppon our cloathes, a mark of loyalty. The Major cryed out, Take thow that for heading a muteny. One Lieutennant Eneas M'kdonell was another of the muteiners who narrowly escaped the Majors fingers; haveing got one to appologiz for him, being the Cornols foster brother, bearing his liverey. The Major steping down the street met Lieutenant William Forbes, who told him that the magistrates had obscured themselves to shift him, and were not to be trusted, and therefore to look to himselfe and escape; uppon the east side of the Court of Guard stood Captain Cranstown ahorseback, with his troop drawn up in the street, who called with a loud voice, Major Murray, instantly horse and be gone, else yow are betrayed. In a trice they all road away in heast, and out at the east street, leaving the town as a prey to the invaders. The magistrates caused open the castle Port, making it patent to them whom they welcomed as loyall persones. My father, Mr. William Fraser, one of the ministers, was called wast the country, and I with him; bewest Bunchrive we meet Lieutenant Hugh Fraser with a 100 men out uppon a party for deficiency in Urqhart, who instantly uppon the report returnd to Lovat, and stayed in that garrison till his master the Collonell returnd. There was another Lieutenant with a 100 men in Strathspey quartering, which made the garrison weak. Thus the dissloyall fort and

Inverness garrison besieged and taken Feb. 22, 1649.

ramparts of Inverness are demolished and leveled to the ground.

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[Here follows account of the executions of the Duke of Hamilton and others, and of various confiscations.]

A Parliament in Scotland.

In this same month [March 1649], that Scotland might not come short of Westminster trophies, they set up their shembles in Edinburgh. George Gordon, Marques of Huntly, being arraigned before their Parliament, it needed no long process, loyalty being the plea, got his sentence, and a day affixed for his execution, to have his head cut off uppon a scaffold betuixt the Crosse and the Tron. The day being come, by the solemn declaration of famous Phisitians, his fever was malignant, yet no delay; his sister my Lady . . . pleaded uppon her knees a respit, but Argil and his party opposed it. He is carried out to the scaffold in his sick cloathes, and execut in the open streets, to the galling greefe of all Christians concernd; yet dyed a resolut royalist. His corps were coffind and carried over the Firth of Forth to be interr'd at Huntlye; meantime, Duke Hamiltons corpes being transported out of England to his interment in Scotland, the two berges or barks met closse in the Firth; here was a providence to fulfill Thomas Rithmer [Rymer] his prophesie now discovered and applyed.

Marques of Huntly, execut March 30, 1649.

Two headless Lords in Forth shall meet—
The one cannot the other greet.

This I set down for the rarety as well as the verity of it.

April 7. the members at Westminster, for the better supply of their army, and takeing away of free quarter, passed an act for the levying of 90,000£. a month uppon England for six monthes, and then they tooke into their consideration the sale of dean and chapter lands. Now no Bishop no King.

Insurection in Scotland. Ross in arms May 3.

There happened an Insurection in the North of Scotland May 3, being Cross day, for Lieutenant General Midleton, haveing made his escape out of Barwick into these partes, the Lord Ray and the Mackenzies mustered and made a body of 1500; and comming over, some at Cessock, some at Beuly, crossed the bridge of Ness uppon the Lords day in time of

Divin service and allarmd the people of Inverness, impeding Gods worship in that town; for, insted of bells to ring in to service, I saw and heard no other than the noise of pipes, drumms, pots, pans, ketles, and spits in the streets, to provid them victuals in every house and in their quarters. The rude rascality would eat no meat at their tables untill the landlord laid down a shilling Scots uppon his trencher that sat, terming this *argid cagging*,[1] cheawing mony, which every soldier got; so insolent they were. And here indeed they fealed of their conduct by a rupture among themselves. Some were for giving the ordering of the battallians to Collonell Hugh Fraser, and the whole command of the forces to him as an expert soldier; others gave it to the Lord Ray and Captain Thomas Mackenzie off Pluscaden, and this carried by the major vote. Moonday, about 10 of the clock, they marcht from Inverness, well appointed and furnished with ammunition, mony, all maner of arms, provision in abound-ance, nothing wanting that might incurrage men in a good cause. Forwards the army goe, and advanced through Murray, crossed the river off Spey, and encamped at Balvany Castle, where Donald Lord Ray had the ordering of the camp; and, after a consultation, Captain Thomas M'Kenzie and other officers, with a party, are sent off southward to meet Midleton, and the Gordones to join with them. In the interim these green heads, unexpert, shakeing off all care and feare, lay in their leggur eating and drinking, and rose up to play, Like Laish, a people that were at quiet and secure, ready to be smit with the edge of the sword. Whilst unawarse, about morning light, Collonell Kerr and Collonell Strachan, with but two troops of horse, surprised this great number, attackt them in their camp, trod them underfoot, without any manly resistance; 400 are killed uppon the spot, a 1000 made captives, all dissgraced, the Lord Ray and 20 officers, making no escape, no resistance, are taken prisoners, sent to the Castle of the Bogg. The croud off captives, like cowes in a fold, are kept in a litle bottom, and a guard about them; hard fate and misluck it may be called, a dissastrous defeat, the ground

The battle or baffle of Balveny.

Jud. 18. 27.

[1] *Airgiod éagainn*, chewing silver or money.

being so advantagious for hedges and ditches that one hundered might defie five, yet in a trice basely baffled and taken almost sleeping. Next there are 20 horse and 3 companies of foot ordered to convoy this captive army back over Spey and through Murray to Inverness, where I saw them pass through, and these men, who in their former march would hardly eat their meat without monny, are now begging, and, like doggs, lapp the water which was brought them in tubs and other vessells in the open streetes. Thence conducted over the bridge of Ness, and dissmissed every man armless and harmless to his own home. This is mater of fact, which I saw and heard!

This wofull defeat and dissapointment in the North disprited all others in the south and west who owned the Kings quarrell, turnd the opposite sectarian party insolent, all flockt in to that faction, pulpits ringing with sermons and prayers for prosperity to that litle handfull who subdued the mighty, defended the country, setled peace in our borders, that every man might now sit under his own vine and figtree from Dan to Bersheba. Such tampering flatterers were not wanting amongst us. Major Generall Midleton seemeingly submitted untill he got his oportunity to leave the kingdom and go over seas to his master the King. The shame and dissaster of this defeat at Balvany filled most mens mouths with scorn, so that songs and satyres were vented up and down the country uppon that expedition. Mr. Gilbert Martiall at Crombdale, a merry droll, made an invective on it (nameing it the Bourd of Baveny),

> And heard ye the Bourd of Boveny—
> The route of Macky and Mackenye,

and such like stuffe. At this same time, as if there hade been a correspondance between Scotland and England, divers troopes of the army mutinyed, and were surprised by Fairfax at Burford in Northampton, where some few of the ringleaders shot to death, and the rest disbanded. There were of that party a people called Levellers, who in those times of distraction would have all things in the commonwealth ordered according to their wild humores. Lieutenant Collonell Lilburn, the ringleader of them, emitted a booke entituled Englands

new chaines discovered, which was the bottom and foundation of the levellers design, for which he and one Johne Lokier were seized and secured in the Counter P.

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Mortality of peeres in Scotland, 1649.

Now we have a generall mortality among our nobles and gentry in Scotland. Old loyall M'klean dead; John Laird of M'kleod, universally beloved and bemoaned, after his return home died of meer greefe; Stuart of Appin died suddenly; the Earl of Marr given over as dead be the phisitians; the Earl of Murray, going to horse in Elgin, found an akeing in his great toa, forced to return to his lodging att Andrew Annands, and dyed within 24 houres, notwithstanding of his many noble palaces expired in a privat cell. The Earle of Lowden dyed after he alighted from his horse. George, Earle of Seaforth, died of a malignant fever in Roterdam in Holland, and interd at Skidam Dike by the care and at the cost of Doctor Alexander Fraser, phisitian in ordinary to our King Charles 2. I was at his tomb *anno* 1659, and got an account of his death and burriall from John Huton, a tailor in Skidam Dike. All his kinsmen who were at unhappy Balveny in slavery; each *pro capite* ransomed: Captain Thomas Mackenzie Pluscarden, Keneth of Siddy, Rory Dochmiluack, H. of Farburn, Colin Culcovy [Kilcowy], Rory Reedcastell, who, while he was prisoner at Bogg Castle, his own new strong house of Redcastle kept out against the troopes by a madd crew, one Lieutenant John M'klain was shot dead out at a window, for which in a rage they brunt the castle to ashes, with all the good furnitur, two of the defendants shot at the post, his own 2d sone Kenneth the flour [of] all his ofspring by a fall off the wall top was braind dead; himselfe comming home and seing all this dismall loss with greefe and melancholy dyed of a malignant fever, lying in a killbarn, haveing no other lodging left him. Of all these cross casualties I myselfe was eye witness.

Mackenzies Balveny prisoners ransomed, May 27.

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[Account of affairs in England and Ireland.]

In Scotland the corrupt, dissloyal Parliament sits still, and the Generall Assembly conveened att Edinbrugh, July 4, with

The Assembly met at Edinburg, July 4, 1649.

their subtil moderator, Mr. Robert Douglas. Their first Act was Approbation off the Commissioners sent to the Kings Majesty at the Hague; their next solemn act was concerning the receaving of ingagers in the late unlawfull war against England to publick satisfaction, together with the declaration and acknowledgement to be subscribed by them. The tenor off this act is astonishing! The Generall Assembly, considering the great offence against God, scandall to His people, arising from the late unlawfull engagement in war against England, contrarie to the law of God and Nations, contrary to the Solemn League and Coovenant, contrary to the petitions to and protestations in Parliament: 1. that such as are guilty be censured by the Church, makeing publick repentance before the congregation in churches—continueing obstinat, be processt with excommunication; 2. that they, after publick repentance, subscrib the declaration; 3. that they be sent to make repentance in such churches as the presbetry shall enjoin them to stand; 4. that non of them shall be admitted elders in any church judicatory, but according to the Act of the Generall Assembly thereanent. Now what a mocking of God and religion this was, let any judge; nay, what a compliance with and acting the very designs of the sectarians against the King, and approving of all they did first and last, let God Almighty be witness, to whom we must all answeir quhen he makes inquisition for bloud! It was a fine knack of on Collonell Stuart, who was in the unlawfull engagement (so call'd) with Hamilton, being now set uppon the stool of repentance at Edinburgh by the Kirk, Mr. Dickson, askeing him gravely and seriously whither he was not convinced by his malignancy that he went out of the way, suddenly replied, Yea, for we went a wrong way through Westmerland and Cumberland, when we should have marcht for York, and so to London. I myselfe saw the Laird of Pluscardeen, Coul M'Kenzie, Kenneth of Siddy, Dochmiluag, and many moe gentlemen stand before the pulpit at Inverness; and Sir George Monro satisfied at Elgin, and being asked by the minister, Master Murdoch Mackenzie, if he was not sorry for his gross sin of malignancy and that unlawfull ingagement, he answeired that he was sorry for all his sins; and, being urged again, said he was sorry for all

Psal. 9. 12.

Nota. of pennance for the engagement to England.

his sins. So ridiculus a mock was made of their repentance; and not only pennance, but were under sequestration and excommunication.

This Assembly also sent a flattering gratulation to the high and honorable Court of Parliament for their Act of abolishing Patronages, and highly commended their piety and zeal in promoveing so necessary a point of reformation in the Kirk. Another dissembling Act of a brotherly exhortation from the Generall Assembly of the Church of Scotland to their bretheren in England, a tedious religious rapsody; a commision for a conference of ministers, lawyers, and phisitians concerning the tryall and punishment of witches, charming, and consulting; besides all other, there is a long, tedious letter written to the Kings Majestie, terming him Most Gracious Sovereign, that they express their great sorrow, haveing expected at this meeting a gracious and satisfactory return to these humble representations made to his Majesty at the Hague by the Commissioners of this Kirk, yet got non. That his Majestie was abused and we suspected, yet not conscious to ourselves of any disloyall affection or undutifull thought to his Majesty, but we do from our hearts abominat and detest that horrid fact of the Sectaries against the life of your royal father, our late Sovereign, it being the desire of our souls that the ancient monarchial government may be established within these kingdomes in his Majesties royall person and posterity, for which we earnestly solicit heaven in our love and affection to your Majestie. Yet our trouble is, that not considering our former calamities, your Majestie cleaves fast to such as your trustiest counsellors who never had the glory of God nor good of these his people before their eyes, that he owned and entertaind the person of that flagicious, and justly excommunicat, perverse rebell, James Grhame, who exercised such horrid cruelty uppon your best subjects in this kingdom, which cannot but bring uppon your thron the guiltiness of all the innocent bloud shed by him and his complices; and, that quhich we cannot think on without trembling hearts and horrour of spirit, your setling a late peace with the Irish Papists, the murtherers of so many thousands of your Protestant subjects; and quhat yow granted them contrary to the standing lawes of your

The Assemblies letter to the King, August 6.

royal progenitors, and commands of God, etc. So return to God, lament after him, repent of the sins of his famely and iniquities of his fathers house, the approbation of and royal consent to the Covenant of those 3 kingdomes, and many other urgent fancies, professing there is nothing we desire more than your Majestys long life and happy reign over us who are, Most Gracious Sovereign, your Majesties most loyall subjects, and humble servants, ministers and elders conveened in this Nationall Assembly.

In this tedious Assembly many rigid Acts and od proceedings, part of which I understand not. 1. the approbation of the sentence of deposition against Mr. Henry Guthery, notwithstanding of his appeal; approbation of the deposition of Mr. Alexander Monro, Mr. David Monro (a famous man at Tain), and Mr. Thomas Ross, Mr. Donald Ross, Mr. William Ross, Mr. John Hossack; Deposition of Mr. Patrick Graham at Holm for malignancy, *i.e.* loyalty. Committe for conference with the officers that were uppon the engagement. Deposition of Mr. James Aitkins, minister at Olra in Orknay, it seeems for conference with and relaxing of the Marques of Montross; this Doctor Aitkins was banisht to England, and after Lord Bishop of Murray. Order for Generall Major Midleton appeareing, with certification. Reposition of Mr. William Couper to the office of schoolmaster of Chanry, an honest, loyal man, deposed for being clerk to Seaforth. Reference Laird of Innes, younger, to the presbetry of Tain; it seemes he lived then att Miltoun in Rosse. Deposition, Mr. William Colvill. Deposition, Mr. Andrew Ramsay. Deposition, Mr. Patrick Durham, Dean of Ross, all famous loyall men. Deposition, Mr. Gilbert Hanna, for marrying the Lord Gordon to Grants daughter. Reference, William Innes of Tipperty, to the Presbitery of Allan to be relaxt, being excommunicat for his loyalty. Reference, Mr. Collin M'kenzie and Mr. David Monro to the visitation of Ross.

Remonstrance.

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Scarcity of victuall in the North.

These were two severe summers in Scotland, for dearth and scercity succeeding one another, and next to a famin, a just punishment with which God scurges our disloyall Sectarian schism. The poor suffers sadly, the bole of victuall at a high

rate at 10 libs Scots, 12 libs this summer, and could hardly be hade, so much of it transported beyond seas; the country oppresed with quartering, especially the loyalists, termed malignants. The Highlanders were well on it, had store of milk, their cattell thriving, all manner of store grass in plenty, their pastures in glens fertil beyond beleefe, such aboundance of sea and fresh water fish that almost men lived by, such sholes of hering in our firths that a 100 was sold for two farthings. The Lord Lovats salmon fishing on the water of Beuly run so thick that all the fatts in the county wer called in to the corphhouse to salt them, and besids what was sold of salmon fresh there were 50 last salted and sold. One Paul Collison, marchant at Aberdeen, bought the Beuly salmon this year and advanced 9000 marks, which I saw reckoned upon a table in the Lord Lovats house at Inverness, for Sir James Fraser, the tutor, lived there with his famely, being one of the States new Collonells, but most infatuat, to undertake a garrison at Inverness, which he did not mannag well, being slavishly diverted at south, attending Argile, his idol patron; by which meanes he basely lost his two forts, the Castle of Channory and Invernes, as I related before; and which is worse, if worse can be, he lost himselfe, for he sickned this August at Edinburgh, being a hot sanguin, his plethoriness came to such a hight that from spitting it flowed to vomiting of blood, and, being under a long course of physick, the doctors concluded that the food and air of Edinburgh wer both his bane, and repaireing to his native aire would be his first recovery.

Sir James Fraser of Brey, sickned.

There was now a motion in Parliament, and it came to voting, that Inverness should be garishoned again, but was waved, concluding that for this time the troopes quartered in the North might suffise to keep that country in subjection. It was again moved that it was necessary that a garishon should be setled in Inverlochy uppon the Highlanders Nose; but that was judged too costly, and so that notion dyed in the birth. In the meantime some shroud accidents fell out in this corner. One Captain Andrew Wood, comming north with a party uppon some expedition, takeing the foord heastily, drownd uppon the river of Findorn; two or three of his cammarads, following hard after, were like to runn the same

Captain Wood drouned in Findorn.

fate indeavouring to rescue him, but all in vain. His corps, carried to Forres, got very respectfull interment. Another sad accident fell out nearer us. One Major John Scott, Governour of Braan Castle, rideing to Chanory in Ross, he and another trooper in sight of the town undertakes a race, and halfe way, not adverting to a slunk or breach in the sea bank, his horse tumbled and Scot, falling over his head, brock his neck, not speakeing so much as a word, being sober without any excess. This was a gentleman deservedly beloved of all that knew him, most oblidging, a great schollar, sound and loyall at heart, often bemoand the ruptures of the raging times, and tumults of the people, a subject which I often heard him uppon with my father, being well acquaint with him. He was the best rider and skillfullest mannager of a horse in the whole kingdom, of which he often gave publick proofe. But we see under the sun, saith wise Solomon, that the race is not to the swift nor the battel to the strong, neither yet bread to the wise nor yet riches to men of understanding, nor yet favour to men of skill, but time and chance happeneth to them all.

Major Scot dead of a fall, burried in Chanry.

Ecles. 9. 11.

A third accident of the same nature happened to Captain John M'kblain of Strachans troop, approaching too near the fort of Reedcastell to parly with the defendants, was shot out at a window and killed. The holy party thought it not fit to bury his corps among the malignant Mackenzies, but transported them with sound of trumpets, and interred them in the churchyard of Wardlaw, and a pretty neat tombstone over him with this inscription under the cipher of his name: Here lyes John M'kblain, one of Davids worthies.

Captain John M'kblain killed by a shot.

Being uppon this sad subject of casualties and contingencies, we had one of that nature nearer home. Collonell Hugh Fraser married his second time with Jean Gray, a daughter of Krich [Creich] and liveing in pretty grandeur at Kinmilies, in one of my Lord Lovats houses, now his own heritage, he found himselfe undisposed, and, being now in the autumn and fall of the leafe, and a proper time for phisick, he resolves and set himselfe for it to take his purge, and with good government, but what medicin or drug it was, what dose or weight, whence he had it or by whose direction, I could never be

rightly informed; but within less than an houre after the takeing of it, he fell in a high distemper and rage, could hardly suffer any near him, no, not his beloved spouse, reaved in a high degree, all he spoak was high Dutch or Slavonick, knew few or none. The ministers of Invernes, Mr. John Annand and Mr. William Fraser, comming to see him and pray over him, he had little sense to consider what was said; we found him somewhat composed at singing of psalmes, sex or 8 men about him, holding him fast by armes and feet, yet could hardly fix him, or keep him in bed or chaire: he sleept non, drunk much, and impatient after it. I was myselfe often by him, and it was terrible and astonnishing to behold so dismal a sight, and his sad, disconsolat famely: nothing heard or seen but dejected faces, murning eyes, weepeing lamentation and woe. The 3d day he calmed a litle. I heard him say once to my father, Good Mr. William, stay by me, pray to God for me. That night, about one o'clock in the morning, he expired, Sept. 30, and was interrd in the Lord Lovats Isle at Kirkhil. The forces, horse and foot, being quartered here, with the numerous nighbourhood and relations, gave him a splendid, solemn funerall, with very noble conduct.

Collonel Hugh Fraser died, Interd at Kirkhill, Oct. 6, 1649.

This September, Sir James Fraser of Bray, tutor of Lovat, came north under a chronick malady. His lady and children lived at Invernes then, but he haveing no inclination to stay in that place, all the famely flitted to Lovat, where he spent some months laboureing under this Anastomosis or vomiting of blood, and after all rational methods of phlebotomy, frictions, cuping gloses, phisick, and good dyet, all threatning symptomes apeared, at last turnd cacoclinnick, and a dropsy feared, which is incurable in this case, floweing from a dissipation of naturall heat which cannot be repaired; at last he was given over by all men of skill and experience. His advantage was that God gave him a raspit and a long time to repent and make his peace with his Maker through the merits of Christ his Redeemer. He found at last, in the beginning of November, there was no hopes of recovery, put his affaires in some order, telling his lady that there was 8 or 9 yeares intromission to cleare, when accounts was taken. He had by him a great deal of cash, and desired her to reckon with a full

Sir James Fraser of Brey, tutor of Lovat, died Decr. 6, 1649.

hand. It is certain he had strong convictions uppon his soul; for, running too much with the streame of the times, and too great a madler with state affaires, being a sharp wit, a pregmatick head, tenacious enugh in his principles, a very leading man and of no small authority in the North, feared of all, beloved of few. Argile was his bane and brackneck from first to last; and quhat shall his posterity gain by that! Perhaps had he lived in better times he had been a better man. He leaves the kingdome in confusiones, his country with loose reines. Collonell Fraser and he were still in direct opposition one to another, and the Collonels joining with the Mackenzies to attack the garrison of Inverness, of quhich Sir James was governour, broak his heart and was the source and fountain of all his evil. He dyed at Lovat the 6 of December 1649, and had a most glorious funerall, the forces being here then added very much to this show, haveing 13 trumpets sounding at his interment in the Chappel of Kirkhill.

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The present state of the Lord Fraser of Lovats famely.

I desire not nor ought I be tedious in descanting upon persones, stations or conditions; it is not my genius and it is nausius to my reader. This man whom now we convoyed to his urn, Sir James Fraser, tutor of Lovat, was born *anno* 1610, and died within his 40th yeare. He had a happie time, would he have improven it better; for to his naturall propension of wit and smartness he had the addition of good education at home and abroad. But had he not too soon casten anchor at Court, the haven of hope for all aspireing spirits, he had lengthened his days, secured his tranquility, enlarged his estate, procured the love and favour of all his nighboures and relations, and confirmed that of the poet, *Felix qui procul negotiis*, etc.

The exit of one great man is the entrance of another; this man is off the stage, and leaves it open and patent for others. The curators must now looke to the concerns of this great famely, the Lord Lovat being but a child of about 6 yeares of age, and with his granduncle the Earl of Weems, who will care for him. Alexander, my lords uncle, vulgarly called the Master of Lovat, is well posted at south, having a captain place. Thomas, his brother, is in Cathness, with his sister the

Lady Dunbeath, in very good circumstance; and James, the youngest, at school in Invernes, about 16 yeares of age, and myselfe his school fellow tabled in John Robertson, a Pope, his house, where we must content ourselves to remain *sub ferula*, praying dayly for the prosperity and happy settlement of Lovat's famely.

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[Account of affairs in Ireland and England]

The Marquess of Montrosse sent a declaration before him to Scotland this winter wherein he recited the greatness of the Kings condescensions, and what confidence his late Majesty had of them in putting himselfe in their hands at Newwark, both which some wicked persones of that kingdom and nation had treacherously abused, even to the murder of that blissed prince, and therfor would impose conditions and limitations to their present sovereign, and desired all honest and loyall subjects, who had been misled, to appeare with him in the vindication of those injuries, as well as reproach of the Scots nation. The King was now at Jersey, where arrived Nov^r^ last with his brother, the Duke of York; but the New Year threaten the Juncto, for upon the 4 of January there happened a most terrible blow by gunpouder in Tower Street out of a ship chandlers cellar, who, going down at 8 of the clock about some bussiness there with a candle, it unfortunatly sparkled into the pouder, which blew up and spoiled above a 100 houses, and 60 persones killed, the most of which were slain as they were drinking in the Rose Tavern, in whose ruines they were overwhelmed. Shall we say that the treason committed that time twelvemonth was followed with this to point out a suitable attendant in the likness of their villany? but whatever that dissaster signified, the death of Alderman Hoyle of York, a great Rumpier, who hang'd himselfe on the same day and hour that the King was murthered, plainly shewed the vengence and displeasur of God against that monstruous and abominable fact.

Montross his declaration.

Pouder blow in Tower Street, Jan. 4, 1650.

Feb. 18.—The Lord Liberton return with letters from the King at Jersay, which satisfied our Scots State, and Commis-

A Treatty at Bredah with the King.

sioners forthwith appointed to go for Holland to commence a treaty appointed by the King at Bredah; the Prince of Orang being to mediat and also moderat in that affair. The King, in his departur from Jersay, being in a litle bark, was by a sudden gust of wind near to overset had not one of his retinue with his knife cut the cordage that held the main sheet, and let it flye in the wind, so the good hand of Providence tooke care of and preserved him to most glorious and wonderfull revolutions. The commissioners names who were sent over are the Earles of Cassiles and Lothian, the Lord Liberton, Sir John Smith, the Lairds Brody, Jeffris, Liviston, Wood, and Hutchison, with strick instructions.

Universities visited and purg'd.

Now they begin in England to proceed with the old vizor of piety, voting some expedients for the propogation of the Gospell. They visited the University of Oxford, unwelcom and destructive to the fellowes and senators. The loyal students ejected, particularly Doctor Reynold and Doctor Fell, famous divins, putting in one Owen, an undependant, famous for his primer, and his better lesson of flattery with Oliver, who causd make [him] Doctor of Divinity and Dean of Christs Church. And we must, like apes, imitat them in Scotland, purging our universities. The Kings Colledge at Aberdeen was visited, Doctor Guild, principal, Mr. John Gordon, and Mr. George Midleton, turnd off, Rule and Brody put in. We may now call to mind that God's visitation uppon these two townes thir two last yeares; the pestilence raged in them, so that the grass was in the streetes, and not a smoake in both townes, but one in old Doctor Duns Chamber. The report of its arrise was that a packman carrying a box chest of flax from Stonehive harbour that came from Holland; this being opened and loused, the pest spred. Sure it was in that house it began, but Gods hand was in it to punnish a vitious, lascivious, dissloyall people. The Kings Colledge was removed to Frasers Burgh, the New Colledge to Peterhead, where they continued two yeares, viz. 1647-1648; and hardly without reluctancy could the masters be inclined to return last winter, the gates and windowes of the University being shut up all that time.

Lam. 1. 4.

The way to Zion mourn because non come to the solemn feasts, all her gates ar desolat, her priests sigh, her virgins are

afflicted, and she is in bitterness. O vain, wanton Aberdeen, art thou awakened by this visitation? art thow reformd? pure and penitent, say with Job, what shall I doe quhen he riseth up, and quhen God shall visit, what shall I answeir him? Job 31.14.

Now we shall come in course to treat of glorious Marquess of Montross, whose most lamentable fate and catastrophe we will here sume up in this no way competent, compendious narrative. In February he sent two ships to Scotland well mand and furnished with ammunition before him, but by the cruel storm of wether, dangerous in Northern Islands, they were lost, with all the men and arms. This was a check and warning, nay, a forerunner of the sad event that followed; but, the bussiness being fatall, he must needs contribut his own indeavoures towards that destruction which his cruel fortun had provided for him. Yet, nothing terrified with this success, sends out another party, which, makeing a more prosperous voyag, landed at Orkney, enters the island without any resistance, he himselfe following after with the rest of his company, who were resolut and resolved to partake of his fortun. Mongst whom were persons of note, Collonell Hurry, a man who had ingaged in all quarrels but never prospered in any; the Lord Frendraught, Collonell Jonston, a brave old souldiour, Collonell Gray, a Germain soldier, Harry Graham, his natural brother, Collonell James Hay of Naughtoun, Sir Francis Hay of Dalgety, George Drummond of Ballach, Collonell Sibbald, etc. The Marques stayed in Orknay all March, and got up all the forces he could in the Island; and in April, gathering all the boates in that Island, shipped all his men, and landed safely uppon the nearest point of Cathness. Montross in Orknay.

All the world was now amazed at this invasion whilst the King was uppon a treatty; but the Marquese, that he might not be mistaken, emitted and published a 2 Declaration, and presently summoned the Castle of Dunbeth. The Laird being at Edinburgh, the Lady, Dame Kathrin Fraser, caused open gates, and entertaind the Marques at a high rate, but that country, not being loyall, came not in to second him as he expected; for the Earl of Sutherland raised all his friends and Montross lands in Cathness.

followers indeavouring to hinder all that were willing to join with him, and stop all entercourse tuixt him and his friends. The kingdom was allarmd, the Parliament now sitting, the States ordered to make readdy the standing forces, and randevouz. Collonell Strachan, then extolled for his zeal to the presbiterian cause, got an ample commission granted, undependant uppon General Lessly, to engage and fight with the enemy at his best advantage. David Lessly with the horse, and Holbar with the foot, marcht after. The Marques, heareing off the enemies approach, made his army march at a great trot to recover a pass near hand, himselfe being in the vanguard, and seing Strachans forlorn hope advancing, commanded his 200 of a forlorn hope to fire uppon them, and put Strachans horse to dissorderly retreat. Strachan himselfe, being in the 2 party, and Collonell Kerr in the reer, advanced and made good their charge, which terrified the Islanders and made them [?], but the Dutch Companies a valiant volly or two, and then retiered among the shrubs, and most gallantly defended themselves a while, makeing great slaughter, but at last were all taken. There were killed in this fight 200, and 1200 taken prisoners. Of Strachans men were killed 130. The Sutherland men were here in arms, and came not for expedition, but execution. In this skirmish was taken the Royal Standard, which the Marques caused make on purpose to move the affection of the people, in which was portrayed the head of King Charles I. lying ableeding and severed from the body, exactly done to the life, with this motto, Judge and revenge my cause, O Lord. The standard-bearer Alexander G., a gallant gentleman, was killed after he had often refused quarter. Ther were taken also Collonell Hurry, Lord Frendrat, Sir Francis Hey Delgety, Colonell Hay Naughton, Col. Gray, and 20 inferior officers, and 2 ministers, Mr. Sibald and Mr. Guthry. This fatal fight happened to fall uppon the 29 of April, being St. Peeter Martyrs day, at a place called Carbsdale.

The battel of Carbsdale, April 29, 1650.

The Marquess, finding the day quit lost, made his way by force through the enemy; forsaikeing his horse, threw away his sword and clock, which had the starr on it, being knight of the garter, betooke himselfe to his feet, exchanged garb

Montrose convoyed through Ross to Lovat.

with a highlander, in quhich habit he escapt up the country, and by Lochshin went in to Asson [Assynt], and onely one man with him. Nile M'kleod, Laird of Assin, by the instigation of Lumlare Monro, and the reward of the Councel of State, moved the greedy wretch to betray him; yet this Asson was the Marques his follower before, and much oblidged. May 4 he was taken, and 4 day after delivered to Sir David Lessly at Tain (Strachan having run south to have his reward of bloud from the State), quhich did not a litle gall Lessly to see an upstart rival risin to honor, and have so great a success: a vanity. The town of Kirkwall in Orknay, where Collonell Johnson and Collonell Hary were lost, getting notice of the defeate, tooke ship and returnd to Holland; the arms which Montross brought thither, with two piece of brave ordnance, the Queen of Swedens present, with a friggot of 16 guns, all ceased. The victory being compleit, a solemn day of thanksgiving throughout the kingdom, with bonefires, shooting of guns, and other testimonies of joy. Montross, being now in the custody of his mortall enemys, from whom he could expect no favour, yet he expressed a singular constancy, and, in a manner, a carelessness of his owne condition. He was convoyed with guard over the River of Connin towards Beuly, crossing that River refresht them at Lovat. Such scurvy, base indignities put all along uppon him as reacht the hight of reproach and scorn, which confirms the poets dixi and ditte:—

Nescia mens hominum fati, sortisque futuræ,
Et servare Modum, rebus sublata secundis!

Montross convoyed from Lovat to Inverness.

We are now to set doun the fatall preludium and parrad of one of the noblest and gallantest generalls this age saw in Brittain, whose unexampled atchievements might frame a history; were its volume farr biggar than mine, it would yet be disproportionat to the due praise of this matchless heroe. But now I set down that which I was myselfe eyewitness off. The 7 of May at Lovat, he set uppon a little shelty horse without a sude, but a quilt of raggs and straw, and pieces of roaps for stirrops, his feet fastened under the horse belly, with a teather and a bit halter for a bridle, a ragged old dark reedish plaid,

and a Montier cape called Magirky on his head, a muskatire on each side, and his fellow prisoners on foot after him. Thus conducted through the country, and near Inverness, uppon the rode under Moortoun, where he desired to alight, and calld for a draught of water, being then in the first crise of a high fever, and here the crowd from the town came forth to gase, the two ministers [Mr. William Fraser and] Mr. John Annand wait here uppon to comfort him, the latter of which the Marques was well acquaint with. At the end of the bridge, stepping forward, an old woman, Margret Nin George,[1] exclaimed and brauled, saying, Montross, looke above, view these ruinous houses of mine quhich yow occasioned to be burnt down quhen yow besieged Invernesse. Yet he never altered his countenance, but with a majesty and state beseeming him, keept a countenance high. At the cross, a table covered, the magistrates treat him with wines, which he would not tast till allayed with water: the statly prisoners, his officers, stood under a forestare, and drunk heartely. I remarked Colonell Hurry, a robust, tall, statly fellow, with a long cut in his cheek; all the way through the streets he never lowed his aspect. The provost, Duncan Forbes, takeing leave of him at the towns end, said, My Lord, I am sorry for your circumstance. He replied, I am sory for being the object of your pitty. The Marques was convoyed that night to Castle Stuart, where he lodged.

The Marquess convoyed thro' Murray and to Elgin.

From Castle Stuart the Marquess is convoyed through Murray, and be the way some loyall gentlemen wait upon his Excellency, most awouedly and with grieved hearts, such as the Laird of Culbin Kinard. Old Provost Tulloch in Narden, Tannachy Tulloch, Captain Thomas Mackenzy Pluscaden, the Laird of Gockstoun, and old Mr. Thomas Foulerton, his acquaintance at colledge. He was overjoyed to see those about him, and were his guard forward to Forres, where the Marques was treated; and thence, afternoon, convoyed to Elgin city, where all those loyall gentlemen waited on him, and diverted him all the time. With allowance of the Generall, in the morning Mr. Allexander Symmer, parson of Duffus, waited on

[1] Margaret, daughter of George.

him at Elgin, being colledge acquaintance with the Marques, 4 yeares his condisciple at St. Andrewes. This cheered him wonderfully, as the parson often told me, and thence convoyed him all the way to the River of Spey, and a croud of Loyalists flockt about him unchallanged. Crossing Spey, they lodged all night at Keith, and next day, May 10, being the Saboth, the Marques heard sermon there, a tent being set up in the fields for him, in which he lay, and the minister, Master William Kinendmond, altering his ordinary, and chused for his theam and text the words of Samuel the prophet to Agag, the King of the Amalakits, comming before him delecatly; and Samuel said, As thy sword hath made women childless, so shall thy mother be childless among women, etc. This unnatural, merciless man so rated, reviled, and reflected uppon the Marquess in such an invective, virulent, malicious manner, that some of the hearers who were even of the swaying side condemned him. Montross, patiently heareing him a long time, and insisting still, he said, Rail on, Rasoke; and so turnd his back to him in the tent; but all honest men hated Kinendmond for this ever after. Montross desired to stay in the fields all night, lying upon straw in the tent till morning.

heard sermon at Keith.

1 Samuel, 15. 33.

Moonday after, they march throngh the Mearnes south. By the way the Marquess came to his father in laws house, the Earle of Southask, where he visited two of his own children; but neither at meeting or at parting could any change of his former countenance, or the least expression heard, which was not suitable to the greatness of his spirit and the fame of his former actions, worth, and vallour. *In transitu* his Excellency stayed one night at Dundee, and its memorable that, though this towne suffered more losse by his army than any else in the kingdom, yet were they so farr from insulting over him that the whole town expressed a great deal of sorrow for his condition, and furnished him with cloathes and all other things suitable to his place, birth, and person. At Lieth he was receaved by the magistrates of Edinburgh, and thence convoyed up to the city by the water gate of the Abby, and with him all the prisoners of qualety on foot, about 40 persons; but according to the sentence of the Parle-

Montross convoyed through the Merns to Dundee.

Then to Lieth.

ment the Marquess himselfe had the favour to be mounted on a cart horse. Haveing ended this part of his journay with as much state as in tryumphs is accustomed to be, he was met
To Edinburgh. at the end off the Canongate under the Netherbow by some other officers, and the executioner hangman in a liverey coat, into whose hands he was delivered. There was framed for him a high seat in fashion of a chariot, uppon each side of which were holes, and throwgh these a cord being drawn crossing his breast, and arms bound, his [person ?] fast down in that mock chaire. The executioner then tooke of the Marques's hat, and put on him his own bonnet, and this chariot being drawn with 4 horses, mounted of the first, and solemnly drive along towards the tolebooth. By this conduct was confirmed and fullfilled Thomas Rithmers prophesys, never understood till now:

Visa la fin, Respice finem.

Visa la fin
On an ouler tree green
Shall by many be seen, etc.

Visa la fin, looke to the end, is Montross or Grahm's motto; and this cart was made of green owler, alder timber which hapened to be brought in, newly cut, to the marcat place, and there sold.

The vast croud of people who assembled to gase uppon this noble peer, who before wished to see this spectacle, and wisht him all vengence and misfortun, could not now refrain teares, wringing their hands, began to be shaken with the first sheue of his tragedy. Then, being incarcerat in the tolebooth, so closly shut up that non of his dearest friends were suffered to come nigh him, being now in the mercy of his implacable foes, not satisfied with his calamities, reviled him with all possible spit, objecting to him his former condition and present misery, pronouncing heavy judgements against him, and, being asked whey they could not otherwayes be satisfied but by so ignominiously handling of him, replyed that they knew no other way to humble him and bring him home to God.

The sentence formd against Montross.

The Committy apointed be the Parliament to draw up a sentence against him did it in these words: that he should be hanged on a gibbet at the Cross of Edinburgh untill he dyed,

his history and declaration being tied about his neck, and so hang 3 houres in publick view of all the people, after which he should be beheaded and quartered, his head set upon the prison house of Edinburgh, his legs over the gates of Sterling and Glasgow, his arms at Pierth and Aberdeen, the trunk of his body to be burried in the Gallow Moore, under the common gallows.

The Parliament sent some of their members and ministers to examin him, but he disdaind, refusing to give them answeir any till he knew and was satisfied uppon quhat tearmes they stood with the King, his royall master. They told the King; and they were agreed; then saith the Marquess I desire to be at rest, for I am weary with a long journay, and the complement yow put uppon me is somquhat tedious, and I desire to be rid of yow, for I set no great value uppon your converse. Yow punies, yow thought ye had affronted me the day before by carrying me in a cart; but yow are much mistaken, for I judged it the most honorable and joifull cavilcade that ever I made, God having all the most comfortably manifested his presence to me, and furnisht me to overlook the reproaches of men, and behold him for whose cause I suffered; and so yow may be gone, I have enugh of yow.

Montross brought before the Parliament.

Moonday 19. he was brought before the Parliament, a long penned discourse delivered by the Chanclour quherin he declared to him his miscarriages against the first Covenant, the League and Covenant, his invasion, and joining with the Irish rebells, and bloudguiltiness, for which God had now brought him to just punishment. The Marques desired leave to speake, which being granted, said, Since yow have declared to me that yow have agreed with the King, I looke uppon yow as if his Majesty were sitting among yow, without whom yow have no power, and in that relation I onely appear with this reverence bareheaded. My care hath been alwayes to walk as it becam a good christian and a loyal subject. I ingaged in the first Covenant and was faithfull to it untill I perceived some privat persones, under collour of religion, intended to wring the authority from the King, and to seize on it for themselves; and then it was thought fit for the cleareing of honest men that a bond should be subscribed wherein the

His first answeir.

security of religion was sufficiently provided for; this satisfied my conscience, and I subscribed it.

His 2d answeire. As for that yow call the League and Covenant, I thank God I was never in it and so could not brake it. But how farr religion hath been advanced by it and the sad consequences that followed on it those poor distressed kingdomes can now witness, for, when his late Majestie had by the blissing of God almost subdued those enemies that rose up against him in England, and that a faction of this kingdom went in to the assistance of them, his Majestie gave commission unto me to come into this kingdom and to make a diversion of those forces that were going from hence against him. I acknowledge the command most just, and I conceived myselfe bound in conscience and duty to obey it. What my carriage was in this country many of yow beares witness. Dissorders in any army cannot be prevented, but they were no sooner known than prevented! Never was any bloud spilt but in battel, and even then many thousands live which I preserved; and, as I came in uppon his Majesties warrant, so uppon his letters did I lay assid all interest and retreated; and for my comming in at this time it was by his Majesties command in order to accelerat the treaty betuixt him and yow, his Majesty knowing that quhen ever he had ended with yow I was ready to retire uppon his call. I may justly say that never subject acted uppon more honorable grounds nor by a more lawfull power, then I did in this service; and therefore I adjure yow to lay asid prejudice, and consider me as a Christian in relation to the justice of the quarrell, as a subject in relation to my royall masters command, and as your nighbour in relation to the many of your lives I have preserved in battle; and be not to rash, and let me be judged by the lawes of God, the lawes of nations and nature, and the lawes of this land. If yow do otherwayes I do here appeale from yow to the rightious judge of the world, who one day will judg yow and all, must be your judge and mine and we must both answeir, and gives allwayes rightiqus judgement.

Montrosse discourse in privat. This discowrse he delivered with such gravity and without passion as was much admired even of his enemies whom he dasht and confounded with his confidence and undaunted

currage. The Chancelour desired the sentence to be read, which he heard with a setled and unmoved countenance, and desireing to be further heard, was presently stopt by the Chanclour who commanded he should be presently convoyed back to prison, where he was no sooner come but the ministers assaulted him afresh, aggravating the terrour of the sentence, therby to fright him. He acknowledged himselfe much beholding to the Parliament for the honour they had put upon him, saying he tooke it for a greater grandur to have his head stand uppon the prison gate for his quarrel then to have his pictur set up in the Kings bedchamber; and, lest his loyalty should be forgotten, they had highly honored him in designing lasting monuments to 4 of the cheefest cities of this realm to beare up his memoriall to all posterity, wishing he had flesh enugh to have sent a piece of the same to every city in Christendome, to witness his loyalty to his King and country.

His gestur and carriage that night and going to the scaffold.

That night none of his friends were suffered to come neare him, but a rude guard still in the chamber with him, so that he had neither time nor place for his privat devotions but in their heareing: cruel barbarity. The fatall day being come designed to put a period to all his troubles, there was erected in the midle of the marcat place, tuixt the Cross and Tron, a large 4 square scaffold breasthigh, in the midest of which was planted a gibbet of 30 feet height. He was convoyed out be the baliefe out of the gaile, cloathed in a scarlet cloake richly shammaded with golden lace. He stept along the streets with so great state, and there appeared in his countenance so much beuty, majesty, and gravity, as amazed the beholders; and many of his enemies did acknouledg him to be the bravest subject in the world, and in him a gallanty that braced all the croud, more becoming a monarch than a mean peer; and in this posture he stept up to the scaffold, quher, all his friends and wellwillers being debarred from comming neare, they caused a young boy to sit uppon the scaffold, by him designed for that purpose, who wrot his last speech in brachography as followes; the young mans name was Mr. Robert Gordon, sone to Sir Robert Gordon of Gordstoun, from whom I got the same thus:—

Mr. Robert Gordon Cluny, my cammerad.

I am sory if this manner of my end be scandalous to any

Montross his speech uppon the scaffold.

good Christian here. Doth it not often happen to the rightious according to the way of the unrightious? Doth not sometimes a just man perish in his rightiouseness, and a wicked man prosper in his wickedness and malice? They who know me should not dissesteem me for this; many greater than I have been dealt with in this kind. But I must not say but that all God's judgements are just, and this measur for my privat sins I acknowledge to be just with God, and wholly submit myselfe to him. But in regard of man, I may say they are but instruments; God forgive them, and I forgive them. They have oppressed the poor, and violently perverted judgement and justice; but he that is higher than they will reward them. What I did in this kingdom was in obedience to the most just command of my sovereign, and in his defence in the day of his distress, against those who rose up against him. I acknowledge nothing! but feare God and honour the King according to the commandements of God and the just lawes of nature and nations; and I have not sinned against man but God, and with him there is mercy, which is the ground of my drawing near to Him. It is objected against me by many even good people that I am under the censor of the Church. Seing it is onely for doing my duty by obeying my princes most just commands for religion, his sacred person and authority, yet I am sorry they did excommunicat me; and in that which is according to Gods lawes, without wronging my conscience or alleadgeance, I desire to be relaxed; if they will not do it I appeal to God who is the rightious judge of the world, and who must and will, I hope, be my Judge and Saviour. It is spoken of me that I should blame the King. God forbid! for the late King, he lived a saint and dyed a martyr. I pray God I may end as he did; if ever I would wish my soul in another mans stead it should be in his. For his Majesty now liveing, never people, never any people, I beleeve, might be more happy in a King. His commands to me were most just, and I obeyed them. In nothing that he promiseth will he feale; he deales justly with all men. I pray God he be so dealt withall, that he be not betrayed under trust as his father was. I desire not to be mistaken as if my carriage at this time in relation to your wayes were stubborn.

I do but follow the light of my conscience, my rule, which is secounded by the workeing of the Spirit of God that is within me. I thank him I goe to heaven with joy, the way he paved for me; if he enable me against the fear of death, and furnish me with currage and confidence to embrace it even in its most ogly shape, let God be glorified in my end, though it were in my damnation. Yet, I say not this out of any fear or mistrust, but out of my duty to God and love to his people. I have no more to say, but that I desire your charety and prayer; and I shall pray for yow all. I leave my soul to God, my service to my Prince, my goodwill to my friends, my love and charety to yow all; and thus breefly I have exonered my conscience.[1]

The ministers, becaus he was under the sentence of excommunication, would not pray for him, and even on the scaffold were very bitter against him. Being desired to pray apart, he said, I have already poured out my soul before the Lord, who knowes my heart, and into whose hand I have committed my sprit, and he hath been pleased to return to me a full assureance of peace in Jesus Christ my Redeemer; and therefore, if yow will not join with me in prayer, my reiterating it again will be but scandalous to you and me. So, closing his eyes and holding up his hands, he stood a good space with his inward, devout ejaculations, being perceived to be mightily moved all the while. When he had done he called for the executioner, and gave him 4 pieces of gold, who, weeping, tooke his booke and declaratioun and other printed papers which he had published in his life, and, being all tied in a string, hangd them together about his neck; when he said, I hug this more than my badge of being Knight of the Garter which his Sacred Majesty was pleased to make me; nay, more my honour than a chain of gold. Then, his arms being tied, he asked the officers if they had any more dishonour as they conceived it to put uppon him, he was readdy to receive and accept of the same; and so, with an undaunted currage and gravity, in spit of all their affronts, uncivil and barbarous usage, he went up to the top of that prodigious gibbet, where, having freely pardoned the executioner, desired him that at

[1] Compare Wishart's version of the speech in *Deeds of Montrose*, by Murdoch and Simpson, pp. 331-333.

the uplifting of his hand he should tumble him over, which was accordingly done by the weeping hangman, who, with his most honest teares seemed to revile the cruelty of his countrymen, which may serve for a test of the rebellius and diabolicall spirit of that malicious consistory. After 3 houres he was taken down and had his head cut off, which was fixed on the iron pin, west end of the toleboth; his quarters sent to be placed and set up in the several cities; and the rest of his mortall parts burried under the gallows. John Taylor the water poets honest verse will serve for this dishonorable Scotch expedition:—

Montross his execution, May 21, 1650, *ætatis* 44.

> In a good cause to dye it is no shame,
> Although a halter do procure the same!

Thus fell that heroicall person by a most malicious and barbarous sort of cruelty, but *sequitur ultor a tergo Deus*— there is a fury at hand ready with a whip of snakes to punish this viperous blood off men. One that detested the harsh dealeings of the Scots to this loyall and martiall Earle wrot these two Latin verses uppon the Roundhead Rout off P. Whigs:—

> *A dolor inferni fraudes capitisque rotundi*
> *Et Judæ suavium, det Deus ut caveam!*

The pensive poet gave him this eulogy:—

> *Hoc Decus Heroum non uni insistere palmæ.*
> *Fama sed assiduo parta labore venit;*
> *O Felix animi juvenis prosperque laborum.*
> *Res tantum fatis obfuit una tuis*
> *Justitiæ vindex, et amans patriæ, hostibus horror,*
> *Civemque, patres inter, jure feras patriæ.*
> *Imperium sine fine Regi dum quero suisque,*
> *Imperij fines, finiit atra dies!*
> *Ah Decus O patriæ cecidisti? funere in uno,*
> *Ipso quoque infracto, robore toto jacet.*
> *Vincere pro patria, aut vinci. virtute decorum,*
> *Dulci pro patria, prodigit ergo animam.*
> *Quod potui feci, quis tantis hostibus obstet?*
> *Quis potis imperio sors superesse tuo?*
> *Ni medio in cursu fatis præreptus iniquis*
> *Et si magna dedit, plura daturus erat!*
> *Marte tuis fatis! fati modo victor atrocis,*
> *Nunc patriæ æternas et tua fata simul!*

Now that I have run out so much uppon particulars in the life and actings of this renouned heroe, it is to give himselfe his due praise, and to satisfie my reader, who perhaps will not find so an exact account of him in any story; and, if it please not him, I have done enugh to please myselfe, and to propogat his fame, seing such another person, such another subject, *consideratis considerandis*, and *ceteris paribus*, is not to be found in all my chronology, and being my selfe eye and ear witnes of this great mans proceedings in part, and, haveing got the impartiall information from his own soldiers and followers, I was the freer to record it as unquestionable truths. True, indeed, the history of his life is very well done in a small volume by the famous Doctor Jo. Wishart, R. of Lieth,[1] and also by William Winstaunly in his English Worthies, who sayes, It may seem strange in such a scarcety of Scotch worthies, there being so many English, that I should goe about to borrow one from that country, where, if Diogenes the Cinique, with his lanthorn, were to make inquest after such an impossibilitye would infallibly conclud a nonsuch in Scotland to be found. Heath, in his history, gives him impartiall praise, and so doth *Medulla Historicæ Anglicanæ*. But I have compendized the marrow of what they all say, and added what they touch not at all, which I well knew in my owne time, haveing seen him when taken prisoner, convoyed him to Invernes, and through Murray, and got a very sure account of him thereafter in his imprisonment at Edinburgh, and his execution there. I saw his arm uppon the Justice Port of Aberdeen, another uppon the south port of Dunde, his head uppon the tolebouth of Edinburgh; also I saw it taken down and Argiles head put up in the place of it.

The Marques of Montross.

There is a noble poem made by the forementioned Dr. Wishart uppon the death of the Earle of Strafford, Deputy of Ireland, the death of Archbishop Laud, Primat of England, and King Charles the Martyre his death, of which the famous English poet Cleveland averrs that he would renounce all his art of poetry providing he were master of these 30 lines

[1] The 'small volume' was by Dr. George Wishart, afterwards Bishop of Edinburgh. For confusion regarding the authorship, see *Deeds of Montrose*, v.

which, for their rarity, curiosity, ambiguity, and appositness to our times I have here set down as I found them:—

The world 's a tennis court, man is the ball—Toss 't 'gainst the wall !
High soareing hopes and languishing dispare—the rackets are !
Contents the cords, extreams are over and under—like claps of thunder.
Bids all that builds their hopes one towers of aire—
Since fall they must, take heed their fall be faire !

E. Strafford. Last night I lookt up to Prometheus's skye—and there did spye
*The house of Commons. A starre whose greatness was with glory mixt—But was not fixt !
For when the *Pleiades begun to play—It shrunk away,
Which teaches all astrologers for to know—
That meteors are no substance but a show !
From thence I went to church thinking to pray—'Twas holy day,
Bishop Laud. Where from afarr, our high priests ghost did cry—O come not nigh,
Our sanctuary with bloud 's defil'd ; and truths exil'd,
Bethel, Bethaven is, Doeg treads downe—
Our high priests myter, and emperiall crowne.
Affrighted with such horrid sights at last—Mine eyes I cast
Up to great Charles Waine and there I find—That Boreas wind
Charles Wain Had blasted Atlas's hopes and made him cry—The uncertantye
Triones Palustrum, a constellation near Of humaine glory, which with flattering smiles—
At first embraces, and at last beguiles.
the North Pole. 'Tis strange to see the spider finely spin—a pretty ginn
King Charles. To catch a gnat, whilst man with anxious care—contrives a snare
For his own feet, and whiles that wracked he—strives to get free.
In vain he toils, for who can shun a fall—
When heaven writes Mene Tekel on the Wall.
A due then brain sick pleasures, get yow gone,—let me alone.
I 'le drink of the brooke and eat of the hony comb—In peace at home,
Not striveing to be great but good, for lo—the event doth show
That outward gildings cannot serve to hide—
The ruins off an inward rotten side.

Cromuel from Irland. June 1. Cromuel, uppon letters out of England inviting him thither by the Parliament, went to sea, and left Ireton in cheefe command behind to subdue the rest of that miserable, wasted kingdom. The remaining Irish war was now utterly defensive, and of such weake, dying efforts that all was given over there for desperat and lost. And now who cannot must not here but acknowledge the unerring certanty of divine justice uppon that bloody and pitiless people. Cromuel at his arrivall in England is courted and made Generall of the Forces, being now the idol of the state. For Thomas Lord Fairfax had now laid down his commission, as loath to

engage against his presbiterian bretheren in Scotland; but too late, for he might with greater honour and credit have done this before; but now he expected no such sudden rivalship to his command, which gave him no time of mature consideration of the design.

An agreement now being concluded betuixt the King and the Scots at Bredah, when his Majesty came to the Hague, and shipt himselfe at Terheyden harbour, aboord an excellent sailor friggot, commanded by young Van Trump, and two other men a war, carrying his goods and retinue. Old Van Trump, being abord with the King, charged his sone to do his utmost indeavour for the Kings preservation, and, parting with teares, haveing intelligence of the English fleet lying to intercept him, soon after a tempest drove the Kings ships uppon a Danish isleand, where they were most civilly and humanly treated. Thence with a brisk gail landed at Garmach in Speymouth with a great many noblemen and knights, and two English, Collonel Graves and Captain Titus, to attend his person. Heres a Providence that but the same morning the English King catchers were set sail from the same place under their admiral Popham to seeke after him; but the Lord preserved him for greater designs. The King sets on in his progress; treated at the Bog;[1] thence forward to Aberdeen, where all the country and city attended him, and a harrang given him at the Kings Colledge by one Master John Strachan, Regent; a pulpit of wood erected at the wester end off the colledge church, whence he delivered that noble panagirick oration, closeing the paragraphs—*Neu sinas Anglos equitare inultos, te duce, Carle.*[2] The King was so much taken with his deport and oratry that he gave him a ring off his own finger.

King landed at Germach, June 24, 1650.

Comes to Aberdeen.

The King from Aberdeen through Merns and Anguis to St. Johnston.

The King from Aberdeen, attended in great state by the nobility, through Mearns and Anguis, royally feasted at Southask, old Earl David declareing to his Majesty that he had treated his grandfather, King James, there, 1616, and his

[1] Bog-of-Gight, now Gordon Castle.

[2] An adaption of Horace, i. 2:—

'*Neu sinas Medos equitare inultos,*
Te duce, Cæsar.'

royall father, King Charles, 1633, and now himselfe; and at the door drawes out the bolt out of the wall with his legg stradled over it telling the King that he must drink Doch in Dorris, a homely drow which the Highlanders takes with their familiars.[1] He made every nobleman and knight drink a moucking bowle of sack in that postur. This and the account of the Kings noble treat there I had from Sir Alexander Sutherland of Duffus, one of the Kings knights at table. Thence the King goes to St. Johnstoun, and so to Striveling, complemented and presented in the way with very great gifts according to the ability of the nation now over all in arms. The Estates of Scotland had notice before of the Kings comming into the kingdom, the Earl of Dumfermeling, Mr. Murray, and Sir William Flemming, who were sent before the King to acquaint them thairwith. His Majesty, a while before, haveing receaved the detestfull intelligence of the murther of his faithfull servant the Marques of Montross, which, as cases then stood, he was forced to pass by, haveing expostulated very sorrowfully thereof with the Parliament, who by all meanes endeavoured to collour and smooth over that perpetration with the vowes of their alleadgance, in order whereunto they said they executed that nobleman and some others with him, viz., Sir William Hay of Dalgety, Sir John Hurry, Sir John Spotswood, younger of Darcy, Colonell Ogilvy, Collonell Sybald, Captain Charters. A very inauspicious entrance and begining betuixt his Majestie and them of an understanding cemented with such loyal bloud.

Cromuel to Scotland, July 1650.

Now Fairfax being inscrupled by some of the then presbiterian ministers, who were highly incensed at this war, which Cromuel haveing cuningly forseen (finding that the generall had laid down his commission) therefore the long expected military Supremacy, by a vote of the Parliament, is transferred to Olipher, who very zealously accepted the charge, and with all readiness prepared for the expedition, which makes the second trophy or garland of these strangly and wonderfully prosperous free State of England. He marches with his army into Scotland, and, July 21, quarters at Barwick, from which he sent a letter and declaration to the Committy of State,

[1] See p. 124.

fraught with hypocricall canting expressions, which they suppresst, returning answeir that they would reply to it by messingers of their own, and meantime prepars to oppose him. Now the Parliament of England was busy about their High Court of Justice, makeing act for the seale of delinquents lands, and voted so many estates to be sold as would make up security for 200,000£, for their present expedition at home and abroad. At this time one Doctor Levens, formerly Doctor of the Civil Law, who had all along served the King most faithfully, was apprehended in his lodging, long set by the state spies, and severall commissions from the King and such papers found with him, was brought before a court martiall and there sentenct to be hangd; so was accordingly executed on July 18 against the old Exchange in Cornwall, quher he triumpht in his sufferings, which was in all honest mens opinions a confirmation of the goodness of his cause.

July 18, Dr. Levins executed.

July 25, Cromuel, with his army, consisting of 18,000, marcht from Mordington to Hadington 12 miles from Edinburgh, and the Scotch scouts on the hills in their view, scirmishing uppon one another. That afternoon a small party of 200 of the Scotch horse fell in their rear with such fury and vigour that they wholly dissordered it, and, fresh recruits comming on, persued this advantage, which being perceaved by Major General Lambert and Colonel Whaly, who had the reer guard and repulst them, in this action had his horse shot under him, and run the arm with a hoe and taken prisoner. The English army, wet and weary, came to Musleburgh July 28. Next morning, about sunrising, a party of 1500 horse of the Scots veteran blods, under command of Colonell Montgomry and Colonell Strauchan, fell with great fury and more exact valour uppon them, and brought the whole English army into a terrible fright and dismay, charging almost clear through uppon the sands; and, had their foot been with them, they had but doubt routed all that strong army, but were repulsed by Colonell Oky, lost about a 100, some officers slain and wounded, and thrice more to the English, and came off with honour enough, giveing the invaders litle hopes of so easy a victory and conquest as the fates decreed surely for them, and their invincible fortun, and, as one of them

The skirmish at Muslebrugh, July 28.

told myselfe (a loyal heart), wisht they were back again in England.

The Kings statues pulld doun.

See we next at London a piece of the High Courts Justice uppon an unanimat stone: the late King Charles his statue in the Royal Exchange, which first they had ridiculously but cruelly decollated, and, ashamed of that impudent revenge, ordered to be taken out of its nich altogether and thrown down to pieces, and this inscription set under it in golden letters: *Exit Tyrannus Regum Ultimus Anno Libertatis Angliæ Restitutæ primo Anno Dom.* 1648. This I noticed with no small griefe, and coppied it off, being at London, *Anno* 1657. This a testimony of their guilt and a memorial to strangers of their impudent and boldfaced treason, which gave not onely truth but even time itselfe the lie; for never was there such a thing as the first yeares of the peoples liberty under their anarchical usurpation. The other famous statue of the King, at its fall from the gallery at the west end of St. Pauls's Church, lighted uppon its feet, which was taken as a good and sure omen and presage of his Majesties glorious memory, and that his posterity should recover and dure maugur all the designs and present prosperous successes of his and their enemies. Then also were the Kings arms ordered to be erazed in all publick places, and in lieu of them the States arms, being St. Georges Crosse and the harp, were set up in Courts of Judicators and all publick places!

States arms set up.

Duk of York to France.

The Duke of York, haveing now of a good while after the Kings departur stayed at Jarsey Island till August, thence to France, arived at the Luvere in Paris, bringing with him a considerable soume of mony, the value of such prizes as his Jarzy friggots had brought him, intending speedily to go thence to Holland. Myn Heir Joachim, resident here from the States Generall, is now sent home without audience, haveing limited his time and dyet becaus the said Estates had refused to give audience to Mr. Strickland, the English agent, now reseeding at the Hague.

August 16. Collonell Eusebius Andrewes was brought to tryal before the High Court of Justice, a loyalist and secretary to Lord Caple, haveing a commission from the King, being trepand by one Bernard, formerly his majorr. He haveing

made a most acurat and formal plea against the lawfullness and authority of this High Court, and notably defended himselfe, was, notwithstanding, sentenced as a traitor, and execut on Towerhil, quher he died like other martyres before him, full of joy and blissed hope. New jealousies, animosities, and discontents beginning among the Scots, some for limiting the King that he should wholly depend upon the Kirk, and be at the disposall of the rigid Covenanters, Cromuel knew well, who never ceased scribling, divulging the English armies good intentions for the Scots; and now, haveing got good recruits for his army by sea, and plentifull provision, and the fleet saileing in equal pace with is *in tuto* [*sic*], encamps in Penthland hills, the Scot army in view of them. The Kirks declaration now comes out, and runs, That the King, stumbling at and t refuseing to subscribe unto the Declaration offerred him by the Committy of Estates and Commissioners of the Kirk, concerning his former carriage, is cause of just greefe and offence in reference to the cause of God, friends thereof, and therefore do declare that they will espouse any malignant party or quarrell, but that they fight meerly uppon their former ground and principles in the cause of God and the kingdom, nor will they own the King or his interest further then he owns and prosecuts the cause of God; and this peremptory Kirk resolution by their clerk subscribed Alex. Ker. one of their coll.

Declaraiton of he Kirk.

Cromuel meantime, his provision growing scarce, retiers to Musslebrugh, and a few dayes after to Dumbarr, intending if need be to get into England by sea, being closely followed by the Scots army in the reer, who had great advantage to fall uppon the English, now weary with long march and want of victualls, and them pent up on a neck of land not a mile and a halfe from sea to sea, also in straites, and many of their soldiers sick, and the whole army shut up in a pound, resolved to force their way through their enemy. Tusday morning, September 3, Lambert, Whaly, and Lilburn, with a strong party of horse, gaind the Pass of Coperspath, and so David Lessly, the Scots General, got down the hill with his braggad, and to it. The English word was The Lord of Hosts; the Scotch, The Coovenant. Lambert cryed, Doe or

The battel of Dunbar, September 3, 1650.

dye; the whole English army charged. The Scots horse, being broke, confused the foot, who lay down their armes and run for it; the heat of the batle continued 'tuixt 7 and 10 a'clock; the English followed the chase beyond Hadingtoun. Of the English were killed about 2000, of the Scots 300; 9000 Scots prisoners taken, 10,000 arms, ammunition baggage, 200 horse and foot colloures, which were sent to be hung as trophies in Westminster Hall. Prisoners of note, Sir James Lumbsden, Lieutenant Generall of the Army, Lord Libertoun, died of his wounds in Dunbar, Adjutant Generál Bickerton; Sir William Douglass, Lord Cranston, Colonell Gordon, 12 lieutenant Collonels, 6 majors, 42 captains, 75 lieutenants. 6 majors died of their wounds, mongst quhom was Major Alexander Fraser and Major Lessly. This defeat was signified by Cromuel to the States in his usual strain of devout zeal. The glory of the victory was ascribed to the conduct and valour of Colonell Monk. The Kirk ran to her old trick of humiliation, assigning their vain confidence in the arm of flesh and trust not in his word and the Sword of the Spirit to be the sole and just cause of their defeat, not treachery and disloyalty to which they might solely imput this and all our losses and shamfull defeates.

Thomas Fraser.

The next morrow after the fight old Leven and Lessly and 100[d] more quat Edinburgh, and, with bagg and baggage, by Queensferry away to Sterling. Cromuel advanced, fortified Leth, fixing Colonell Paul Hobson governour there, and Colonell Overtoun at Edinburgh. The Presbiterian ministers in England were summoned to appear before the Committee of the militia, and charged to observe the thanksgiving day for this success. September 8. the vertuous Princess Elisabeth died in her confinment in Carrisbrook Castel, and was interd at Newport in the Isle of Wight, being 15 yeares of age. Now the Undependant ecclesiasticall government set up in England, presbitry and lay elders turnd out of doores; and the Mock Parliament, to free England of the royal blood, sent over the Duke of Gloucester to Heidlburg, ordering him an allowance of 1500 £ per annum. October 1, some cavaliers took up arms in Noffolk, for which about 20 of them were executed. About the midle of October the Prince of Aurange

Princess Elisabeth died in Carrisbrok.

had some contest with the chiefe cities in Holland, and was upon the reduceing of some of the stubborn ringleaders. In the conclusion of that affair, as he was hunting near Arnham, a distemper ceased him, which, turning to the small pox and a flux of putrid blood, presently killed him, not without suspition of poyson, leaving behind him the Princess Royall near her time, who, to the great joy of the Low Countries, was delivered of a young prince, November 5, as a cordiall to that immoderat greefe her highness and famely took from this sad providence, the Prince being the most sincere and absolut friend his majesty had in the greatest difficulties of his own and fathers affaires at home and abroad.

Prince of Orange died, Oct. 27.

The war now in Ireland went prosperously on with the Parliament, the success being much facilitated by the missunderstanding and divisions that were among the Catholicks and the Protestant loyal party. Iretown, left governour in that country, was very sturring, the military power by general concent being devolved upon the Marques of Clanrickard, a papist and native of most ancient and noble extraction, and this by the good likeing of the Marques of Ormund, who had long experience of his fidelity to the King and his interests, and himselfe meantime resolves to depart the kingdom, the Irish giving him thanks for the many unwearied services he had done his country, desireing him to be their advocat with his majesty and forreign princes for aid and suplies to them for the defence of that gasping realm that now strugled with its last fate. December 1. the Marquess of Ormond tooke shipping from Galloway in a litle friggot of 4 guns called the Elisabeth, with Inchqueen, the noble Collonel Voughan, Colonel Voyan, and Warren, and some 20 persones of honor more, and landed at St. Mallos in France, 16 dayes after, whence they went to Paris, and gave the Queen mother an account of that kingdom; thence to Flanders and Holland.

Marquis of Ormond from Ireland to France, November.

The English army in Scotland not able to effect anything against the Kings forces in Sterling, Cromuel maintaind an open entercourse with Colonells Kerr and Strachan, thereby to subdivid the nation in parties; for now there were 3 different factions in Scotland. David Lessly and his army were for King and Kirk; the Marques of Montrose and

Divisions in Scotland.

his followers were for the King without the Kirk; and Collonells Kerr and Strachan were for the Kirk without the King. Strachan in end was taken and made prisoner in Dumbarton, and after in Blackness, but escaped and came over to the English to Edinburgh; but it was the sacred hunger of gold, not zeal for religion, made that rogue first betrayh is King, and his country after; for all Cromuels prosolits of this nation, Dundass, Warriston, Giffen, and Swinton, to love nothing so much as the mammon of presbetry.

Strachan removed, Lambert persues Ker, or prevail with him, but Kerr, being awarr, fell uppon the Major General most resolutly at Hammilton, with considerable slaughter on both sids. Kerrs arm almost cutt off, and taken prisoner, the rest of his party, 5 regiments of horse under Casles and Kirkubricht, escaped to Aire; in end these two villans, Kerr and Strachan, complying with the English, for which the Kirk excommunicated them. Afterwards Strachan turnd furious, and was kept closs and fettered, dyed mad; and Ker shortly after dyed of hypochondriack melancholly.

December 24. the strong castle of Edinburgh was yelded unto the English be that traitour Dundas after long treaty, though not without suspition of some treachery, as afterward was discovered; for the castle was besieged 3 months with litle loss on either side, onely some mischeefe done in Edinburgh streets, and one Captain Hammilton shot through the head as he was viewing the castle. At last the personated hostility came to a period, and C. Dundas, old Levens son in law, pretending want of water, came to parly, and, haveing premised a collourable request of 10 dayes time to send to the Committee of Estates by whom he said his trust flowed, which he knew was to be denyed, and after several missives betuixt Cromuel and him, concluded the rendition of that important place for the Kings service. It was alwayes before called the Maiden Castle, but henceforth term it the Prostitut Whore. That it may appeare a piece of the vilest treachery any Scot ever committed there was no want off provision, oatmeal, butter, cheese, fresh water, saltmeat; and, though Cromuel in his letter to the Speaker ascribed it to the alone wisdom of God beyond all humane power and accomplishment, for the

The Castle of Edinburgh surrendered be Dundas, Decr. 24.

gunner, John Areskin, declared that he had so placed his pieces that the enemy could plant none without losse and very murther of all without, and that Abernethy often went forth on pretence of intelligence, but it was to correspond with Cromuel. Sir James Stuart, provost of Edinburgh, kept close lest the wives in the street should stone him. Captain Dundas, Captain Giffan, Abernethy, Swinton, Andrewes, Mr. James Guthery, Earl of Lothian, Generall Hoborn, Warriston, Rutherford, and Gilespy, a traiterous train, though Cromuel term them in his letter, came out on Articles:—1. that the Castle should be delivered up to his Excellency Oliver Cromuel, with ordnance and magazin, December 24; 2. that the officers and souldiers march out in military postur, and go quher they please; 3. the publick movables, privat writes and evidences, to be removed to Sterling; 4. by proclamation all that had goods to come and receave them, and all sick persones there to have liberty to stay in Edinburgh.

The King is now at Scoone, in order to be crownd the first day of the New yeare. The Kirk fell boldly and impudently solicitous with his Majesty to concent to some other conditions unbecomming the supremacy of a sovereign; which the King generously and disdainfully refusing, being in his princely rob, was conducted from his bedchamber by the Constable on his right hand and the Marashall on his left, to the chamber of presence, and there placed in a chair under a Cloath of State, by the Earl of Angus, chamberlan *ad hunc actum*. The Commissioners of Barrons and Burroughs entering the Hall before his Majesty, the Chanclour delivered his short harrangue to the King, showing his welcom to his ancient kingdom, the willingness of his loyall subjects to have him cround as their lawfull sovereign by the lawes of the kingdom, to defend them in their rights and liberties by his royall power, offering themselves humbly to his Majesty, with their vowes, lands, lives, and all their power to maintain religion, the safety of his sacred person, and mantenance of his crown, which they intreat his Majesty to accept, praying Almighty God he may enjoy it many yeares, etc. The King made answeir, I do esteem the affections of my good people more than the crownes of many kingdomes, and shall be ready by Gods assistance to

The King Charles II. cround at Scoon, Jan. 1, 1651.

bestow my life in their defence, wishing to live no longer than I may see religion and this kingdom flourish in all happinesse. Thereafter, the King entered the Church, accompanied with nobles and commissioners in order and rank according to their qualety, two and two. The spurrs were carried by the Earl of Eglinton, the sword by the Earl of Rothes, the scepter by the Earl of Crawford, the Crown by the Marques of Argyle, the Great Constable upon the Kings right hand, the Marshall on his left, his train carried by the Lord Erskin, Montgomry, Newbotle, and Macklelen, the canopy of crimson velvet supported by 6 Earles sones, viz., Lords Drummond, Carnegy, Ramsey, Jonston, Brechen, Yester. Thus the King enter the Great Church of Scoon. He is set in a chair of stat opposit to the pulpit, and sermon preacht by Mr. Robert Douglas; text, By me kings reign and princes decree justice, by me princes rule, *à la mode* the Coovenant. There was a theater erected 24 foot square, 4 foot high, covered with carpets, and two staires, one from the east, another from the west. Another small theater uppon this, 2 foot high, ascended by two steps, on which the throne was set, and a table before it whereon the honors were laid; and round about was a bench decently covered, and seats for noblemen, barrons, burgeses. After sermon, the King, in his chair, receaved the Crown from Argiles hand, with which he ascended the theatre and sat on the thron. God preserve him from the malice of his enemies!

Sermon preacht, Pro: 8, 15, 16, by Mr. Robert Douglas.

At this time Oliver Cromuel was at Edinburgh, and, heareing the great guns at Scoon at the solemnity, was heard say, They are now crouning the Black boy, but I may get croun and head yet. God made him a manifest lier! The Castle in possession of the English, Cromuel fixt Collonel Fenwick governour of it for the Parliament. In the Castle were 5 French cannon, 8 Dutch halfe cannon, 2 culverins, 2 demiculverins, 2 minions, two falcons, 28 brass drakes or monkeys, 2 potaros, 800 arms, 80 barrell of pouder, and a like store of cannon shot. What villanous, cowardish traitors surrendered such a strong fort, so well furnished! *P. dolor.* The King diverts himselfe after his corronation at his house of Falkland, whence the nobility and gentry convoy him north to Aber-

deen, to order the heasty levying of the northern forces. The Highland chiftains promiseing to effect that affair with all expedition, the King returns again to keep up, if possible, the now recemented friendship and prevent ruptures. Duke Hamilton is receaved into the army, Craufurd made governour of Sterling, Midleton Lieutenant Generall, and other loyal lords in offices and commands befitting their quality, and took their seates in Parliament, which was to sit at St. Johnston, February 15, 1651. At this time the young Prince of Orange was christened, at which celebration the States Generall of Holland, Amsterdam, and Delph were his godfathers, the Queen of Bohemia and the old Princess of Orange his godmothers, and named William Frederic Henry.

The Quakers now made their first appeareance, one George Fox named by them the Elder (there being another of a later date of that name among them). He was the origen of them, and their beginning was very prodigious, viz., being first taken with swellings in their bodyes, as if ready to burst, with shakeing and tremblings, thence called Quakers, and many times strange ridiculous crotchets in their brains. And what is their religion? Immorality, no civil respect amongst men. Would this were the worst! John Trey, one off the journaymen of the Court of Justice and Kings judges, had wrot a booke against the Trinitye, but purposly against the divinity of Christ, a blasphamous pamphlet, a Socinian, was by a vote disbanded the house, and his book ordered to be burnt by the Shirrefs of London (as himselfe deserved to be); not a word of the hangman in the order, for that would have sounded ominous to the whole pack of them, now in pomp and great splendor. Again their sprung a sort of men too much amongst us from Roomward, that are of Matchavile mind, *Divide et Impera*, divid and rule. When Spanish invasion, powder, treason, etc., will not do their worke to ruin us, division will do it, as they suppose, at the last. *Vis unita fortior.* O, may we be at unity amongst ourselves, the onely bulwark of preservation for Protestants.

February 27, the Prince of Orange was burried in great state at Delph, in Holland, interred in the wault of his famous predecessors. Our King finisht his progress north at Aberdeen,

King Charles 2. at St. Johnstons Parliament.

Dunde, and came to St. Johnston, accompanied with Argil, who was raising forces for him in his country, and, March 2, waits the Parliament there, where he gave audience to a Dutch envoy, who came to complain of the takeing of 20 of their marchant ships by Sir John governour for the King in the Isle of Scilly, to whom the King [gave] a favourable answeir, and returnd him well satisfied. Sir Henry Hid, cousin to Sir Edward Hid, Chancelour, being at Constantinople, and takeing uppon him the quality of ane ambassador for his Majesty to the Grand Signour, and demanding audience in his name, it was aggravated with imputation of his design of seazing the English marchants estates there, and affronting Sir Thomas Bendish, old resident there, with his new commission from the Commonwealth of England; for which Sir Henery was sent to London, his name being enogh of guilt, was sentenced, and beheaded before the Royal Exchange; and Captain Brown Bushell, an expert seaman, who delivered Scarrborrow to Sir Hugh Cholmly, being prisoner at Hull, was beheaded under the scaffold on Towerhill, and that with great courrage, ownning his loyalty to his sovereign, and is justly inscribed to the roll of martyres.

Cromuel makes another expedition and marcht for Sterling, and in tempestuous weather reacht his intended passes, but the approaches to them so impassible, that in the same stress of weather, his army halfe spoiled with cold and other discommodities, he was forced to retire again as he had done tweice before; only alarmd the Scots army that if there had not been treachery among them, on regiment might easily cut of his ten. Now is Hoom Castle taken by Colonell Fenwick, the garrison having held it out to extremity. The governours answeir to the summonds is a fine droll, quhich I here insert:—

Home Castell randered Feb. 10.

Right Honorabill, I have receaved a trumpeter of youres, as he tells me, without your pass (which he forgot behind him uppon the table), to rander Hoom Castle to the Generall Cromuell. Please yow, I never saw your Generall. I know not your Generall. As for Hoom Castle, it stands uppon a rock. Given at Hoom Castell this day, before 7 a'clock, and so resteth, without prejudice of his native country, your most humble servant, Jo. Cockburn. Tantallon Castle, which was

Tantallon randered Feb. 27.

very prejudiciall to the English sea-traders, and had taken more than all the Scotch garrisones, and Sir James Seaton Governour, Monk had besieged it a long time, and was randered, and Monk used them very civilly. Generall Ruthven, Earl of Brentford and Forth, nominated to be the Kings Generall, deceased now, and left that command without any competition further to David Lessly. Old Leven also, haveing retired both from Councell and service as superrannuated, and is disregarded.

Now are 2 ambassadors sent by our new States to Holland, Cheefe Justice St. Johns and Sir Walter Strickland, stiled in their credentialls The Lords Ambassadors Extraordinary from the Parliament of England, and were the first they ever sent to any forreign princes. The [ambassadors] landed at Roterdam the 12 and 24 of March, got audience quher St. John, in a well composed speech, declared that notwithstanding several injuries receaved by the English Commonwalth from that State, yet the Parliament had sent first to make a firm league and friendship with them if they thought fit, etc. But the States Generall showed no great readiness to embrace this new friendship from their rival States, for the Prince of Orange interest was yet very potent in their assemblies, and the people were very averse also to any accommodation with traitors and murderers, as they termed these ministers; which clamoures were hightned by the Royallists reseeding there in great numbers, the Duke of York being then in that country with his sister, the Princess of Orange, as also the Quen of Bohemia, and Prince Edward her sone, who first gave these ambasadors an affront as they chanct to meet him in their coach, takeing the aire near the Hague, with his sister the Princess Henrieta in his hand, quher in indignation he gave them the oprobrious name of Dogs and Traytors. Next day several uproares were made about their house, with advices given of attempts uppon their persones; of all which affronts and injuries they complaind to the States, which, after a long and tedious delay, summoned Prince Edward to appear and answeir; but he pleaded that he was a Prince of the Empire, and subject to no other jurisdiction. A proclamation then was emitted prohibiting all maner of injuries or violence to be done unto them; yet

The English ambassadores maletreated in Holland.

indignities were frequently comitted. St. Johns, takeing leave of them, gave these parting words, My lords, yow have an eye uppon the event of the affaires of Scotland, and therefore do refuse the friendship we have offered; but yow shall soone see that bussiness ended, and then yow shall come and seek of us quhat we have freely offered, quhen it shall perplex you that yow have refused our offer. And it fell out as he had divined, for at his return he ceased not to aggravat to the Parliament the rudnesses done him, and exasperated them against the Dutch, and the angry effects of his councel appeared soon.

North forces. Mackys. Sinclars. Roses. Frasers.

The Kings army now at Stirling, recruits and reinforcements comming in dayly. In the North all the Cheeftens randevouz and send their prime men detasht away. I saw Strathnavers, Cathness, Sutherland, Ross, regiments, and Mackenzies goe by here. The Frasers have no head, Sir James being dead a year before. Alexander the Master of Lovat, captain of a troop of horse, came north, and, being representative of my Lord Lovat, got a lieutenant colonells comission, and in March mustered his men in a mediat place at Tomni Firach[1] near Inverness. Stratharick and Abertarph joind them, to the number of 800, very well appointed; Hugh Fraser of Struy, major; Thomas Fraser, sone to the Lord Lovat, first captain; Hugh Fraser, Foyer, 2 captain; Alexander Fraser, governour of Lovat, captain; Thomas Fraser, Struyes brother, captain; William Fraser, Rilicks brother, captain; Lieutenant Daniel Fraser and Lieutenant Sherer, who had been traind soldiers with Colonell Fraser in Ireland, these two are appointed to train the militia, and exercise every day *per vices*; and Hugh Fraser, younger of Clunvacky, Captain Lieutenant, an exact soldier; Andrew Fraser of Leyes, ensign; and Alexander Fraser,[2] sone to Phopachie, quartermaster. The Master of Lovat is now in debate with the curators anent the tutory. They knew it was his by right of bloud, yet they pretend debts and clearing accounts with the last tutor, Sir James, his executors; a great *remora*, and his own uncle, John, Earl of Weems, the greatest stickler in his way. The next pretext

[1] See footnote, p. 122.

[2] The author's brother.

was the warrs in which the Master was ingaged in point of honour, and when the confusions of the nation were settled they would consert all maters. Dame Beatrix Weemes, Sir James Frasers widow, was urgent to receave her husbands accounts dayly; and uppon that account she lived at Inverness with her children in my Lord Lovats house, haveing a speciall occasion of education for her famely.

My Lord Lovats sone, James, now 18 yeares of age, being last winter and spring at university, his uncle, the Earl of Weems, procured him a lieutenants commission, desiring to divert himselfe at Lovat dureing this summer vacants, seing his two brothers were ingaged to be in the warrs, and two of a famely were enugh to venter. In the close of April the Aird regiment, Frasers, 400, marched through Inverness, and, without rant or vanity, as pretty men as went from the North, and could compeat *ceteris paribus* with so many of a clan in the Kings army, and, traveling through Badenoch, through Appin, came to Stirling the beginning of May, and, haveing veteran officers, they were exercised once a day, traind enugh ere they came at the Kings camp. Never was Prince more taken up with an army as our King was, especially with the Scotch Highlanders, whom he tearmed the flour of his forces, and still sounded their praise in every society, especially before the generall officers, which bred no small gum and emulation among the Lowlanders, judgeing themselves the farr finer men. There was great competition betuixt the trumpets in the army: one Axell, the Earl of Hoomes trumpeter, carried it by the Kings own decision! The next was anent the pipers; but the Earle of Sutherlands domestick carried it of all the camp, for non contended with him. All the pipers in the army gave John Macgurmen [MacCrimmon] the van, and acknowledged him for their patron in chiefe. It was pretty in a morning [the King] in parad viewing the regiments and bragads. He saw no less then 80 pipers in a crould bareheaded, and John M'gyurmen in the midle covered. He asked What society that was? It was told his Majesty: Sir, yow are our King, and yonder old man in the midle is the Prince of Pipers. He cald him by name, and, comeing to the King, kneeling, his Majesty reacht him his hand to kiss; and instantly played an extemporanian

The King in parade.

part *Fuoris Pōōge i spoge i Rhī*,[1] I got a kiss of the Kings hand; of which he and they all were vain. The army lay encampt in Torwood and Stirling Park all the summer, over 18,000 foot and 800 horse; never a better appointed army, better conduct, more currage and life, that ever was mustered in Brittain; but treachery amongst the false Scots, which alas! ensued, and the good King suspected. But the King never left the camp; and O, with what pleasur he would goe from one regiment to another, from one guard to another, and for most part on foot, to notice their order, and view their motion and method. Major Hugh Fraser of Struy was appointed Captain in course of the Kings lifeguard upon a day; and one of the Kings chaplaines in ordiner, Mr. Thomas Colvill, in the tent with the King, after the morning service, his Majesty asked Dr. Colvin, an old experienced man, what he thought of the camp, and what clan judged he most loyall and true to their King. He replied, Sir, I find in history the Frasers to come short of none, the most unalterable and constant to the Crown among clans for many ages; nay, without a flaw or stain of dissloyalty known to them: 1. as to the Court, from King Melcom the 2. his time non mor loyall; 2. as to the camp, their currage and martiall conduct, instance Simon Fraser with the Cumin in the day of Roslin; 3. as to the Church, instance William Fraser, archbishop of St. Andrewes, Regent, after King Alexander the 3 his death, and John Fraser bishop of Ross, most famous men; 4. as to the city and country, instance Andrew Fraser his stratagem in gaining the Castle of Edinburgh from the English, and the great Lord Fraser of Twedall in defence of the Borders, the great Thain Fraser of Coy, Fraser Lord Lovat, Frasers of Philorth and Dores, in the jawes of the highlanders, still a brazen warr and guard of core to the King his interest and concerns; the historian gives them the encomium, *Familia Fraseriorum, gens numerosissima et de re Scotica bene merita!* etc., so the poet saith—

Natus Hyperboreos inter Fraserius Heros,
E Spinis docuit surgere posse Rosam!

[1] *Fhuaireas pòg o spòg an Righ*: a pipe-tune still known by the name of *Thug mi pog do lamh an Righ*, 'I gave a kiss to the King's hand.'

All this while neither the King nor Dr. Colvill knew that Major Hugh that was overhearing had been a Fraser untill he himselfe had discovered it; who, makeing his humble obeisance to the King, thanked the doctor most heartily for his good character of the Frasers, who very well deserved the same, aud declared confidently to his Majesty that there was a parcell of brave forward fellowes of the Frasers present at the time in the Park of Stirling that could confirm what Colvil said; and, Sir, your royal famely since the martyrdom of your father, King Charles of blissed memory, had 3 collonels, 4 lieutenant collonels, 10 captains, and 12 lieutenants, besids ensigns and sarjants and mean officers, in your own service the while, Collonel Hugh Fraser in Ireland, Collonel Sir James Fraser, tutor of Lovat, Colonel William Fraser now in England or abroad, Lieutenant Collonel Thomas, Lieutenant Collonel Alexander, Master of Lovat, Major Thomas, killed at Dumbar, Major John now abroad, Major Hugh Fraser Foyer, and my selfe a major, present captain of your Majesties guard; and do but command us in any service prestable, we shall compeat with any clan within your Majesties camp. And if there was any compliance chargable uppon us under the late rebellion it was an epidemick evil. Shew me who was free of it in some degree or other, etc. *Inclitæ Fraseriorum genti toties de re Scotica bene meritæ.*

. . . . .

Lithgow surprised.

In the latter end of April the Lord Montgomry, sone to the Earl of Eglinton, and Lord Jo. Cranston, with 500 horse, marcht from Stirling, and in a mist resolutly charged into Lithgow, to the very marcat place, where a garrison of English lay; and, takeing what prisoners and pillage they pleased, retreated, and, being persued by Major Sydenham of Sir Arthur Haslrigs regiment, then governour, the Scots faced about and routed him, killing most of his men, himselfe mortally wounded in the groyn, whereof he shortly after died; that government being tweice vacated already, and now by the death of the third, the Lord Register Archibald Warriston getting a pass from Stirling to come to Edinburgh about some records, but after a conference with Cromuell had no more mind to return again to his post. In May an agent from the Duke

Warriston revolt.

of Florence came to England and owned them as a free State, a base introduction. The King continues encamped at Sterling, Lesslies foot quartering on the south side, and Midltoun on the north side of the Park, encompassed with a strong wall, and great store of provision brought in dayly. Cromuel, supposeing they would march, drew all his forces from the west with as great care and conduct as could be, in readiness for them, whither to march or fight; but in the meantime was taken extream ill of his angry ague, and some anxious discourse of his death, as either parties wished. But Doctor Wright, a concaled royalist, as appeares by a polit piece of his written a litle before entituled, *Elenchus motuum Nuperorum in Anglia*, he, with Dr. Bates, was sent down to attend his cure, which in some measur they did effectuat; but a root of [it] stuck still to him. The Parliament of Scotland had now passed an Act of Oblivion for all things done thitherto, inviting therby all parties to join in carrying on the service of King and kingdom; and a new engagement be taken be all. Cromuel is now bussy drawing up with the Kirk, and in his old chanting hypocritical tone scribling to some leading men, so that in June the Assembly met at Edinburgh, incurraged as they thought by Cromuel's protection. Their appointment was to meet the year before, but the King denied them a Commissioner, and they were advised to meet at Saint Andrewes; but by a major vote they meet at Edinburgh, thinking they were *in tuto*; but at the 2. sederunt one Major Scroop, with a strong party, surprising them, commanded them in the name of the Commonwalth and army to rise and hold no judicatories after their former fashion. They presently obey and came forth. The major led them through the city in rank and file, and out to the Borrow Moore, and there dissmissed them, discharging all further meetings of that nature henceforth.

Cromuel in an ague.

The Assembly meeting are raised by force.

The High Court of Justice are now turnd very cruel and ill natured. Sir John Stawel was now the 3d time conveened before them, an old and resolut Royalist, who so gravelled them that at the 3d heareing they were forced to desist from the persuit of his bloud, and voted the sale of his estate again June 1, giving him sad cause to complain with Job, With the skin of my teeth am I escaped, makeing an exception to that generall

rule, *Vestigia cerno omnia te adversum, spectantia nulla retrorsum.* For such a collaterall design at the same time one Mr. Benson was execut at Tyburn; and, now being entered into the tragicall scene of blood, Mr. Love, Mr. Jenkins, Mr. Drake, Presbiterian ministers, were ceased be order of Councell of State, and brought to triall. Mr. Love first and principally charged with high treason against the State for holding correspondance with the King and his party, supplying them with mony contrary to an act of Parliament in that case; in all which Mr. Love very undauntedly disputed the Court; the occasion being at last proved and proceeded to sentence, which was that he should be beheaded on Towerhill with one Mr. Gibbons; which accordingly was done. Mr. Love most resolutly enugh, and who should not be loath to prejudice his worthy memory, for his design was proofe enugh of his loyalty. His tryall, with his speech and maner of his death, are in a large printed wolumne, to which I referr my reader; onely shall add that there was a monstrous storm at the very instant of Mr. Loves sufferings, a sign of Heaven's displeasure.

Mr. Christopher Love beheaded.

The English army now at Lithgow, from whose Castle batlements they might espy the tents of the Scotch army encamped in Torewood, 4 miles this side Sterling, haveing cast up a regular and well fortified line with bullworks, mounted with guns, awaiting the English, who came up July 3. The Scotch, planting their cannon uppon the brow of a hill, saluted Cromuel with 50 great guns, which made great execution, and made him quickly march back again and give over his resolutions. The English army, haveing eaten up all at Glasgow and thereabout, treading down all corns, that the Scotch might find no maintinance that way; so that from Kilsith they went back again to Torwood, Cromuel following, and in their view stormd Calendar house and tooke it, also Newwark house, before Dumbarton Castle was taken, and there himselfe encamped, awaiting the success of his design for Fife, which was effected July 17. Colonel Overton, with 1400 foot, Colonel Daniels regiment and 4 troops of horse of Colonel Lydcots, with great loss gained the North ferry, quher they entrenched; and Major General Lambert passed over, the 19. Then Sir John Brown, Major Generall of the Scotch forces,

The battel of Innerkeethin July 20, 1651.

drew down uppon them, and, finding them too strong, wheeled about to Inverkeething, expecting more forces. Lambert came on, committing the right wing of the horse to Okey, Colonel Lydcot in the left wing and Overton in the reserve. A furious fight began. Okey couragiously charged up the hill, and was as gallantly charged by the Scotch Lanciers, with great slaughter. The burnt of the battle continued about 3 houres. The Highland foot did great service, and the greatest slaughter was upon them, most justly imputed to command, for hellish Hoborn came not up, which if he had the Scotch had carried it but doubt. There were 2000 slain, and a 1000 taken prisoners. The English had near as great losse, but were double in number; for the Scots were but 4000 in all. Major Generall Sir John Brown, Colonel Buchan, Colonel Scot, were taken prisoners; M'klean and all his regiment were cutt off, standing in their ranks, without help, treacherously; and brave Brown dyed shortly after at Leith.

St. Johnston, taken August 3.

The English army in Fife advances toward St. Johnston under Cromuels conduct. The town, dispareing of help, and not able to hold out against so prevalent and numerous an enemy, randered. The Lord Duffus being there got the honorable military articles of going out with flying colloures and drumms beating. Now was Burnt Island and Inshgarvy Castle in the Firth surrendered. August 1, the King raised his camp and Stirling [*sic*] and marcht for England. Cromuel, haveing notice of the Kings removal, he marches his men with all heast to Burnt Island, and ferried over to Leth, leaveing Generall Monk to command in Scotland, with 7000 men. Major General Harrison, haveing attended in Cumberland to stop the Kings advance, is now come to Lauthian, and the charge of the forces that side committed to his command. Cromuell, now being 3 dayes march behind the King, repents his loitering at St Jonston through a proud humor of not rising without it. The King came to Carlisle, August 8, and ther proclamd rightful heir of Great Britain, and ther uppon publisht his declaration, quherin he offered his full grace and pardon to all his English subjects, of quhatever natur or crime their offences were, excepting Cromuel, Bradshaw, and Cook, the more immediat murtherers of his father;

The King marcht from Stirlin August 1.

The King at Carlisle.

and so prosecuted his march, being proclaimed the same manner through all the townes he passed. The English of note that followed him were Duke Buckingam, Earl of Cleveland, Lord Wentworth, Lord Wilmot, Colonel Boniton, Major Generál Massay, Colonel Groves, Colonel Wogoun, Titus, Major Ashurst; severall others, tedious to set here.

The King at Lancashire.

The King marcht to Lancashir, where some of Lamberts men had got before him to stop his passage att Warrington; and some of the new forces raised, amounting to 4000; but Collonell Massy set them a sorrnning with greater speed, giving them a total defeat at Warrington, which much discourraged the rebells then. The King marcht thence with speed through Chesheir to Newport in Shropshire; there were many ingraind rebels. August 22, the van of the Kings army entered Worcester, some resistance being made by Colonell Jams and Barron Wild, which the city presently quell'd, and joifully welcomed these weary guests. The Mayor and his brethren did the King the customary obeisance of tendering the keyes uppon their knees, biding him take all that his ancient and loyall city could afórd; and the same day he was with grall [general] solemnity proclamd, and the tired souldiers most aboundantly provided, being in all about 16,000, which had marched 300 miles outright in 3 weekes time.

The King at Worcester.

August 26, the King randivouzed on Pitzfodder Heath, near the city, quher the Lord Talbot, Earl of Shreusberry, Collonel Howard, Sir Edward Broughton, and Captain Bonbow, but no considerable forces, save for the gallantry and noble loyalty of such as in these crushing dissadvantages owned his Majesties cause and fortunes! Still, Cromuel, by long marches through Newcastle, Rippon, Doncaster, Mansfield, Coventry, joined with the army at Kenton; the gross of all his forces, militia and all, amounting to 40,000 foot and horse!

The truely honorable Earle of Darby, that was left behind to raise that country, got together 1200, though a litle more time had randered him formidable. With those he marcht with a design to fall upon Cromuels own regiment at Lancaster, quhen in the nick comes Colonel Lilburn, with 10 troopes of horse and 2 regiments of Cheshire foot. The Earl in the midest of those, but, finding his men curragious and

desirous to engage, charged them so furiously that he totally routed their first troops, and made such an impression uppon their bod [body ?] that they began to run, and, though new forces came in, renued the charge again, and, had they any reserve, the day was theres; and, if new suplies had not resisted the torrent of their vallour, there had been a total defeat; which left undeniable proofes in the death of those stout courragious sparks in and after the batle, viz. the Lord Windrington, Major General Sir Thomas Tildslay, Colonel Matthew Brunton, Sir Francis Gamul, Lieutenant Collonel Galliard, Major Trollop, and Chester. 300 prisoners taken, amongst whom Sir William Throgmorton, Colonel Richard Leg, Roberson, Bayns, Gerard, Lieutenant Colonel Rigby, Major Gower; but 60 slain. The Earl of Derby, having lost his George and Garter, escaped with 30 horse, and sheltered himselfe that night in a house called Boscobell: of which again.

Earl of Darby defeat.

Cromuel by this time had surrounded Worcester with his numerous host. Major General Lambert had attempted the first pass, which was Upton Bridge, wrested from Colonel Massy after a brife disput, and a wound in his head to boot. This place possest, made way for the advance of the army; but the Scotch broke down 2 or 3 bridges uppon the River Team. The ominous day, September 3, being arrived, Cromuel resolved to venter the event uppon its *auspicia*, and to that end made ready a bridge of boates, and about 3 acklock, with his lifeguard and Colonel Hackets regiment, and Engolsbyes horse, passed over this river uppon the Severn, and after him General Fleetwood, Colonell Goff, and Major General Dean; so they jointly advanced to the city. The Kings forces encountring them at the hedges, disputing every field with them with such gallantry that if they had not got reserves the hot service had quit repelled them, the Highlanders proving such excellent firemen that if not weary with pulling down bridges, and their amunition spent, they had defeat them. The King himselfe in person set uppon them at Powick Bridge, quher Colonell Haynes regiment stood, and were entertaind with no lesse manhood and slaughter, that, though [they] had reserves, yet did the Scotch foot fairly drive them from their ground.

The fatal fight of Worcester.

They stayed not long there, but, as their pent spirits had broke out with greater furry, they sallied out in great bodies uppon the Generals side, that the veterans wiselly shifted the storm, and brought the militia forces into play. It was observed that the King upon the head of a squadron charged with that gallantry which would have becom our admiration in other men, and shewed he had not forgot the disciplin of war, in which he had been brought up from his youth. In one of these charges he made, Duke Hammilton, a better soldier than his brother, receaved a shot in his thigh, quherof presently after he died. The fresh brigads and reserves reinforcing, but with their great loss, assaulted the Scots, who, being overpowered by the multitud, were driven into the city. Lesly, with 20,000 horse, uppon quhat account non knowes, never stirred out of the town to relieve them.

The enemies foot was now got into the town and fell aplundering in a most barbarous maner, as if Turks were again sacking Constantinople, and giveing quarter to non that they found in the streets; and the gates fast, and so, as God would have it, favoured the Kings escape, a strong party of Scotch got into one of the churches, held it out till morning, and then got quarter for life. There were slain in the field 2000, and 8000 taken prisoners; most of the English escaped by their Shiboleth. Quhen the enemy entered in crouds pell mell, and gaind the Fort Royall at 7 acklock at night, in which time the King left the toun, it being dusk, accompanied with 60 horse of the cheefest and most confident of his retinue, and made their way by force through the enemys bragads wonderfully, having got out at St Martins gate; and it was reported that Cobbet very narrowly missed of him. The cheefe prisoners:—the Earl of Lauderdale, Rothes, Carnwath, Kelly, Clevland, Darby, Lord Spiny, Sir John Packington, Sir Ralph Clare, Sir Charles Cuningham, Lieutenant Colonel Fraser, Colonel Graves, Mr. Richard Fanshaw, secretary to the King—6 Colonels of horse, 8 lieutenant Colonels of foot, 6 majors of horse, 13 majors of foot, 37 captains of horse, 72 captains of foot, 9 quartermasters, 80 of the Kings servants, the Kings standard, coach and horses. In this fatal fight there was 3 for one killed of the enemy.

The King out of the battle.

Never was gallanter army put together of so many men then the King had here, and fought with more conduct and currage, as the Romans in their triumphs; but sad was the dissadvantage they got, being but one for 8 of the enemy. Had they been two for foure never braver defeat had been seen; but as it was, great is the glory their nation had of their bravery and spirit. That cursed traitor Cromuel was heard to say that the vanquished had the greater honor than the conquerors. *Victi potius quam victores beati.* I had this exact account of all those accidents from two actors and eye-witness, besides that I read it in many histories, nay, ten of my relations and acquaintances who escaped and survived their wounds and imprisonment, and lived happily after the Kings restauration.

Immediatly after the batle was over Cromuel marches to London to be regald, and receave his reward from the Rump; and, by their Act and Proclamation emitted, they promise 500 L. sterling to any that should detect the Scotch king, a price proper for a Princes head. Then all the common prisoners, Scotch and English, taken at Worcester were convoyed up to London, and that they might no further trouble the States, they were transported to forreign plantations; and all the banners and ensigns taken in the battle were hung upp in Westminster Hall as lasting trophies of their vallour and victory till a change deface them.

An exact account of the King's escape.

By a wonderfull providence the King safely escaping his enemies hands, one Collonel Carlos was in his reer to keep the villans in disput till he was oneward in his journay; then at a consultation all persones about him were appointed to speake French. Befor morning he reached Whitladies, 25 miles from Worcester, one Gifford and one Walker, a stout master of the Kings. Gifford at 4 in the morning knockt at the door, and one George Pendrell, knowing his voice, came down in his shirt and opened the doore, where the King and his retinue entered, and his majesty disguised himselfe, cutting his hair, and putting on a course country habit. Buckingham and the rest with teares take leave, and leave him, it not being impossible that so many could keep secrecy, knowing the fidelity of the Pendrellss, committed him to their trust,

who immediatly conducted the King with a wooden bill in his hand into a copce near hand, borrowing the name of William Jones, a woodcutter newly come there for work, counterfiting his tongue and behaviour. That day proving wet, he got a blancat to cover him. That night the goodwife, a widow, provided a country supper; then, with his guid Richard, resolves for Wales. They came that night to one Mr. Wolfes, who, for fear of a search, put the King in a barn for bed and supper; next morning in his wollen accutrements about his leggs got away timous, and Fridayes night to Boscobell, quher Colonel Carlos came for shelter. The foords over Severn being all guarded, and not safe to venter over into Wales, that Saturday the King went into the wood to work, which for the pleasantness of it gave name to that house. The Collonel boar him company a while, laying down his head and sleeping a litle in his lapp, and by his assistance ascended into the topp of that celebrated oake quhich, being so thick of branches, and by its shaddow, was altogether impervious to the sight; and at night came to the house to refresh themselves. At last the Lord Wilmot sent John Pendrill to conduct the King to Mr. Whitgraves at Mosely, and, getting a millers horse, came there Moondayes night with a guard of the 5 bretheren, the Pendrells, quher the Lord Wilmot joyfully welcomed him, and consultation had for a further progression in this happy escape. To this end one Colonell Lane of Bentley is sent for by them. It is agreed that Mrs. Jean Lane, on pretence of assisting at her sisters childbeareing, should rid to Bristoll, and the King as her servant to ride before her, with Mr. Lassles and his wife behind him. A pass being procured they goe forward on the rode, as off chance the Lord Wolmot haveing a hawk on his fist. They journayd together to Broomsgrav, quher the Kings horse loosing a show forced [him] to lead him to ferrier himselfe, enquireing newes off the King, who told him the success of the fight at Worcester, and that the King had escaped to Scotland; replied that no doubt he lurked somequher in England, and wished he knew quher, for that he could have a 1000 l. for takeing of him. Thence going on, they meet some troopers at a village, but were civily past; and so goe on to Bristoll, and lodged.

The King at Boscobell.

The King in an oake.

The King at Bristoll.

Three mile from Bristoll was the place of Mr. Norton; at Leigh there designed journayes end. Here the King feigned himselfe sick, and tooke chamber by the order and care of M[s] Lane. Next morning coming in to the cellar he was noticed by one John Pope, butler, a souldier formerly in his Majesties army, and, discerning him in all dutifull maner, declared his trusty discovery of the King, which gaind his majesties beliefe so farr as to employ him in getting a ship for his transportation. Thence he was conducted by Lord Wolmet to one Colonell Windoms, a Trent [*sic*] in Dorcetshire; and its rare that, though to the knowledge of 7 persones of that houshold, there [he] continued 3 weekes for passage from Lime. Here M[s] Lane, with Mr. Lassles, parted. The King goes forward to Chayrmoth, quher Lord Wolmett, with Colonell Windham, attended him for his shipping, and Mr. Hen. Peters his guid, quher an hostler and a smith discovered by the horse shooes that the gentlemen were come from the north parts, and raised a report of the Kings being thereabout; but his majestie was convoyed privatly to Bridport, quher an hostler, as he was setting up the horses, welcomd him as haveing seen him formerly at Exeter; but the King, promising to drink with him, shifted this. Hence to Salisbwry; by the way at More, at Christopher Philps sign of the George, one drinking in the cellar, and seing the King stand off as a servant, said, Thow lookes like a good fellow; heres a health to the King. Then he is introduced to a secret place and secured; and here Doctor Henchman, after Bishop of Salisburry, waited uppon the King to Sussex, quher they were intertaind by that worthy loyal lady; that night takeing leave of the noble matron, accompanyed with the Lord Wolmot and Captain Philps, they came to Portsmouth.

The King at Lime in Dorcetshire.

The King at Salisburry.

At this place one Mr. Mannsel, the marchant that hired the ship, and Tottershall, the master of the ship, and at supper sat down together with the King; and the master presently discovered his majesty, having seen him in the Downes, beckoned to the King, and, conferring secretly, wrought upon by mony and his own loyalty, agreed to perform the bargan, calling out his marriners then on shoare, pretending his ship halfe loaden with coales; and, comming home for a

bottle of waters, his wife with the unseasonableness of the night suspected the truth, incurraged him to the undertakeing, not careing, said shee, if herselfe and litle ones begged their bread so the King were transported in safety. The in-keeper also, guessing at the mater, gave his majesty an apprecation, and himselfe hopes of being somebody hereafter! The King shipped at Portsmouth, Oct. 10, 1651.

About 5 acklock in the morning dark, October 10, the King embarked with the Lord Wilmot, and keeping the shoar all that day, and in the evening hoisd sail for France. In their passage the King sitting uppon the deck, an unmanerly marriner blowing tobacco in his face, the master Tottershel bid him goe farther off the gentleman, who, grumbling, unwittingly replyed that a Cat might look upon a King. That night they arrived at Freccam P. in Haver de Grass, or Newhaven, in Normandy, where the King got his cloathes changed by two English marchants at Roan; and there Doctor Earles, after Bishop of Worcester, waited uppon him. At the very notice of his Majestys arrival, the Queen mother, Duke of Orleans, and most of the Court, went out to meet him, and congratulats his wonderful deliverance, a providence truely not parallelled in history, and able to have convinced the rebels, if their rage had not blinded them; but it cheered the minds and hopes of his subjects by this pledge of their salvation in the most marvelous protection of Gods anointed, no less than 50 persons, men and women, privy to his escap. Shoram Creek. King landed at Newhaven in Normandy.

Multi ferucit Fati Leges, Quæ vincere durum,
Quæ fortis, sapiens, effugere haud potis es,
Providus an quisquam est adeo, qui talia cernat,
Aut vilet? Fati stat sua Criare Dies,
Victus, non victus, felix, miser, omnia, nullus,
Quidnam hoc? humanum non capit ingenium
Fatis bella gerit. Sed Fatis robore major
Est Deus. Hoc vincit fata, sequens, fugiens!

In the beginning of October David Lessly and Lieutenant-General Midleton were taken in Lancashire and carried prisoners to Chester. The Earls of Lauderdale, Kelly, Rothes, Carnwath, Crawford, Lindsay, Lord Spiny, Saintclar, Lindsay,

were committed to the Tower, and after sent to Windsor Castle, where they continued till the Restauration. Cromuel came to London, where he was met by the Speaker and the members, with the Lord Mayor and Recorder Steel, who in a speech congratulated his great successe, and by his rethorick as an orator, but a false prophet, by a mistaken prolepsis applied these words of the Psalmist, To bind their Kings in chaines and their Nobles in fetters of iron, in an arrogant exultation of his atchievements. Next day the prisoners like a flock of sheep carried through Westminster, and sold to severall marchants, and sent to Barbadose. The colloures taken were hangd up in the hall with those of Preston and Dunbar, where I myselfe saw them to my great greefe, being at London 1657. Stirling Castle rendered uppon articles, not being meet to suffer a storm or siege; then General Monk went to the siege of Dunde, and after 6 days stout resistance mastered the place, putting all they found in armes to the sword, plundering the town of all its wealth. All the best goods of Edinburgh, Lieth, the tounes of Fife and Anguis were convoyed thither as the securest repository, unaccountable the plat, mony and fine things, being the richest place absolutly in the kingdom. There wer 800 men in garrison, 60 sail of ships in the harbour, all taken. St. Andrewes payd 500 l. for not surrendering uppon the first summonds; yet, being but a receptacle of schollars, Monk in generosity remitted all. The other universities, Glasgow and Aberdeen, the like. Ellot, by treachery, was surprised by Colonell Mathew. There was old General Lesly, Earles of Marshall, Crawford, Arrol, Ogilvy, Ramsey, Huntly, and Lee, Sir James Fowles, Sir James Lockhart, 20 more knights and gentlemen, Mr. James Sharp, after Archbishop, Mr. Robert Douglas, Mr. Mungo Law, leading presbiterians, all shipped for London; onely old Lessly obtained the favour of Sir Arthur Haslrig to stay with his sone-in-law, Sir Ralph Dalavil, at Newcastle. All the other south country ministers tooke the frey, and many of them ran north to Invernes, Mr. Hutchison, Mackell, Dickson, Rutherford, and many mo. I heard Dickson preach at Inverness uppon that text, Fury is not in me, who would set briers and thorns against me in batle, I would goe thorrow

Psalm . . . .

Dundee besieged and taken, Sepr. 1651.

Isa. 27. 4.

them, I would burn them together. All the ministers here[1] were prepareing to retiere for the Highlands,[2] and were providing cloathes fitt for their jurnay. The factious Undependents, being in direct opposition to the Presbiterians, shued no mercy to them, but an open persecution.

Now is the Kings royall robs, the Cloath of State, and all the Scotch Records, taken out of the Castle of Sterling, secured till further order, and feared to be carried to England. Major General Midletoun at the time had escaped out of the Tower of London, and for Scotland. The mock Parliament att west [Westminster] had the welcom newes of reduceing the Isle of Man, the Barbadoes, the Isle of Jersey, and Garnet Castle in Guernsey; but, a litle to alley their transport, they had the unwelcom newes off the death of their Admirall Popham, and Iretoun, their Deputy of Ireland, who died of the plague under the walls of Limbrick, but was burried in great state in Westminster Abby. Yet a Court Marshall was now established at Chester, whither the prisoners taken at Newport after the fight wer brought, and 5 of them sentenced. The famous Earl of Darby was [at] once adjudged to dye, at Bolton, Oct. 15; his sufferings was to the publick greefe and lamentations of the inhabitants, who refused to lend a nail or stiuk to the building of the scaffold, which was all taken from his own house at Latham. He, most Christianly and worthy of all memory, gave up his soul to his Redeemer, being a litle troubled at the executioners missing the sign, but submitted his head to the block, he had it severed from his body; his sorrowfull sone, being a sad spectator of this wofull tragedy, out of filial duty convoy his corps to Wiggan. Captain Sympkins, a gentleman that carried the Kings letter to Sir Thomas Midletown, was also executed there; Sir Timothy Fotherstonhaugh, at Chester by the ax; Collonel Benbow shot at Shrowsberry; all for the crime of honouring their King.

The Earl off Derby execut October 15.

James Hind, the famous highwayman, at last, for robbing the Parliament party, was betrayed in Fleet Street in his lodging; secured in Newgate, thence carried to the next assises

Captain Hind executed.

[1] That is, in and about Inverness.

[2] That is, the more mountainous country, as distinguished from the *machair* or low land on the shores of the Moray and Beauly Firths.

in Worcester, quhen none would come in to sweir against him either to fellony or treason in the late invasion by the King; betrayed by a minister of their sending, and by his evidence convicted, and hangd, drawn, and quartered in that city; and so dyed famous Captain Hind for no crime but loyalty.

The Union with Scotland is the main thing now on design projected. The Lord Bacon in King James's time wrot an elaborat discourse of it with much paines, and endeavoures used by the King about the draught and accomplishment of an Union 'tuixt the kingdomes; but all come to nothing then.[1] The Scotch nobility thought the English union a diminution to their greatness, and disdainfully rejected all tendency therto; but one weekes work finished that mighty mater in a short vote and resolution that England and Scotland shall be incorporated into one Commonwalth, and Commissioners were nam'd to go into that kingdom, viz. Oliver St. Jones, Sir Henry Vain, Alderman Tichburn, Major General Dean, Major Salway, Collonel Fenwick; General Monk, now in Scotland and a good friend to all men, and out of generosity the late Marques of Montross his children were honorably taken into protection by him, being kind also to the suffering famelies of this kingdom. The Master of Lovat, haveing now laid down his commission, and resolving to come north, made application to Monk for a passpoort; all which he gave him under his hand and seale, and was a good agent to compose the difference 'tuixt him and his uncle, the Earle of Weems.

The Union betuixt England and Scotland.

Allexander, tutor of Lovat, came north cloathed with full power and title to see the accounts cleared betuixt the curators and Dame Beatrix Weemes, Sir James Fraser of Brayes lady, of all his intromission since the [year] 1644 of the estate of Lovat. The Earl of Sutherland, Ballingown, with the leading men of the name of Fraser, Struy, Strachin, Culboky, Belladrum, Foyer, met att Inverness, and two lawyers of the ladyes concerns, to revise the accounts, which terminated at length in remitting all the papers south to the Earl of Weemes and

Setlement of Lovat.

[1] Bacon wrote two articles on the subject, 'A Brief Discourse of the Happy Union of the Kingdoms of England and Scotland,' and 'Certain Articles or Considerations Touching the Union of the Kingdoms of England and Scotland.'

the rest of the curators in Edinburgh, which tooke a long time er the mater came to a finall period and closure.

Meanwhile, Alexander, Master of Lovat, setles himselfe tutor *quo de jure*, intromets with the estate, sets chamerlans, keep courts, and, seing old Struy, Thomas Fraser in Bruyach, heritable balief, was not able to travel abroad becaus of age and weaknes, he devolves the office in his sones person, Hugh, younger of Struy, a very active pretty man, who now sits as baliefe in this country all over, and deputed Jo. Fraser off Farralin baliefe in Stratharick. And Alexander the Tutor, after a short courtship, is married to Sybilla Mackenzie, Laird of Macleods widow; with her got 3 thousand a year of the mony rent to Glenelg, in which she was infeft. This was judged by all a great match and good bargan becaus shee was the Earle of Seaforths daughter, and it might be a mean to indeare and unit both the famelies.

Tutor of Lovat married.

Now is Thomas, the Lord Lovats sone, chamberlan to his sister, Dame Kathrin, in Kathnes. Her husband, Sir John Sinclar of Dunbeath, dying without heires, and divided his great estate amongst his relationes, leaves his lady a good joinctur, and she is now married the second time, to the Lord Arbuthnot of that Ilk. This is now affaire [a fair] introduction to the fullfilling of the prediction made on her behalfe, that marrying Dunbeath might be a mean to get her two Lords afterwards, which certainly came to pass; and this is the first of them. James, my Lords youngest sone, is now at south in order to a setlement. My Lord himselfe, being young, about 9 yeare old, and under his grand uncle the Earle of Weemes conduct and care, hath not yet appeared uppon the stage for action. All our Highlands are now quiet and calm; the Laird of Macklean minor, Mackdonell very young, the Laird of Mackleod minor, the Earle of Cathness minor, under curators. The Earle of Seaforth minor; the Castle of Brahan deserted, and his great estat by concent of curators put in 4 prime gentlemens hands of his own kindred, for satisfying of creditors and paying off debt. The widow dowager of Seaforth, Dame Barbara Forbes, living at Chanry, and all her sones at schóol. The young Earl Kenneth setled at Elgin with Mr. George Cuming, professor of humanity there. The

Laird of Dunbeat his death.

Lord Lovat is minor, and his estate under tutory. The Earle of Murray very young; the Lairds of Grant and M'kintosh quiet peaceable men; the Marques of Huntly young and deeply in debt, so that the Marques of Argyle haveing obtaind the law against him in a vast action is to set chamerlans uppon his estate, and himselfe prepareing to dwell in the Bogg, his cheefe house. So that all the North of Scotland are demure under a slavish calm, submitting their Voluntar unvoluntar necks to the present swaying yock wreathed about their necks, untill Almighty God bring us *Post Nubila Phœbus*, light after darkeness, and order out of confusion. *Vivit post funera virtus.*

Edmound Ludlo, Deputy of Ireland.

Generall G. Monk lives at Dalketh in great state, being now Governour of all the Kingdom, and well deserves his promotion, a very good kindly Scotshman and beloved of all; and in Ireland Edmound Ludlow, lieutenant generall of the army in that kingdom, is setled Deputy in place of Iretoun by the Parlement and States. His temper farr different from the former, and is like to make a full setlement there, the broiles among the Irish being now almost over. December 17, Iretouns carcass was landed at Bristoll, and thence to London, where it was for a time exposed in state at Sommerseat House, all hung in black, and a scutchioon over the gate with this motto—*Dulce est pro patria mori*; and most suiteable was the exposition that one gave of it, It is good for his country that he is dead. Afterward he was interred in King Henry the 7. his chappell, and since found a more fitting and deserved sepulture; a man of great parts and abilities, but natured to mischefe, and the evil of those times he was born to make worse, and most prodigiously infamous; no man came suited with so great capacity to the overthrow of the Government, reckoning his impiety, or rather vizarded piety, into his indowments; and this is the character that most off that faction deserve, till they have run down and ruined all before them, so that griefe had overcom the currage of many a brave spirit. Into such distractions dos the continued stroake of persecuting fortun drive the most resolut minds that the most constant magnanimity is at last depressed, and forced to submit to arbitrary and incontrollable tyrany. In the closur of the

S. S.

A reflexion.

year, the English Commonwalth, being now setled, resolves to fix garrisones in Scotland. To this purpose Collonel Overtoun, setling part of his regiment in Aberdeen, landed himselfe with some forces in Orknay, planted a garrison in Kirkwall. Collonel Thomas Fitch and his regiment came down to Scotland, marched through Aberdeen in December, a rude, rageing rable of a Sectarian new regiment, running down men in the streets, I being myselfe there at time, witness of their extravagancies. Thence they marcht north to Inverness, where they were garrishoned till the Revolution. Garrisons in Scotland.

In January 1652, the Declaration called the Tender of Union came down to Scotland as their New Yeares gift, smoothed with that time serving complement of Olivers, The good people of the Nation of Scotland that we to preserved [*sic*] with their rights, civil and spirituall. This gratifyed the Kirk into a compliance, though the act of union run in setling of a Commonwalth, abolishing monarchicall government, for punishing all such as should counterveen or offend against the meaning and purpose of the said act, and that writs should no longer run in Scotland as in England in the old stile, but Commonwalth of England. The Kings armes defaced at Holyroodhouse, Netherbow, Parliament house, Castle of Edinburgh, Dundee, Aberdeen, onely the arms at the Kings Colledg wer plaistered over and hid; the same at Inverness, as I saw done, and generally all the kingdom over, *muttatis mutandis omnibus.* 1652. Tender of Union.

Dumbarton Castle is now randered by Sir Charles Erskin uppon Articles, January 5. After this Bass Island, the most dangerous place in the Firth to the English navigation, came also to a surrender; so that all was now in a calm, the 3 kingdomes haveing almost subjected to the English Estates, when suddenly a warr brake forth with Holland, begun onely at first uppon points of honnor, Van Trump, the Dutch admirall, refuseing to vaile his flagg, a ceremonial hommage which the English appropriat to themselves as Lords of the narrow seas. The Dutch calling into question the English sovereignty, the State resolve to beat them into better manners; uppon which two ambassadores from Holland, Meyn Here Catz Shaep, and Van de Perre of Zealand, came Dumbarton and Bass surrender. Ambassadors from Sweden and Holland. Jan. 15.

over to London and got audience. The Queen of Sued commissioned Monsieur Spereing ambassador that she might not be the last would own the Commonwalth; arrived here and was accepted. Base, mercenary, mean spirits.

Act of Oblivion.

Feb. 1. the Parliament published an Act of Oblivion, takeing uppon them now to pardon when they needed it onely themselves; but most men accepted it. Thus nothing remained of all the British Dominions, either of honnour, profit, or security to the nation, which their handmaid Success had not attaind to, and that in as short a space of time as the most indulgent fates ever apportioned to their greatest and whitest favourits, whose glory of conquest they increased by spareing and lessening their sweat and travel in the atchievement and purchase. In Ireland nothing held out but Galloway; yet the Act of Surrender took no effect there, seing no plenipotence was set up in that kingdom. Lambert was nominated, but by Cromuel mockt of the honnour of Lord Deputy, a person too brisk for that imployment, it being reserved for Fleetwood after his marriage with Olivers daughter and Iretouns relickt. At this time one William Lilly, that lying astrollogue and a man infamous for his prognosticks and divinations against the King, allarmd the world with a most dreadfull expectation of an approaching ecclipse such as never was, occasioning making influences and vapors. This mans wild presages were the oracles of the vulgar, for on his fatidicall lips they depended who never failed of pronouncing success to those worthes of Westminster whose Balaam he was, being hired by them to detract from the Kings majesty. Indeed this was a great and dreadfull ecclipse on March 29; it continued above two houres, from 9 to 11, a totall ecclipse, for which this was called the Black Moonday, the starrs being visible, birds frighted and fluttering, so astonishing that such as were surprised with it on the rode or by sea thought that it was the Day of Judgement; story hardly relates such another. I was myselfe at the time in Kings Colledge.

Black Moonday ecclips, March 29, 1652.

Citadales built in Scotland.

This spring Major General Dane [Dean] was appointed to spy out the most commodious situated places for forts within the kingdom. In April he laid the platform of a cittadell in Ayre as being most convenient for the trade either of France

or Ireland, lying in the most westward part in Scotland in the Highlands; thence he came for Aberden and Lieth to order other citadels there, and in the end of May one Mr. Hanes, a Germain ingenire, came to Inverness and laid the line of that citadell, which was non of the least of them.[1] I was present at the first draught cut in that ground. In this month Oliver Cromuel tooke uppon him to put a period to the siting of those long winded members at Westminster, objecting to them, when he came to displace them, that they delayed if not utterly neglected the redressing of publick grivances, that they designed their own interest and perpetuating themselves, therefore they were to sit there no longer; and, insted of these members turnd out of doores, Oliver and his officers constitut a Councell of State, to rule the Commonwealth, though they resolved to rule the Council of State; brave government! In the close of May Dunotter Castle, after the cannon had played two dayes against it, was randered to Collonel Morgan, with severall regalia and goods belonging to the Crown, though the chair of state and sceptre supposed to be there could not be found, the Crown and Scepter being secured by the ministers wife of Fetterresso.[2] May 19 was the first seafight betuixt the States of England and Hollanders in the Downes. The fight continued about 4 houres, till night parted them without much cause of boasting on either part, the victory was so uncertain. At this time the Stathouse of Amsterdam was brunt, much mony and writs lost, with incredible goods. At the mouth of the Maze, seafights were seen in the aire at noonday, with Dutch and English colloures, with other the like prognosticks, which much amazed people every quher now intent uppon the issue of the war.

Dunotter surendred.

Admirall Blake had another rancounter with Van Trump, who had 40 sail, and ingaged in Dover Rod, one Dutch ship sunk, another ship taken with 30 guns, and the captains of both and many killed uppon both sids. General Blake, with 70 men of war, went to the Northward of Orknay in June to

May 26, a fight at Dover.

[1] See for descriptions and plans of these various forts, *Scotland and the Protectorate* (Scottish History Society, vol. xxxi.).

[2] Now in Edinburgh Castle. See Sir Walter Scott's *Account of the Regalia of Scotland.*

cease the Dutch Bushes, and to meet their east India men, but missing these he tooke the 12 men of war that guarded them, haveing made a stout and gallant resistance, and killed many English. In August the French fleet, takeing part with the Dutch, and going to the reliefe of Dunkirk, most of them were taken by General Blake, and then pursued the Dutch fleet into their very harbour. But sone after Blake was worsted by the Dutch in the Downes, losing the Garland, Bonaventur, and two merchantmen. But Captain Pen took 6 Dutch ships uppon the coast of France as they were returning from the Venecian richly laden, all men of war. In November the navies engage at a place called the Kentish Knock, wherein the Dutch wer worsted, but eleven of the Dutch set uppon 4 English in the Streight, tooke the Phenix and other two, and sunk the 3d. The next engagement was at the back of Goodwin Sands, wherin the English wer worsted, 4 ships taken, and a considerable loss of men. But the greatest fight of all was near the Isle of Wight and Portland, quherin the Dutch receaved a great overthrow, 50 marchants being taken, and nine men of war, above 2000 slain, and 1500 prisoners taken. But this great victory soon after receaved a check, the English fleet in the Levant seas being again worsted by the Dutch, with the loss of most of their ships.

A fight by sea, 1653.

In April 1653 the English and Dutch fleets engage again, when, at the very first shot made by the Dutch, General Richard Dane was slain. Yet the disput turnd hot and bloudy; of the Dutch were taken 6 captains, 1200 soldiers, 11 men of war, 6 of their best ships sunk, and the English sustaind a very great losse.

July 4. A Parliament conveend at Westminster, to whom General Cromuel made a long speech, declareing how mindfull they ought to be of the wonderfull mercies of God towards this nation in the progresse of affaires since the famous victory at Worcester, and the clearness of the call to them of takeing the supream authority, intermixt with smooth phrases of Scripture to make it the more plausible. But the Councell of officers, his own creatures, mingled with them, concluded it fit to consult about the setlement of a government, and these at length, after great pretences of seeking Gods mind herein,

determined to have a single person again to be the head of the Comonwalth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with the Territories thereto belonging; and Oliver Cromuel must be the man, who, though a while seeming unwilling, yet at length yelded, and accordingly was installed Lord Protector of the Commonwalth of England with much formality and ceremony in the Chancry Court at Westminster, before the judges, Lord Mayor and Aldermen, officers of the army. Immediatly after which all publick writings changed their stile from that of the Keepers of the Liberties of England to that of Oliver, Lord Protector of England, etc.; and the City of London, to manifest their likeing of this government, invites the Protector to a magnificent treat at Grocers Hall, and the Protector, to gratefy them for this favour, knighted Thomas Vines, then Lord Mayor of London. Now hath Oliver got that prey his fingers itched after.

Cromuel created Protector.

July 20, the active Dutch were again put forth to sea with 120 men of war, and before the Texel were encountered with the English fleet. July 28, the fight was vigorously maintaind on both parts, till the Dutch Admirall, Van Trump, fighting in the midest of the English fleet, was shot with a muskat ball into the left pape and slain out right, which so discourraged their fleet that they made speedely to the Texell. The Dutch in this fight lost 30 men of war, and about 1200 men slain. The English had a formidable losse, having slain on their side Graves, Owen, Chapman, Newman, Taylor, Crisp, Cox, and Peacock, all captains, and 500 seamen, besids soldiers. The ship called the Oak was brunt, and 6 more disabled. For this eminent piece of service the petty Parliament with Cromuels concent [ordered] that chaines of gold should be presented to the Admirals Blake and Collonel G. Monk, Vice Admirall Pen, and Reer Admirall Lawson; medals to flag-captains and other officers.

In August the Scots under Generall Major Midletoun, Earle of Glencarn, Lord Kenmor, Sir George Monro, Glengarry, Camerons, Mackenzies, Frasers, raised an army off 4000 horse and foot, and at Lochgarry in Athol Lilburns forces surprised a braggad of them, where under Morgans conduct a 100 of the Scots were killed, and

Scots army allarmed.

more of the English, though the Scots were defeat. Suspicions are necessary alarms, as they at least suffer persones not to be overtaken with too much security of their affaires.

A fatall accident falls out this June, neare Inverness. One Alexander Bishop, sone to Frances Bishop, burgess at Inverness, and two with him, viz., Alexander Dunbarr, a sone of Granges, and Robert Gordon, a young burges there, walking about the fields, surprised 3 souldiers that were attending Collonel Fitch his horses grasing in Wester Kinmilies. They killed two of the English; a third escaped. Alexander Bishop and his commarads tooke away 3 of Fitches horses, and run away to the Highland army. But innocent bloud God avenges. One Jo. Kinard betrayes Alexander Bishop, being with Glengary, and, with both his commarads, are taken and brought into Invernes, sized and convict. Robert Gordon was hang on a gibbet set up at Achig ni boddach in Kinmilies,[1] wher the English were killed; Alexander Bishop and Alexander Dunbarr are hang on a gibbet set up at the Cross of Invernes; and afterwards Alexander Bishops body was hung up in chaines on a gibbet at the Blew Bridge,[2] north side of the Sconce of Invernes, being ringleader of the three, a sad spectacle to behold.

An Assembly in Scotland.

In July a Generall Assembly conveened themselves at Edinburgh, with as much authority as they did heretofore when they began the war; but such a chatter there was of remonstrances and protestations and such like knacks amongst these crumms of the kirk, which was now in a 100 fractions, that for very quietness sake, and some small considerations of the common and publick peace, one Lieutenant Collonel Cotterel was sent to dissmiss them from their seates, which he roundly did, charging them uppon their perrill not to attempt any further meetings, and that to the said purpose not any three of them should presume to meet or be seen together; so that what the King by proclamation, by the force of lawes,

[1] *Achadh nam Bodach*, the Field of the Bogles, or of the Old Men. The Torvean wood is, in Gaelic, *Coille nam Bodach*.

[2] The Blue Bridge; the drawbridge of the Sconce.

by his viceroyes, or governours generall, could not effect, an armed rebell officer quickly speeded, to the perpetuall shame of that leud convention. EPISCOPACY had the honour to proceed, nor could Monarchy be abolished while it stood, and Presbetry had the disgrace of following royall ruins; so, to our griefe, after King, exit Kirk.

At this time were great discontents among the United Provances concerning their chuseing of a Statholder and Captain Generall, most owning the Prince of Orange. Zealand and Fluishing, still adicted for the Prince, stood now for his interest; some muteny among their soldiers for pay; two of them were executed at Amsterdam, and some burgers shot uppon a sudden surmise of a rescue, a very bad omen of the war, and the consequence like to be ill.

Lord Hoptons death at Bridges.

In October the Lord Hopton, that most renouned generall in the west for the King, departed this warfare of life at Bruges in Flanders, a heroe worthy of Pompeys distanced Urus, that each region of the world should have inhum'd a piece of him, that his interment should have been as large as his fame, which hath told the universe the glory of his actions; but what is envyed him was deerfully indulged to the royal cause and the assertors of it. *Eheu jacere uno non potuit tanta ruina loco.*

A plot against the Protector, Decr. 1653.

Long was Sultan Cromuels fingers itching to be mannageing a scepter, but sees sorrow with it shortly after his installment. Heavens bliss us; immediately follows a plot, miraculously discovered, eleven of the grand conspirators are committed to the Tower, whence after a while they were again set at liberty. This web was not well spun. His spies and informers, which he entertained at a vast expence, put on their specticles, and saw another plot. The cheefe conspirators wer, Mr. Thomas and John Gerard, John Jones, Thomas Fender, and Peter Rowel, who were all condemned, but two onely suffered, Rowel and Fox, who were both hangd at Tyburn.

In Ireland the High Court of Justice was erected in December; sat at Kilkenny; thence to Waterford, Cork, Dublin. The President, Justice Donelan, an Irish native; his assistant, Justice Cooke, the infamous solicitor against the King. Many officers were condemned. Collonel Bagnel,

Colonel Tool, Colonel Mackhugh escaped, yet execut. Lord Clanmallur and Vicunt Mayn freed. Sir Phelim Onil, that great and prime ringleader of the rebellion, was betrayed by his own party and brought prisoner to the Lord Caufields house, whose father he had treacherously murthered, by that Court sentenced, hangd, and quartered. In so much that all Ireland was now wholly reduced; never were any Christian people or nation in such a wretched condition.

The fate of Ireland, 1653.

Those Irish who from a vain conceit of obtaining their liberty, and shakeing off the English yoak by their rebellion, now found it set closser and harder on, suffering the very extremity of revenge and the degrees of rage from a merciless conquering enemy, to whom 1, the crying sin of their barbarous massacres, and 2, the contempt of the King's authority when receaved amongst them, and 3, their fatal divisions among themselves, caused by the Friars and Nuncio party, had given them over as to the Priests, they were, by proclamation, upon pain of death, banished for ever out of the nation, and many of them snapt by the Irish High Court of Justice. The nation was so generally scarrd and in such a fright that happy was he that could get out of it, for no articles were pleadable here, and against a charge of things done 12 yeares agoe litle or no defence could be made; and thereby quhat was made of bloud, aggravated with the expressions of so much horrour, and the no less daunting aspect of the Court, quit confounded the amazed prisoners, so that they came like sheep to the slaughter, which before had been such ravenous wolves in preying upon the lives of the poor unarmed Scots and English. Observable it was and ominous that 3 suns were seen at Dublin by 500 spectators, near noon time of the day, to all knowing mens admiration; prodigious it was indeed, but astrologues were pusled what it might portend.

Anno 1654.

It were tedious to reckon up the swarms of severall opinions springing up in England successivly like Hydras heads, one uppon another, a task it were *ad infinitum*, tollerated or winked at. 1, Some for imposition and anointing with oyl and washing of feet; 2, some arguing against all this; 3, some for auricular confession; 4, some for Revelation only; 5, some

for baptism in 30 after Christ. Levellers and famelist to have all thing's common; some Brownists, others Millinaries, Arminians, Seekers, Ranters, Enthusiasts, Arrians, Pelagians, Quakers, Anabaptists, *cum multis aliis*. God in His judgement confusing the unlawfull State with confused unlawfull opinions in religion. The Lord knowes his own time, who suffers the tares and the wheat to grow together till the harvest. There ought to be a great care lest in plucking up the tares we pull up the wheat; we ought not to invade mens consciences, but to wait God Almighties leasur. Mat. 13.

In February the Dutch peace is concluded by their ambassador Van Heime, and this privat article was agreed betuixt them, that the Prince of Orange should never be restored to his dignities, offices, and charge his ancestors had and enjoyed; and this urged for the better conservation of the peace, which would by his restitution be endangered becaus of his relation to the King; other articles, as the taking in the Danish King into the treatty, and the right of the flagg was acknowledged to be given to the English in all rancounters. Cromuell was the willinger to conclud this peace by reason of his new setlement in the thron, and the Dutch friendship necessary for his establishment; and all added reputation to him and his parasiticall party, pratling in his eare that he might bring the Dutch to anything. The Dutch peace concluded.

The 8 of February, being Ash Wednesday, the Lord Protector was feasted by the Lord Mayor in Grocers Hall, a very unsuitable day for any festivall, but his entertainment, who inverted all things. The streetes being railed from Temple Barr thither, and met at the said gate by Alderman Viner, Lord Maior, who delivered him his sword, boar it on horsbak before him all the way, and a deep silence in sign of reverence all along, as if a funerall had been *en passant*, not so much as How doe ye being given dureing the whole cavilcad. After dinner he knighted Alderman Veiner, who, returning home, angered his wife with this addition to his honour, a great loyalist who had great and real worth and honor both in her name and nature. Oliver, at his return, had the second course of a brickbate from the top of a house in the Strand, by St. Clements, which light uppon his coach and almost spoiled

his digestion with the dareingness of the affront. Great search was made, but in vain; the person could not be found, and vengence was not yet ripe to rain upon him from heaven, he for it or it for him.

Now is Oliver ambitious to have his progeny promoted, and therefore his second sone is created Lord Hendry of O., and sent him over into Ireland to shew himselfe there in state against his approaching viceroyship there, so that he had made sure of the 3 nationes, if Richard C. were ready to march for Scotland. But now *nill omni parte beatum.* Oliver gets disturbance from Scotland. General Midleton, in March, geting his commission from the King, landed in Sutherland, at Ferry Unes,[1] with the Lord Napier, Maior Generall Dalziell, Colonel Lodwick Drummond, and 200 more, tryed the pulse of all the clanes, and many joined with him, marches west to meet with his majesties forces, now under the command of Glencarn, Kenmor, Athol, Seaforth, Sir George Monro; Morgan in their reer, and Collonel Brayn, ordered from Ireland with 2000 foot by sea, to hem them in to an ingagement, and General Monk, commanding in cheef in Scotland, under Cromuel, is up in arms to persue the Scots, now in the hills, the Royall party being reinforced in Abertarfh to the number of 4000. But their animosity and divisiones wronged them, the commanders contending for place. The Earl of Glencarn, stomacking the supream command to be conferd upon Midleton, which was thought the best expedient to unit them, but the ruptur began betuixt Glencarn and Sir George Monro, whither for competition or conduct is concealed, but they fought a combat at Evich,[2] and Sir George carried the mark in his hand, which I often saw. General Monk and Colonel Morgan, in distinct bodies and severall wayes, pursued them, but still gave them the slip, for it was not advisable to give them an encounter, but tire their enemy out; and nothing but invincible patience and resolution could endure that toil and want of provision, through rocks, hills, precipices, glens, and bogs, evin incommodious to the natives themselves; but all the whil no engagement, but skirmishes betuixt their

[1] Unapool Ferry, Kylesku.

[2] Evelix, near Dornoch.

scoutes. The body of the forces under Midleton and the other nobles crossed over Abertarph into Glenelg. General Monk, pursueing them the length of Kintail, at last was forced to reteere, lest he should be starved and cut off, or his army disabled. The 19 of July he came in to Glenstrafarrar, and that night leagured in the plaines of Brolin, weary and in want, and full of feare, so that the Generall himselfe confessed that 200 men might have cut of his whole camp. Next morrow down through Strathglaish, and bated at Struy and Erchiles, where I happened to be among them, and had the full account of their march and circumstances.[1] General Midleton went north to Ross; Glencarn went south, and, at Dumbarton, with 500 men, submitted. Some puny skirmishes happened, such as Captain Elsmores takeing of Sir Arthur Forbes; the routing of Macknaughten in Glenlion; Collonel Cobbet, Governour of Dundee, defeated the Earl of Kinoul, and tooke him prisoner, with the Lord Didop and Lieutenant Colonel Mercer, the Lord Forrester, and Kenmore. The Earl of Athol and Marques of Montross capitulat. Lord Lorn now flew again into arms to collour those late treacheries and treasons he had underhand mannaged from Cromuel. He joined with Macknaughton, and surprised Colonel Bryan and Captain Nicholas in Inverara, and made his prim tearmes by that lucky surprise to his advantage! The noble General Monk, giveing oblidging conditions to all that capitulat with him, showed all the favour that could be expected in point of fines and forfeiture, which firmly engaged the nobles and gentry to him for the futur, which no doubt he had the principally in his eye. He then invited Generall Midleton to enter into treaty with him, which was at the time mannaged, and in a manner concluded by Major Generall Drummond; but Midleton rescinded as proceeding from a principle of honor and right, lest his takeing conditions as the Kings Lieutenant obtaind from the enemy might be construed a

[1] See for Monck's route, *Highland Monthly*, May 1892; and *Scotland under the Protectorate* (Scot. Hist. Society), pp. xxi-xxiii, map at p. 148. See generally, for the events of this period, that work; *Glencairn's Expedition*; *Scotland and the Commonwealth* (Scot. Hist. Society); Gardiner's *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate*; and Keltie's *History of the Highlands*.

cessation of that kingdom to the usurper, as the Lord Ormond had with great punctilio given him a very noble precedent to follow.

General Monk then got in the Tutor of Lovat, Captain Thomas and Captain James, his brothers, to pass bale to him, and then the Tutor himselfe secured for all the rest of the name of Fraser who were then in arms for the King. Seaforth treated and entered prisoner in the cittadel of Inverness, Sir George Monro, Mackleod, and Mackonilduy[1] got the same Articles; also Eneas M'kdonell of Glengary had the honor to rander the last armes that were taken up for his Majesty in the kingdom of Scotland, and enter his person prisoner in the citadell of Inverness. General Monk, having quartered his army abroad in the country, and himselfe tarried at Inverness till all was finished. At this time he was pleased to accept of a supplication given up to him by Jean Gordon, whose sone Alexander Bishop had been hung up in chaines on a gibbet opposit to the blew bridg of the citadell now near a twelvmonth past. He generously ordered his corps to be taken down and delivered to his friends to be brought to christian interment. After settling all things successfully in the North to all mens contentment he marcht through Murray south, visiting all the garrisones in his way forward to Edinbrugh, giving strait commands to all the governoures to keep in their souldioures from doing any hurt to Scotchmen.[2]

I now dismiss that long continued war with this valedictory elogy to both these honorable generals. The one of them just ceased his indefatigable industry for the recovery of the Kings rights, and had a royal conge and write of *Emeritus est*; and the other, like an altern luminary, began or rather renued his auspicious aspect uppon the Kings restitution, so that the brightness of the majesty off Scotland was never totally

[1] Mac Dhomhnuill Duibh, the Gaelic patronymic of Lochiel.

[2] Monck's own 'Narrative of Proceedings in the Hills, from June 9 to July 1654,' shows that he was at Dunain, near Inverness, on 3rd July, and at Faillie, in Strathnairn, on his way south, on the 6th. He was, therefore, not more than three days in Inverness. From Faillie he proceeded by Strathdearn, Strathspey, and Badenoch, into Perthshire. See *Scotland and the Protectorate*, p. 148, *et seq.*

obscured; and long may they now shine together, without diminution to each others lustur, in this glorious and perpetuall firmament of his Majesties present and perpetual empire.

In England Monsieur de Boas, the French embassador, had heareing, prosecuting the treatty amain, and our Sovereign, King Charles 2, withdrew, and departed from Paris to the Spaw by Liege, quher he was magnificently treated by that city; and so onward on his jowrnay to meet his sister, the Princess of Orange. The Duke of York is still at Paris, motioned to be Lieutenant Generall of the French army in Italy. In August, upon a Friday, Prince Cromuel being now out of action and secure, being desirous to divert himselfe with driving of his coach and 6 horse in hide park, with his secretary Thurlomit, like Mephistophelus and Doctor Faustus, carrier-it in the air to try how he could govern horses, since rationall creatures were difficult to be reined; like another Phæton he fell in the experiment from the coach box, which was presently posted into the city, and many ominous conjectures made of his catastrophy, one of the ingenious songs dropt at Whithall gate ending in this presagious rithm :— The King from Paris, July 1654.

> Every day and hour hath show'd us his power,
> But now he hath show'd us his Art;
> His first reproach was a fall from his coach,
> His next will be from a Cart.

The army is now wholly by the millenary principle, and that was to be purged. Harrison and Rich were laid asid; Harrison and Carrew committed into several remoat castles. General Monk had order to seaze Major General Overtoun, and the Majors Brainston and Holms, and cashier them, after fines and good securety for their behaviour. Overton was sent up to the Tower, and his regiment conferrd on Colonel Morgan. Colonel Okeys regiment was also given to the Lord Howard. Colonel Joyce likewayes layd aside, malecontent; signified so much to Cromuels face, quhom he upbraided with his own service and his faithlessness; but escaped any other censur than a biding, Begone! as one of the made men who would say or do quhat they were bid.

Major Wildman, a great leveller, was taken at Marlborrow, indicting declarations against the Protector, and was committed to Chepstow. Lockhart, one of the Scotch judges, married Olivers niece in December, and grew famous thereby in the process of the Rebellion, being sent Ambassador to France.

Duke of Glocester from Paris.

Our King is now at Colon uppon the Rhein, quher he was most amply and with more than custumary honors welcomed from the Spaw in Germany. Then the Marques of Ormound conducted and brought away the Duke from the Jesuits Colledge in Paris, though the Queen Mother had sent the Marques of Praslin and the Lord Abbot Montague to perswad him to stay and not displease his mother, and follow her advice, which was to have him trained in the Romish religion. Yet the young prince, good Glocester, understanding his brothers pleasur, answeired, as his blissed father had enjoined, that he was to obey his father before his mother; and so came away with the Marques to the King, then at Collen on the Rhein.

In December died Cromuells aged mother, the unhappy parent of this usurper, who lived to see her sone through such a deluge of bloud swim to a perplexed throne; in the share of whose greatnesse she was concerned, as to the princly accommodation of her maintenance, and her burriall, at in death being laid in King Henry 7. his chappell in great state. O, the insensible and unregarded grouth of all heresie and errour in this licentious tolleration which invaded the church and disturbs her peace, which all Christians mourn for. In this sad sickness I leave her, to take fresh air abroad!

* * * *

[Follows Account of Affairs in France, Germany, Sweden, Poland, Russia, Spain, Portugal, Turkey, and Rome.]

1655. Scotland and England.

To return to Brittain. *Anno* 1654, an ordinance passed for uniting Scotland in one Commonwalth with England, and the armes thereof to be quartered, as were the Irish, with one crosse, and harp, and Olivers lion saliant placed in the midle, which is as good heraldry as this escutchion deserves; that kingdom to be no otherwayes charged in assesment and tax

then proportionally to England, and to pay no more excise. This is the two whimsies of this vain Union! In the begining of March, Monk, haveing the power in Scotland, proclames Oliver in great state in Edinburgh, and then Argyle, takeing off his vizor, plainly and openly sids with the English and foments divisions among the Scotsh, his sone, the Lord Lorn, departing in a discontent and quarrell from the Earle of Glencairn, and returning to the old fox, his father, for more witt. At this time a ship on Suthwick side tooke accidentall fire as she lay at anchor, which, being cut, was driven near the bridg, quher she stuck and blew up her powder; 8 persons were kild, and had the blow been higher it would have broake that famous pile. Another ship in fresh wharfe near the bridge. Another terrible fire in Threednedle Street, to the loss of 200,000 £. and upwards; hardly a sader loss to London of a long time; and generally there were very many and sad conflagrations, that attended this bontefeu and his usurpation, and as many memorable unruly accidents ended it, as by the sequall will yet appear to the surviver.

In April the noble Duke James of Lenox and Richmond died of a quartan ague that held him about a yeare, contracted as was supposed from a continued consumptive griefe of the King and his affaires; nor was he ever in any healthfull condition since the martyredom of King Charles the First.

Peace with France.

Now do the Spaniard at Dunkirk declare open war against England, and thereupon immediatly was a peace concluded betuixt France and Britain, one of the articles of which was that the King of France should exclud Charles Stuart, King of England, and all his relationes and adherents out of his dominions; and accordingly the Duke of York was complemented to depart France by such a time, nor was his retinue to stay behind him; and had his majesty himselfe been there he must have expected the same dealeing, who by Providence was then in Flanders. This month also died that learned prelat, Doctor James Usher, Archbishop of Armach and Primat of all Ireland, and was solemnly interred in Westminster Abbey.

September 20. Our King went up to Frankfort; a great faire with other affaires invited him thither, royally convoyed

by water, saluted with ample ceremonies in every city and town they passed; his train, the Prince of Orange, the Duke of Glossester, Marques of Ormond, Earl of Norwich, Lord Neuburgh, Collonell Daniel Oneal, Doctor Alexander Fraser, Dorris, Lord Stanhop and his lady, with many knights and gentlemen. Christina, Queen of Sweden, after the publick ceremonies were over, at Kingston an enterview happened betuixt her and our King, and had an houres conference with her there. Thence she went up through Germany for Italy, and highly treated by the Duke of Tyroll at Inshburgh, and there she professed herselfe Roman Catholick. His Majesty haveing continued sometime at Frankfort, where the States and Deputies of the Empire were assembled, to finish what was left at the Diet, where he got a pressing invitation from the Elector of Mentz, and there he entered with all the state which that place could afford and that Prince could set forth or furnish his entrance with, and entertaind with an expence befitting his dignity, and diverted with all honorable recreations; and with the same grandure departed for Collen, for greater honnores were not done to any Prince in the world, so much did the injuries of his condition advance these peoples civility, especially his great friend, the Duke of Neuburgh, who convoyed his Majesty back and forward in great grandur. In October Signiour Paluzi, the Venice ambassador, was recalled, and Signiour Fransesco, that had lain a while at London incognito, appeared in that qualety in his room, and did notablie complement Cromuel with his puissance, valour, and prudence, and offered the respects and service of that Signyorie. Argyle, also, from Scotland came to kiss his highness hands.

Cromuels tyranny. 1656.

Now Cromuel will have his supream authority to be known, and therefore begins this yeare with tyrannical proceedings against the royalist layty and clergy. To this end he erected a new military authority in all the counties of the 3 kingdomes, with an unbounded power. Their commission was to take a roll and account of all suspect persones of the Kings party, and bind them to the peace; to reveal all plots; to suppress all horse races, cockmatches, and other confluence of people; to secure the high wayes, take engagements from royalists for their children and servants, and such as did not

give securety to commit to prison; to raise and receave mony rising from sequestration and decimation, that no royalist should keep or weare either armes, defensive or offensive, but streightway deliver them, so that they lay at the mercy of whomsoever they met, and at the descretion and charety of whosoever resorted to their houses for quhat they had lost. In short there was nothing which they might not doe, such an arbitrary vast power they had from the Protector. In Scotland new commissioners were added for the sale of delinquent lands; and, to prevent their fraud in the purchasing thereof, a new great and privy seal was sent down from England. In March the Earl of Glencarn, uppon suspition of a plot, was taken, and secured by Monk in Edinburgh Castle.

In the close of this month the Princess of Orange went by the way of Antwerp and Peroun in France to visit her mother, the Queen of Britain, at Paris; and our King came to the royal mansion off Trevour in Brisils in order to a nearer communion of counsels, for the Spaniards embrassed and shook hands with his interest as their own affaires governd them.

In April a sad accident happened. The Abby of Spalding, being let out into chambers, in one off which as the people were prophaning by dauncing and makeing merry, the roofe fell, and was the death of 23 persones, and 20 dangerously hurt and bruised. A 2. accident, Sir Thomas Ascock cut his own throat, a paper being found in his chamber where he had reckoned 20 severall preservations, yet God gave him up to this dreadfull temptation. A 3d. was Freeman Sonds, the younger sone of Sir George Sonds in Kent, killed his elder and onely brother in bed, and was immediatly hangd for it. The instigation was his brother having got a new excellent suit of cloathes for Court, and he not getting the like, reveingd it by fratricid; which sad and strange story had almost past observation. Clerk, in his examples, gives it at large, which my reader may peruse. A 4. accident the Cittadell of St. Johnston was fired and almost consumed, but the provisions saved. 1655.

The Citadel of Inverness is now on a great length almost finished. They had first built a long row of building, made of brick and planks, uppon the River side, of a great length, to accommodat the regiment, and ramparts and bulwarks of The Citadel of Invernes.

earth in every street in the town, and also fortified the Castell and the Bridge and the main Court of guard at the Cross. They bought a large plat of ground from the burgers called Carseland, where they built their cittadale, founded May 1652, and now finished, a most statly sconce. It was 5 cornered, with bastians, with a wide grast or trench, that an ordinary bark might sail in it at full tide. The breastwork 3 storys, built all of hewn ston, lined within with a brick wall, Centinel houses of stone on each corner, a sally port to the south leading to the town, and on the north the great entry or gate called the port, with a strong drawbridge of oake called the blew bridge, and a statly structur over the gate, well cut with the Commonwalths arms and this motto TOGAM TVENTVR ARMA. This bridge was drawn every night, and a strong guard within. Ships or shallops sailing in or out, the bridge was heaved to give way. The entry from the bridge into the Citadell was a statlie vault about 70 foot longs, with seates on each side, and a rod of iron hooks for picks and drums to hang on. In the center of the citadel stood a great foursquare building, all hewn stone, called the magazin and granary; in the 3 story was the Church, well furnished with a statly pulpit and seates; a wide bartasin at top, and a brave great cloak with 4 large guilded dyalls, and a curious bell. Southeast stood the great long English building 4 story high, so called being built by English masones; and Southwest the Scotch building of the same dimensions, built by Scotch masones; Northwest and northeast lower stories for amunition, timber, lodgings for manufactories, stables for horses, provision, brewing houses, a great long tavern quher all manner of wines, viands, beer, ale, cider, was sold by one Master Benson; so that the whole regiment was accommodat within these walls. A cinquport or conduit run under ground from the on to the other side, with grates of iron at ends, which at flowing and ebbing carried away the filth and ordor of all the citadel. All their oake planks and beames was carried out of England in ships to Cessock rode; all their firr, logg, spar rofe beames, sold ther out of Hugh Fraser of Struyes woods. I saw that gentleman receave 30 thousand marks at once for timber. Most of their best hewn stone was taken from Chanory, the great Cathe-

drall and Steeple, the Bishops Castle, to the foundation, rased, the church and Abby of Kinloss and Beuly, the Gray Friars and St. Maries chappell at Inverness, and many mo; so that it was a sacrilegious structure and therefore could not stand.[1]

At the digging of the trenches, every man got a shilling sterling wages a day, so that all the country people flockt in to that work, and hardly could yow get one to serve yow; and the soldiers made more mony attending it than their dayly pay amounted to. This great work was finished in the 5 yeare; and commissary Coup, who advanced the mony to masones, carpenters, and others, told me that the whole expense of it amounted to about 80 thousand libs. sterling.

There were a 1000 men in the regiment. Collonel Thomas Fitch, governour, Lieutenant-Collonel Jo. Ditton, Major Anthon Bird, Captain Miles Man, Captain Georg Blunt, Captain George Bateman, Captain Will. Langrige, Captain John Wilks, Captain Alexander Osberry, Captain Jo. Hill, Captain Henry Spuner, etc. Lieutenant Colonel Ditton dround on Findorn River, and Major Bird dyed in Orknay, and Colonel Fitch called to England; so that now Miles Man succeeded collonel, and Blunt lieutenant colloñel, and Hill major. Mr. Hery Gee was regiment minister, a presbiterian who succeeded Gosle, an Undependant who came first here. Mr. Thomas Rockby was secretary. They brought such store of all wares and conveniencies to Inuerness that English cloath was sold neare as cheape here as in England; the pint of claret win for a shilling; set up an appothecary shop with drugs, Mr. Miller their chyrurgion, and Doctor Andrew Monro their phisitian. They not onely civilised but enriched this place; they fixt a garrison at Inverlochy,[2] and carried a bark driven uppon rollers of wood to the Lochend of

[1] The author gives a similar description of the citadel in his 'Triennial Travels,' adding: 'The row of buildings betwixt the Sconce and the Chappell yard was called the Line, for sick soldiers to lodge in, and several ale houses and taverns, and good accommodation for strangers to lodge. . . . On the banners was St. Georges Cross only, and EBENEZER in gold.' During operations on the Inverness harbour in 1900, some of the oak beams of the fort and part of the chain of the Blue Bridge were dug out.

[2] See *Scotland and the Protectorate*, for plan of the citadel of Inverlochy.

A curious neat friggot on Loch Ness.

Ness, and there enlarged it into a statly friggot, to sail with provision from the one end of the loch to the other; one Mr. Church governour, and Lieutenant Orton captain of this friggot, and 60 men aboord of her to land uppon expeditions where they pleased. I happened myselfe, with the Laird of Strachin, near Portclare, to be invited aboord by Orton, where we were gentily treated. It were a rant to relate what advantages the country had by this regiment. Story may yet record it, but I onely set down in the generall something of what I was eyewitness.

The law here is strick against loyalists; so that the Earl of Seaforth entered his person prisoner in the Sconce, as also the Lord M'kdonel,[1] and had their respective lodgings within the Citadell. Seaforth procured a forloph this year [1655], puting himselfe under bail to Governour Miles Man, and went to visit his friends the length of Kintail; and, resolving to keep a hunting be ther way in the Forrest of Monnair, he prevaild with the Master and Tutor of Lovat to goe along with him, Captain Thomas Fraser his brother, Hugh Fraser of Struy, Hugh Fraser younger Culboky, Hugh Fraser of Belladrom, Alexander Fraser, barron off Moniak, Thomas Fraser, Eskidel, and with them the flower of all the youth in our country, with a 100 pretty fellowes more. We traveled through Strathglaish and Glenstrafarrar to Loch Monnair. The Tutor pitcht his tent upon the north bank of the river, and Struy his tent upon the south. Next day we[2] got sight of 6 or 700 deere, and sportt off hunting fitter for kings than country gentlemen. The 4 days we tarried there, what is it that could cheere and recreat mens spirits but was gone about, jumping, arching, shooting, throwing the barr, the stone, and all manner of manly exercise imaginable, and every day new sport; and for entertainment our baggage was well furnished of beefe, mutton, foule, fishes, fat venison, a very princly camp, and all manner of liquors. The 5 day we convoyed Seaforth over the moun-

A hunting in the forrest of Monnar.

[1] Angus Macdonell of Glengarry, a noted Royalist chief, created Lord Macdonell and Aros after the Restoration. See his bond to Cromwell, dated 'at the Sconce, near Inverness,' 12th March 1655, in *Trans. of Gaelic Society of Inverness*, vol. xiv. p. 74.

[2] Our author was evidently one of the party.

tain in sight of Kintail, and so returnd home, with the Master of Lovat, a very pretty train of gallant gentlemen, that Mr. Hill and Man, two Englishmen who were in company, declared that in all their travels they never had such brave divertisment, and if they should relate it in England it would be concluded meer rants and incredible.

1656. The Lord Cranston his new levy.

This yeare the Lord Cranston haveing gotten a Cornels Commission levyes a new regiment of voluntiers for the King of Poles service, and it tristed well for his incurragement and advantage, for the royalists chused rather to goe abroad, though in a very meane condition, than live at home under a yoke of slavery. The Collonel sent one Captain Montgomry north in June, and had very good luck, listing many for the service; and himselfe followed after in August, and, reseeding at Invernes, sallied out to visit the Master of Lovat, and in 3 dayes got 43 of the Frasers to take on. Among the rest Captain James Fraser, my Lord Lovats sone, engages, and without degradation Cranston gives him a Captains commission. Hugh Fraser, young Clunvacky, takes on as lieutennant; William Fraser,[1] sone to Mr. William Fraser of Phoppachy, an ensign; James Fraser, sone to Foyer, a corporall. The Lord Lovats sone, Captain James, had 22 young gentlemen with the rest, who ingaged be themselves out of Stratharick, Abertarph, Aird, and Strathglaiss, that I heard the Collonel say he was vain of them for gallantry—not so much that they wer free and willing, but valorous. I saw them march out of Invernes, and most of the English regiment lookeing on with no small commendation as well as emulation of their bravery.

* * * * *

[Follows account of affairs in England, etc., till the death of Cromwell.]

In the closur of August [1658] Olivers fatall end and period was ushered in by an extraordinary dreedfull tempest and violent gust of weather, which blew down many houses, tore the trees up at the rootes, one in the old Palace yard by the Parliament house, which by the event hath signified no other-

[1] Brother of the author.

wayes then the eradicating of the root and branch of his cursed government. It was a horrid tempest or whirrycane, as if nature would have the Protectors death to be accompanied with a generall fright and horrour. August 24, the Protector was removed in a whirry by night from Hampton Court to Whithall, where his chaplaines and others of that pious famely kept privat meetings and fastings for his recovery, of which they were so vainly confident that they obtruded their unseasonable thanks to God for the certanty of it, and with the same unseasonable flattery and pickthank with Oliver himselfe, deluded him into the like persuasion, so that he told his phisitians he should not dye this bout. But his fits growing worse and worse caused him talk idly and faint often; whence the conclusion was that he would scarce survive another paroxism. His Privy Councell, astonished, immediatly repared to him about setling a successor, and he being scarcely himselfe interrogat him if he appointed not his sone Richard, replyed in a sume, Yea: but in his ultimat thoughts itt was judged truely he designed Fleetwood. But the distraction of his choice betuixt his sone and sone in law made him leave it undetermin'd. But a privat will anent his famely he made at his first sickness at Hampton Court. September 1. at night he roared and bellowed, nay, blasphamed, that his chaplaines deserted the roome; and Parson Peters, that counterfit imposture, was not to be found, leaveing him at Hampton Court. His roaring and blustering like a bull frighted men, blowing with a will, God have mercy, am I damned? Many things reported that I terrify to rehearse; but Captain Johnstoun and Miss Jean Monro, who still attended him, gave me this account.[1]

The Protectors noisom death.

It is certain that those tampering chaplaines of his, Manton, Caril, Calamy, Owen, Ash, Peters, undependants, run away into obscurity, that non could be found to pray, God have mercy upon him! He continued in that dreedfull, desperate, deplorable condition Thursday night, with spectras, apparitions, ulings, about the roome, till Friday, September 3, about

[1] The author was in London from 21st December 1659 till 28th April 1660.—'Triennial Travels.'

3 a'clock in the afternoon, he marcht off from his earthly honoures, and receaved his bill of ease, though it had been rumord that he was carried away in the tempest the day before. His body being opened and dissect, his milt was found full of corruption and filth, which was so strong and stinking that after the corps were embalmed and filled with aromatick odors, and wrapt in cearcloaths, sex duble, in an inner sheet of lead and a strong cemented woden coffin, yet the filth broke through all, and raised such a noisom stench that they feared a contagion might be occasioned, and so had no shift but to sand the coffin deep in a vault. But his name and memory stinks worse, leaving a lasting stain to stick to his unhappy posterity. What character can be given this catife who is now gone to his place!

To say truth, the fortun off this usurper, by its constancy and confluence of successes in so many desperat hazards and adventures in which his ambition had ingaged, made the nation give him over for impatible, and as one exempted from these conditions to which other mortalls were oblidged, and with a setled terror to expect the extremity of all mischeefes, and that it would come at last to that calamity and tragical slavery of delivering our children tributary and vassalls to the lust and dominion of his new found famely. Nothing was concluded on more than this, that certainly before we should arive at our liberty and foundamental rights and lawes, we were to pass and wead through another reed sea, and its like colloured elements of fire; such his intractable obstinacy, and fixed resolution of uncontrollable empire or vast ruin, that Neros Iambick would better and more amply have fitted Oliver—

Ἐμοῦ . . . . . πυρὶ

Since whil I lived all fate I did defie,
Blend fire and earth together quhen I die!

* * * * *

[Follows account of Cromwell's character and funeral, Richard Cromwell's rule, and Monk's March to London.]

March 1 [1660] he [General Monk] came with his army to Westminster, and; haveing conveened all the secluded members

The Long Parliament restord and setled, March 1.

at Whithall, went with them to the House of Commons, and set them in Parliament, who presently vacated many orders made by the aforsaid remnant, in reference to the Kings death, their own seclusion, all votes lately made by them touching new members, released prisoners, Sir George Both and others, constituted the Generall Captain and Comander in Chiefe of all the forces in England, Scotland, and Ireland, suspended the power of the Council of State till they had erected a new one of which the Generall was made one, ordered the gates and portcullises of London to be repaired uppon the publick charge, the militia to be secured in honest hands, all places of trust and power taken away out of the hands of the Sectarians hands, and voted a free and full Parliament to be chosen and sit at Westminster April 25. And as the General was universally and deservedly courted, the City especially shewed themselves most affectionat admirers off those great services he had done his country. All the 12 companies haveing invited him successively to their halls, quher he was feasted with all sumptuous magnificence love or charge could shew or offer to any person, the Parliament had no less resentment of his glorious undertakeings. He was constitute one of the Generalls at sea, Colonel Montague, Earl of Sandwich, the other, setled on him the stewardship of Hampton Court.

1660. Ireland concent.

In Ireland Sir Charles Coot declares for a free Parliament, possesses himselfe of Dublin Castle, and imprisoned all the Anabaptists and Sectarian officers; and immediatly all Ireland and the army there declared themselves satisfied in this most happie change, offering their lives and fortunes in the maintenance and defence of the Parliament and his Excellency; all which was signified to the General.

Scotland most cordially concents.

In Scotland there was never greater joy and acclamations heard in every honest mans mouth and heart. The Generall ordered the Scotch Lords that were imprisoned at Windzor Castle since Worcester battell, to be released, such as Earl of Crawford, Earl of Lauderdale, Earl of Rothes, Annandal, Lord Colvil, Lord Sinclar; for 7 yeares bygon they were confined. I happened, with D. Leonard, Mr. Liddel, Kineire, Blair, and many mo, to accompany them by water to Somerset

Scots Lords releassed.

House, to kisse the Generalls hands. The garrisones and cittadells in Scotland, whither formall or real, keept their solemnities and thanksgiving for the Generalls safe arrival and the setlement. The Castle off Edinburgh and Lieth Citadell gave signall demonstration of joy by their volly of guns, small shot and bonfires; the Citadell of Air the same. The sectarian officers imprisoned in Tantallan, the Bass, and Sterlin, were releast and dissmissed. The sting of power was now taken away, so that they could do no hurt.

In the North all things regular and quiet. The Citadell of Aberdeen declares for the Generall and the Parliament; and the Citadell of Inverness, though their leading officers were sectarians, yet they could make no noise or sturr for feare of the Highlanders uppon their nose. There is alterationes in this garrison also. The death of Leutenant Colonel Blunt, the Anabaptist, living in the castle, quher he died, gave others promotion. Captain Hill is made Lieutennant Collonel, and sent to be Governour at Inverlochy. Captain Beatman is made Major, and sent to Cathness to be Governour of Sinclar Castle in Thurso East, where he lived like any prince, for place and respect; no Earle could exceed him for grandur, spending provision and priveledge, the splendur of his court answeirable; the man being of an oblidging, mild temper gaind him the affection of the Cathness people of all ranks and degrees. The prisoners confind in the sconce of Inverness were set at freedom uppon bale, viz. Glengary, afterward Lord Mackdonel, went abroad with his lady, stayed a while in Spain, and came home in the revolution and restauration of King Charles. The Earle of Seaforth keeps home, and is matcht with a kinswoman of his own, a daughter of the Laird Tarbuts; after all mens hops of him debases himselfe mean sprited to marry below himselfe, geting neither beuty, parts, portion, relation.

Kenneth, Earl of Seaforths, his marriage.

Lord Hugh Fraser of Lovat, being at the Colledg of Saint Andrewes, is sent north by his granduncle, the Earle of Wemes, to see what circumstance his estate was in under tutory. His uncle Alexander, *vulgo* Master of Lovat, had been now intromettor and administrator these ten yeares bygon, and litle good done with the rents of the Lordship all

Hugh Lord Lovat came north.

the while. Nor would the tutor give up his trust untill his nephew were major. Sybilla M'kenzie, the tutors lady, an ambitious and avaritious woman, turnd a very Hector and Bangster, would not suffer my Lord to intromet, nor let her husband give up accountes unto any till the legall yeares of his minority were elapsed; and this was like to breed trouble. But my Lord Lovat had chosen his curators in 14, so that the Tutor is charged south and at their instance; and, for further confirmation, they contrive a match betuixt the young Lord and Miss Anna M'Kenzie, Tarbuts daughter. Her brother, Sir George, being a smart pregmatick man, and also a lawyer about the Colledge of Justice, he was very fit to mannage the Lord Lovats affaires against the Tutor, and prove Sybillas Scurge, which in a short time he did; and so M'Kenzie *contra* M'Kenzie; and to this end Sir Georg M'Kenzie of Tarbut comes north and solemnisd the marriage betuixt his sister and Lovat in Miltoun of Ross, his own dwelling house, and so privat that none of the friends knew of it till it was consumat, September 27, 1659. Thus were we bought and sold, my Lord Lovat, our Cheefe, betrayed, being but 17 yeares current, when he ought to be kept at schooles and colledges to be educat, is put under the yock of marriage, was unaccountable, and the onely thing that broke him, which, alas, prov'd too true, in our sad experience, *et ad natos natorum et quæ nascuntur ab illis.*

My Lord Lovat married September 1659.

In October the Lord Lovat and his Lady went south, accompanied with his uncle, the Tutor, and several of his kinsmen. He stayed all the winter at the Weemes with the Earle, his granduncle, and in the spring tooke up his lodging at Edinburgh, and differences being composed and agreed betuixt him and his tutor. In March John Orak of Fuly, in Fife, was sent North with a messenger, the keyes of Lovat and Dalcross and Beauly delivered to him in my Lord Lovats name, and a court kept, to that effect entered Chamerlane, and called the tennants to an account, settling the affaires of the country, and, with Struys concurrance, secured the rents, silver duty and customes, for the behoofe of the minor; and so returnd to the south again, giveing the curcators great satisfaction in all his proceedings. In June my Lady Lovat

was delivered of a daughter called Anne, and the Tutor necessitat to perform the part of a parent, and present the child to the font of baptism, the Lord Lovat declining that duty, being so young that he was ashamed to countenance the christning of his own daughter, imitating the Church of England, giving it to the godfather. Lovat stayed all that year in Edinburgh untill preparationes were made for his living in the North, and his lady not being fitt for traveling so farr a journay, with other things which intervened. Lady Lovat delivered of a daughter.

The Master of Lovat (as he was termed), being now under bale to the cureators to clear his accounts with them tuixt and Whitsunday 1661, returns home, and by his ladys instigation charges all the tennants within the lordship before a baliefe court, obtaining decreets in there contrare to make punctuall payments of all bygon run on duties under the pane of poinding, so that if they had not been *solvendo* and *in bonis* by these happy opulent times his rigour in the exaction might have broken many of them irrecoverably. Lady Sybilla was heard to make use off that Scriptur, Give an account of thy stewardship, for thou canst be no longer steward. Shee concluded that, seing the Tutor her husband was to be severly handled, shee would spare none, as the event proved; being so bad a tutrix to so bare a young Lord. Masters had need look well to the chuseing of their servants. Solomon saw that Jeroboam was industrious, and therefore, without respect at all to his religion, he made him ruler over all the charge of the house of Joseph, but to his singular dissadvantage, as it fell out by Sybillas reckoning after so long a delay. *Villicus rationem cum domino suo crebro putet*, said Cato; Stewards should often account with their masters, else polecy and ploting prevail not, but the fox is wise in his generation, the serpent subtile, so is the divil, too; when he was but young he evicted our first parents. Subtile Sybilla thought to supplant, but she was supplanted, and to have reckoned with herselfe, but it was before the host; and concluded that she had cast a knot too hard to loose, but *malus nodus malus currens*; she met with hard heads and hands, but a hard hap. This tutory did much ill to the Lord Lovat, no good to themselves, and it begins now to be the fate of that famely to trist with bad tutors. If Luke 16. 1. 1 Kings 11. 28. cha. 12, 8. 1660.

Sir James was ill, Tutor Alexander is no better; yet this woman compast sea and land to proselit to purchase, and had many advantages for ten yeares, yet left nothing; and besids the incumbs of the rents yearly, she labourd Tommich, where she lived, and the great Mains of Lovat; Bunchrive also, quher her grasing was, and Dalcross, which was non of the worst. She payd stipend to ten ministers, and gloried in this that shee trappand some of them; for shee got Mr. John Houstons discharge in her hand to know the quota, and, whither by his forgetfullness or her falshood, when he sought his 300 marks the discharge was presented *in foro*, and the honest minister cheated. My own *causa scientiæ* of this makes me relate it, but it proved a moth in her mony.

Great mortality in the North.

This and last yeare happened a sad mortality, and this house and famely of Lovat had its fatal share. By the death of D. Ross Balnigown and his lady, Mary, a daughter of Lord Hughes, Anna Fraser, Countess of Sutherland, a 2d daughter of the famely, the Lord Arbuthnot, as sone in law of the famely, and Katharin Fraser his lady was shortly after married to Andrew Lord Fraser of Mucholl, one of the prettiest noblemen in the kingdom. Hector Monro, Laird of Foules, a brave youth, died in Strathnaver this yeare, not without suspition of malifice. Alexander Chisholm of Commer died in Brackach this harvest. But the severest stroak reacht the clergy, viz., Mr. Patrick Dunbar, minister at Dorris, died this
1659. spring; Mr. John Houston, minister at Wardlaw in October; Mr. William Fraser,[1] minister at Invernes, in November; Master Alexander Rosse, minister at Daviot, next spring, 60; Mr. John Annand in November 1660; Mr. James Wans, minister of Croy, just then; so that in the whole presbitry of Invernes remaind but 4 ministers, Kiltarlity, Petty, Moy, and Boleskin; and William Mckintosh, Laird off Torcastle, died at Phaly, going home from Mr. John Annans burriall. And that same summer Captain James Fraser, my Lord Lovats sone, who had gone abroad with the Lord Cranston, 1656, died up at Torn in Pomer, and three more of his name with him; and onely Lieutenant Hugh Fraser, Clunvacky, returnd home alive.

[1] The author's father.

The next September a formidable big whale came up the firth, and stuck upon the lhie shoare be-east Inverness, a mile. It was 70 foot long. I was present at the measuring of her. The debate began whither it was uppon Cullodens March or the Townes; butt the Burgers of Inverness ceased the whale under appretiation, John Forbes of Cullodden being then at south. The English offered to buy her at a high rate, and they should have got her be right, for all men concluded the whale to be a presage of the garrisons expiration, and translation from Inverness, which happened shortly after. There was also a monstruous sturgion fish of ten foot long taken in the Yarr of Rindowy at the same time. This fish, well dressed and pickled, is meat and medicin. The English bought it at the rate of 4 tibs sterling, and after bringing it in to the Cittadel, whispered among themselves that it could not be had in England under 10 pounds. A monstruous whale.

About the beginning of April the inscription under the Statue of King Charles the I. in the Royall Exchange was expunged and blotted out by a privat hand: no *Exit Tyrannus* to be seen. Next morrow it tristed that the City of London emitted a declaration quherin they clear themselves of the guilt of the Kings death and the crimes of the usurpation; after which it was observed that the General looked more cheerful, and his well governed impatience of the Kings return. April 11 Collonel Lambert escaped out of the Tower, being the last dying efforts of those monstruous violences which had so long prevailed against the barrs of law and authority. Instantly a proclamation is emitted requireing him to rander himselfe within 24 houres at his highest perril, prohibiting any to conceal him, and a 100 L. to any who should take him. The Lords Brook and Convoy persue him; at Daventry he made 700, and in a short time would encrease to a formidable power, proposeing the readmission of Richard to be Protector; but Colonell Ingolsby, with his troopes, approaching and ready to fall on, betook himselfe to flight, Lambert loosing here the name of that vallour which he had purchased throughout the war, crying out tweice, Pray, my Lord, let me escape; what good will my life or perpetual imprisonment do yow? Then was taken by Ingolsbys own hand. Thus secured, he was sent Colonell Lambert escapes.

up to the Tower on Tusday, April 24, by Hid Park, where the City forces, exeeeding for gallantry and number all former showes, mustered before the Generall, the fields resounding with the cry of King Charles 2, pleasant musick to Lambert in the passing by, whose escap was imputed to Colonell Morlys, Lieutenant of the Tower, his connivance, in whose place Major Nicolace, of whose faith the general had experience, was sent to be Lieutenant. April 25, the free Parliament sat down in two Houses, haveing first met at St. Margrets, where Doctor Reynolds preacht before them. The Lords choose the Earl of Manchester for their Speaker, the House of Commons Sir Harbotle Grimston, and the Lord Generall chosen Knight of his own county of Devon. The first thing fallen upon was an appointed day of thanksgiveing to God for raiseing up his Excellency and other eminent persones as instrumentall in delivering the kingdomes from thraldome and misery; the thankfull acknowledgement of the Parliament tendered to his Excellency for the unparalleld services he had doon the nations in delivering them from slavery. Thanks also was given to Colonell Ingoldsby for retakeing of Lambertt. The next thing was the apprehending of the severall officers of the Army, and others ill affected people, and secureing them in prisones for the strengthening and establishing of the peace, happiness, rights, libertys of the kingdoms, so well begun, and after quhich we had so long laboured in vain.

Free Parliament of England.

How great our happiness, and no less ground of gratulation, to see Church and State like to be settled uppon its true old basis. The Bishops, who formerly lived obscurely, appeare now openly in the streetes, crouded with affectionat salutations, and accosted for benedictions; such a veneration ther people have for that holy order, now so long ecclipsed. I saw 8 Bishopes in London at the sitting of the Parliament, viz. Doctor William Juxon, Lord Bishop of London, consecrated 1633, he lodged at Westminster; and Doctor Brian Dippo, Lord Bishop of Sarum; they were inseperable; he was consecrated 1638. And the third was Doctor Accepted Frewn, Lord Bishop of Coventry and Liechfield, consecrated 1644; Doctor Mathew Wren, Lord Bishop of Heriford, consecrated 1634; Doctor Robert Skinner, Lord Bishop of Oxon, con-

The Bishops of England.

secrated 1638; Doctor William Roberts, Lord Bishop of Bangor, consecrated 1637; Doctor John Warner, Lord Bishop of Rochester, consecrated 1637; Doctor Henry King, Lord Bishop of Chichester, consecrated 1641. All these were present at London when Lord Generall Monk arrived there; and Doctor John Cousines, Lord Bishop of Dureham, was absent. Those are the 9 surviving Bishopes of England (being all 26 in number) now *favente Numine* to be restored. They patiently boar their sufferings these 20 yeares bygon under a desperat rebellion, liveing privatly and contentedly uppon their own mean interests, though deprived of and sequestrat from their revenues. I often waited uppon them as they went to see the Generall; two or three at a time in their gounes and Episcopal habits, and their suitable retinue, the very nobles and gentry reverently attending them, and kneeling to receave their benedictions in the very streetes they passed.

We have a society of loyal true hearted Scotch in London at present. Doctor Alexander Fraser,[1] our Kings phisitian in ordinar, living in Kings Street, and goes under the name of the French Doctor; Mr. Doncan Liddel, Professor of the Mathematick, once at Aberdeen, now exiled and keepes school in Thames Street, hath many disciples, and myselfe one of the number. Mr. Samuel Crichton, a great traveler, set up an accademy in St. Paules churchyard for the breeding of young gentry; he is one of the compleitest men in our age. Mr. Gaan Ogilvy, a great poet; he hath set out an English Hebrew grammar, followeing an easier method of learning that language than any yet hath done, a rode which none have ever yet trod. Thomas Sidserfe, sone to Bishop Sidserfe, the one onely surviving prelat in Scotland, is here, setting out fine pamphlets to gratify the gentry. Mr. Samuel Fraser, a great grand gramarian, hath a school in Black Friars. Jack Renny, a marchant tailor, in the Round Court, a discreet oblidging man. Mr. Anderson, called the Universal traveler, hath been now 4 times at Rome as governour to the English gentry. Mr. James Mowat hath been twice over the Alps as governour

[1] Afterwards Sir Alexander Fraser.

to the gentry. Mr. Andrew Collace, an exild minister, officiats at Wapping. Mr. Blair, a marchant taylor in Rudlan, our landlord. Mr. Gordon and John, his nephew, marchant tailors in that Lane. Mr. Mowat, a taverner in that lane. Mr. Kinire in Blackfriars, factor for the Scotch. Mr. William Mitchel, a great student. Mr. William Chalmer, my intimat. Mr. Arthur Stratton, a depend on Doctor Owen. Mr. Ludovick Burnet, Usher to a school in Sudrick. Mr. Robert Farguison, a pregmattick head, who kendled a fire in our University at Aberdeen *anno* 1654; he is shapen certainly for mischeefe. Captain James Jhonston, though in Cromuels guard, yet a true hearted gentleman. Mr. John Gordon Arlogy come from Pole. Mr. William Robertson, factor here for the Polonian Scotts. Mr. Shiesholm, Mr. Ratry, Scotch marchants. Mr. Andrew Forrester, my cammarad, etc. I might fill a volum with the names of Scotch at London; marchants, schollars, Trads, souldiours, whom I leave to follow their fate.

We ar now to leave London, the Scotch fleet lying at Gravesend waiting for a convoy, ready to set saile. The rode by land for Scotland is now so pesterd with highway men, robbing all travelers, so that there is no safe journaying, and so we make ready for the voyage. Meantime William Trent and I, comming one day from London Bridge, we remarked Thomas Fitch, once governour and colonel to the English regiment at Invernes, whom I saw in grandure and state there. We spy him in a privat lane, most dejected; all alone, but he knew not us. These happy changes hath brought such snakes to skulc up and down the city obscurly and in disguise; such a cloud hangs over the Sectarian crew, and have no confidence to appeare openly nor avowedly before any. April 23, the feast of St. George, patron of Ingland, was never kept with greater joy and solemnity then at this time in city and country, a presage of greater mirth in the Kings restauration, which all hearts are wishing, all mouths praying; and who will not join his suffrage to the design? In Thames Street we take leave of Mr. Sheuzan, a ribbon weaver, married to on Betty Fraser. At parting he bowed a large shilling sterlin in his teeth, and gives it to me for a

Saint George his day.

toaken to drink with his cousin Shuzan in Gravesend, at the sign of the Checker, to whom he recommends us; and so we glid down the river Thames in a pair of oares, and my two cammarads, Godfrey Hartly and Henry Jordan, convoy us that 20 miles be water to Gravesend; quher landing and one the staires I meet my 3d cammarad Will. Wait, haveing a lady by the hand, convoying her aboord of a friggat, her husband Captain Wait being master; but, behold, he lets goe the lady, and got me in his arms, to the admiration of all present who discovered not the intrigue.

I am now at Gravesend, the dearest hole in England; and I record this passage for the rarety of it, that my three cammarads and fellow travelers abroad should, by a happy providence, rancounter and trist together in one place, and no design in it. Henry Jordan, my first fellow traveler through France; Will. Wait my second through Italy to Rome; my 3d and last, the best off all the three, Godfrey Hartlay, with whom I traveled a tedious but pleasant pilgremage from Rome to London, where now I must leave him, and much of my heart with him, *pars animæ dimidiata meæ*, and infinitly deserves that praise of the pleasant poet—*O mihi post nullos nunquam memorando sodales.* That night we lodge with Shusan at the Checker, who treated us heartily, nor left he anything at our hand. We drunk our bowed shilling with him, remembering our true friends at London. This afternoon intimation was made throughout the harbour that the Providence friggat was appointed to be the convoy of the Scotch fleet; and indeed Providence was still my convoy in all my travels and voyages. Next morrow betimes Mr. Wishart, Mr. Blair, Mr. Gordon, Liddall, and severall others came down the river in a pair of oares from London, to give us their last farewell; and at Mr. Shushans Checker tavern we cheere one another with many affectionat remembrances, and, after bathing some choice healths in the best London liquors that place could afford, at last we part, and bid adue to sack and the Checker at once, and after many repeated sweet embraces, I shall conclud with the poet—

> How oft our numbered kisses did we tell!
> How loath was our sad tongue to say farewell!

In fine we take our last farewell, never to meet again till Heaven joine us; never to part, never to seperat; and April 28. we went aboord of the Mary of Dundee, lying in the rode off Gravesend, and bound for Inverness in Scotland; the master of the ship, Scipper William Thurslo; his mate, John Row. We were ten passingers in the ship, besids the crew, viz. Doncan Forbes, William Trent, Alexander Clunes, and John M'kfarquhar, marchants in Invernes; Henry Bain and James Dunbarr, apprentices to Patrick Ruthven, factor in Inverness; John Jameson, marchant in Bruntisland; James Wulson in Dundee; Mr. Charles M'kulloch, appothecary chyrurgion in Thain [Tain], and Mr. James Fraser, student and traveler. I have set myselfe last, as recorder of all the rest. A sign was given of a great gun shot out of the Providence friggat, our convoy, at which all the fleet, 22 ships, weighed anchor, and set sail with a prosperous gale for the coast of Scotland, whither God conduct and pilot us all in safety to our respective harboures and homes. Amen.

King Charles 2. at Brusels.

The King is all this April at Bruizles, in a quiet expectation of the Parliaments proceeding, the Spaniards haveing alloud him yearly the soume of 900 L., besids the pay of his forces kept there. Meanwhile the Prince of Orange prepares his palace at Bredah for him, whither the King departed, the King of Spain haveing sent a complement to him by an envoy, entreating him to return that way, and to take shipping at one of his ports of Flanders quhen he was to goe for England, and he had ordered his forces to attend him. His Majestie thanked his Catholick Highness for this and his former curtesies. From Breda he sends his letters by Mr. Mordant and Sir John Greenwall to the Parliament of England respectively, to the Lord Generall, City of London, Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council, containing his Majestys free and generall pardon to all his subjects quhatsoever who shall within 40 dayes after publication thairof lay hold uppon that grace, such excepted quhom the Parliament thinks fit, and as to tender consciences non shall be called in question for differences in oppinion which disturb not the peace of the nation. This declaration with the Kings letter to his Excellency were read in both Houses with extraordinary ceremony and reverence

The Kings letters and declaration read in Parliament.

as if some strange awe had ceased uppon the minds of the Parliament, every man at the Speakers nameing of the King riseing up and uncovering himselfe, desireing forthwith the letters to be read.

The Parliament now declare that according to the ancient and foundamental lawes of the kingdom the government is and ought to be by Kings, Lords, and Commons; and having a deep sense of the miseries and destruction in which this kingdom hath been involved since the violent attempts to dissolve the established government, the best way to make up these breaches is by all meanes to obtaine the restauratioun of the King to his people; nor were the souldery wanting to this concourse and streame of generall affection and loyalty to his Majesty, who drew up a generall adresse to the Lord Generall Monk, wherein they declared their ready and willing submission to him in all transactions as formerly, mainly in this their duty and respect to the King. This was seconded by the Navy under Generall Montague, the sea rageing with the pale of guns uppon the communication of the said papers, and the Governour Collonell Harlew, and Governour of Dunkirk, did the same by an adresse to his Excellency, his Majestys papers being speedily made publick, and the City in a kind of extasy, for two dayes together, the press never cease to print them, and all persons haveing nothing else to do but to read them with joy and solemnity.

Act for the Kings Restoration voted and carried.

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[Follows an account of proceedings in England in connection with the Restoration, and reflections on that event.]

At this time Archibald Campbell, the Marques of Argile, came to London, and lurcked a whil untill he might steal an occasion to see the King, and had the confidence and hope to have inveigled and obtained pardon for all these base treasones he had acted so covertly in Scotland since his Majesties departure, and that the King would passe by these many undutifull irreverent usages of him by him and the Kirk, while he was there among them. But such was the generall hatred and detestation of that people, especially of the nobility, against

Marques of Argile came to London.

him, that the King gave order for his commitment. It was generally reported that Argil had got a responce importing that if he got but a sight of the Kings face there was no feare; but while he was waiting at court, and pleaded to speake to the King, and faire for it, yet could not be admitted, Sir Oliver Flemming, Knight of the Black Rod, is sent to usher him to gaole. He desired to speake to Mr. Calamy in his way to the Tower, but was refused that curtesy. At length is secured prisoner in the Tower, and from thence by sea the next month he was convoyed to Edinbrugh, where his processe was makeing ready, the Earl of Midleton the Kings great commissioner following him thither att the heeles; which will give subject to a larger paragraph in its own place.

January 1661. In January Generall Jo: Midleton, being created Earl of Cleremont, is sent high commissioner for Scotland; and to endict a Parliament there in the Kings name, and setle maters in that nation. The 7 of January Charles, sone to the Duke of York, is born, and created Earl of Cambridge. The happy English Parliament, which had rebuilt the glorious structur of the ancient renouned government on its foundation in the establishment of our soveraign, came now to its period; and, that no revoulution of time should obliterat its worthy acts his Majesty gave a speech to both Houses, and out of his Royall mouth used these memorable expressions: That this Parliament should be called to all posterity the healeing and blissed Parliament, and that it should be a rule to his actions and his Councils to consider of this, What is a Parliament? A patern to posterity.

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[Further account of events in England.]

1661. Parliament sat in Scotland. Jan. 10. In Scotland General Midletoun haveing come down Commissioner, being created Earl of Claremont, the history of this convention will be ever on record for the wealth, grandure, solemnity, and popularity of it; no such Parliament ever met in Scotland. But, alace, for vice, wickedness, debording, lewdness, debauchery, excess, and profanity, it had no paralell. Every person tooke loose reines to do as he would. They sat in January, and the first act was to rescind the Solemn League

and Covenant, which was burnt at the cross by the hand of the publick hangman; and, the next act, the power of the militia off the whole kingdom is put into the Kings hands by open proclamation. January 25. an Act passed in Parliament for the trial of the Marques of Argyl, Archibald Campbell. The first of February, an overture in Parliament for dividing the vast shire of Invernes in two adjournd. Feb. 13. Archibald Campbell, Marques of Argyle, is brought before the Parliament, and his tryals begun. He chuse his Advocats, Sir George M'Kenzie of Rosehaugh, his cheefe advocate, who pleaded vigurously for him, but the Kings Advocat, Sir John Flesher, was too hard against him, bringing in severall points of treason in his contrare which he offered to prove, and at last did so. Argile was very bold and confident in his own defence, with some reflections uppon severalls, especially the Kings Advocat, who told him openly, Archibald, it is not with yow now as when yow set up the flesh stocks betuixt the Cross and the Tron. All that Argil replyed was, A flesher dog bittes sore.

Argiles tryalls continued all March and April, and, after hot and vigorous pleading, to the wonder and admiration of all lawyers, maters were clearly and justly carryed in his contrare, and Chancelour Cunningham, Earl of Glencarn, pronounced the sentence of death against him: That Archibald Cambel, late Marques of Argil, for many treasonable acts proven in his contrare, should be hangd upon a gibbet at the cross of Edinburgh, and his head cut off and set up upon the same iron pinn on which the Marquess of Montross his head was set in 1650, now to be taken down: this sentence pronounced May 18, 1661. It is observable that in that very individuall chamber and lodging in which Argyle lived at Edinburgh, *anno* 1650, when the Marques of Huntly was sentenced, his daughter, the Lady Roxburgh, came in to plead with him for a prorogation or mitigation of the sentence against her father, the Marques of Huntly, and was peremptorly denyed be Argile in his grandur. In this very chamber lodged Glencarn, the Chanclour, when the Lady Cathnes and her sister came in to him and the Commissioner together to plead with them for the same favour at their hand to their father, Argile, now under sentence and in a

A Reflection.

fever; and the same was point blank denyed them. So that what he denied to another, in his straigt another denyes now to him. Thus, as Adonibezek said, As I have done so God hath requitted me, Argil might say within the compass of ten yeares. There are changes in the right hand of the Almighty to put in execution quhenever he will.

Marques of Argile his speech uppon the scaffold.

May 27. My lord Marques of Argyle was brought to the scaffold at the Cross of Edinburgh, and upon it spoke this speech openly, and written in shorthand by one that was present, from quhom I had it. Many will expect that I should speake of many things, and according to their severall opiniones and dispositiones so will their expectationes be from me, and constructions of me. But I resolve to dissapoint many, for I am not come hither to justify myselfe but the Lord, who is holy in all his wayes and rightious in all his works; holy and blissed is His name. Neither came I to condemn others. I know many will expect that I will speake against the hardness of the sentence pronounced against me; but I will say nothing to it. I bliss the Lord I pardon all men, as I desire to be pardoned of the Lord myselfe. Let the will of the Lord be done; that is all I desire. I hope that ye will have more charety to me now than yow would have had at another time, since I speake before the Lord, to whom I must give an account very shortly. I know well enugh that my words have had but very litle weight with many, and that many have mistaken my words and actings both. Many have thought me to be a great enemy to these great works which have of late been brought to passe; but do not mistake me, good people—I speake it in the presence of the Lord—I entered not uppon the work of reformation with any design to advantage myselfe, or prejudice to the King and his government or person, as my will, which was written in the yeare 1655, and thereafter was delivered to a friend in whose hand it yet remaineth, can shew. As for these calumnies which have gone abroad on me, I bliss God I know them to be no more; and, as I goe to make a reckoning to my God, I am free to any of these. Concerning the Kings person or government, I was real and cordiall in my desires to bring the King home, and in my indeavours for him when he was at home; and I had no

correspondance with the adversaries army, nor any of them, the time his Majestie was in Scotland; nor had I any occasion to his late Majesties horrid and execrable murder, by councel or knowledge of it, or any other manner of way. This is a truth, as I shall answeir to my Judge. And all the time his Majestie was in Scotland I was still indeavouring his advantage; my conscience beareth me witness in it; that is, for that. Then he turnd about and said—

Gentlemen, ye will all remember these, I hop; I confess many will looke uppon my condition as a suffering condition; but I bliss the Lord that he who hath gone before me hath troden the wine press of the Fathers wrath, by whose sufferings I hope that my sufferings shall not be eternall. I bliss him that hath taken away the sting of my sufferings. I may say that my chariot was sealed the day, for the Lord hath said to me, Sone, be of good chear, thy sins are freely forgiven thee; and so I hope my sufferings shall be easy. And ye know the scripture saith that the Captain of our salvation was made perfect through sufferings. I shall not speake much to these things I am condemned for, lest I should seeme to condemn others. It is well known it is only for compliance, which is the epidemicall fault of the nation. I wish the Lord may pardon them. I say there was never any expression [of] my submission, and sent to the Parliament of the contagion of the times; which may by some be construed as if I intend thereby to lay an imputation upon the work of reformation. I declare I intended no such thing; but it was onely in relation to the corruptions and faileings of men occasioned by the prevalency of the usurping power then swaying. 2 Part off Argyles speech.

Now, gentlemen, I think there are three sorts of people that take up much of the world and of the nation. 1. there are the openly profain, and truly I might say, though I was a prisoner, yet I have not had mine eares shut. I heare assuredly that swearing, drinking, and whooring were never more common, never more countenanced, than now they are; and truely, if magistrates were here, I would say to them, if they lay freely forth their power for the glorifying of God by the restraining of those, they would fare the better; if they continue in not restraining of it, they will fare the worse. I will say no more, 1661. Argiles speech on the scaffold.

but either let people shun profanity, or magistrates restrain it, or assurredly the wrath of God will follow on it. 2. others they are not openly prophane; every one will not allow that, but yet they are careless in that mater. If things goe well as to their privat interests, they care not whither religion or the Kirk of God sink or swim; but, whatever they think, God hath laid engagements uppon Scotland. We are tied by covenants to religion and reformation. Those that were then unborn are engaged to it, and in our baptism we are ingaged to it, and it passeth the power of any under heaven to absolve any man from the oath of God; for which oath I am presently brought here this day. They deceive themselves, and it may be would deceave others otherwayes (but I would caviat this, lest people would think this an instigation of rebellion from me); but they are very far in the wrong that think so, and that religion and loyalty are not consistent; if any man think otherwayes religion is not to be blamed, but they. It is true it is the duty of every Christian to be loyal; yet I think the order of things is as well to be observed as their natures; the order of religion, as well as the nature of it. Religion must not be the coak-boat, it must be the ship—God must have what is his, as well as Cesar what is his. And those are the best subjects that are the best Christians; and that I am looked on as a friend to reformation is my glory. There are 3. another sort that are truely godly; and to those I must say what I feare, and truely every one hath reason to fear, it is good to fear evil. It is true the Lord may prevent it; but if he doe not, I see litle probability of it. These times are very like to be suffering times, or very sinning times; and let Christians make their choise. There is a sad dilemma in the bussiness, sin or suffer; and truly he that would choise the better part will choise to suffer. Others there are that would choise to sin, will not escape suffering: they shall suffer, but it may be not as I do here (turning him to the maiden when he spoke it); but, worse, mine is temporal, but thers shall be eternal; and when I shall be singing, they shall be howling. Beware, therfore, of sinning, whatever yow are aware of, especially in these times. Yet, I cannot say of my own condition but the Lord in His providence hath mind mercy to me, evin in this world;

for, if I had been more favourably dealt with, I fear I might have been overcome with temptations as many others are, and I fear many more shall be. I wish the Lord may prevent it; and so should have gone out of the world with a more polluted conscience then, through the mercy of God, now I have. And hence my condition is such now as when I am gone will be seen not to be such as many did imagin. It is fit God take me away before I fall in these tentations; yet blissed be His name that I am keped both from present evils and evils to come. Turning about he spoke thus to Mr.* Hutchison.

*Mr. George Hutchison, minister att Edinburgh.

Some may expect that I may regrate my own condition, but truly I neither grudge nor repine; nor do I desire any revenge. And I declare I do not repent my going to London; for I alwayes rather had suffered anything than lye under such reproaches as I did. I desire not that the Lord should judge any; nor do I judge any but myselfe. I wish, as the Lord hath pardoned me, so he may pardon them in this and other things; and what they have done to me may never meet them in their account. I have no more to say, but to beg the Lord that, since I goe away, they may be blissed that stayeth behind. Befor he laid his head uppon the block, his dublet being off, these were his last words: I desire yow, Gentlemen, and all that heareth me this day, to take notice, and I wish that all that seeth me might hear me, that now, when I am entering to my eternitty, and am to appear before my Judge, and as I desire salvation and happiness from Him, from my birth to my scaffold I am free from any accession by my knowledge concerning Councels, or any other way, to his late Majesties death; and I pray the Lord preserve his present Majesty, and to pour His best blessings upon his person and government; and the Lord give him good and faithfull councelloures. Then, turning about to his friends, he said these few words: Many Christians may stumble at this, and my friends may be discontented; but, when things are rightly considered, my friends have no discredit of me, nor Christians no stumbling block, but rather an incurragement.

The 4 friends, with a scarlet cloath, receaved the head. It lay uppon the scaffold untill the dead body, being put in a coffin, was taken away; and one cried, Deliver the head of

Argyle executed May 27, 1661.

Archibald Campbell, late Marques of Argil, into the hands of the common hangman to be set up uppon the midle iron pin on the top of the wester gavel of the tolebooth of Edinburgh; the said Archibald being sentenced to be beheaded this day for his former dissloyall practices, proven against him, and the mitigation of the sentence, that his corps be carried away by his friends to be interred at pleasur. It is observable that Pet. Grham of Morphy, glad of the occasion, stept up the leather to the gavel of the tolebooth, and, with his own hand, took down the Marques of Montross his head off the pin, and set up Argiles head in its place. There being an order of Parliament to take up the Marques of Montross his body burried in the gallow moore, and gather his dispersed quarters and limbs, and to give them honourable interment; which was solemnly done by his friends. But its reported that the forsaid Morphay Graham, by the excessive joy dyed soon after. Much about this time came out Argyles book, in 8°, entituled Maximes of State, by the late Marques of Argile, and Advice to his sone, and these four lines writ uppon the title page—

Lo here the genious of the Great Argyle!
Whose Politicks and Æthicks in one Pyle,
Like Anchor Buoys, appear to teach thee wit
To shun the Rocks, on which himselfe did split.

* * * * *

[Follows list of the Acts of the Scottish Parliament of 1661; and account of affairs in England and Ireland.]

1661.

At this time few of the Scots nobility were gone up to Court, the itch of English traveling being somewhat now blunted. Duke Hamilton is young, yet resolved not to goe up till he were called; yet got a pension. The Earl of Crawford had both a place and pension, *et merito*, his epithet, Loyal Lindsay. The Earl of Lauderdale was Secretary of State for Scotland. Kenmoor and Kinoul were to goe up after the Parliament. The Lord Didop had been with the King abroad, as also the Earl of Eglintoune. The Earle of Marr carried faire under the Rebellion; and the Earle of Casles, who it is said never saw an Englishman in the face, is now content to see them march home. The Marques of Montrosse, very

Lauderdale, Secretary.

young, is recommended by the King to the Parliament. The Marques of Huntly, but a schoole boy, lived with his lady mother at Elgin, very mean; whilst the Earl of Lorn possesses his estate, and lives at the Bogg of Gith. I saw his lady, the Earl of Murrays daughter, and famely there, 1661. The Earle of Murray lives privatly at home, a sober, vertuous man. The Earle of Seaforth is now at Lewis, and the Earl of Sutherland is no courtiour. The Earl of Cathnes, married to Argyle's daughter, is a youth of great worth and esteeme; no subject keeps a greater port and grandure; his table and dayly fare, with variety off services, equalls any prince in Britain. The Laird off Glengary, who, after his releasement from his confinement in the citadel of Invernes with the English, went over to Spain, is now returnd home, and in great favour with the King; is created Lord Mackdonell, and a pension intaild uppon him; he sat as a peere in Parliament at this time. Æneas, Lord M'kdonell.

My Lord Lovat, being young, stayed at Edinburgh since his marriage, *anno* 1659, till now, that he might be acquaint with the nobles and others his relations in Edinburgh, see the Convention of States and the statly riding of the Parliament; and, seing there were severall protestations by some noblemen commissioners from shires and burghs concerning their precedencies in the Rolls of Parliament, Alexander Fraser, tutor of Lovat, and Sir George Mackenzie of Tarbut tooke protestation on the Lord Lovats behalfe for his place and precedency, proving that of old he was 5 lord in the Rolls, non stepping before him but 1. the Lord Forbes, 2. Lord Salton Abernethy, 3. the Lord Gray, and 4. the Lord Oliphant; for the Lord Lovat compeated with Stuart Lord Ochiltry and the Lord Elphinstone, who tooke place of him in course though it was neither of their dues; for the Lord Lovat was nobilitat in King Alexander the 3d his time, about *anno* 1230, before there was a Stuart in Scotland: so that Ochiltry may hold his peace; and Elphinston was created Lord by King Robert the Second, surnamed Bleareye, the first of the Stewards, *anno* 1374, at the convention in Perth; so that he comes short of precedency. My Lord Lovat and his lady came north, July 27, 1661; were most sumptuously treated at Invernesse by the magistrates, John Forbes off Culodden being provost; and at the bridge Hugh, Lord Lovat.

end of Inverness was waited uppon with 60 horse gentlemen of his own name, and 600 foot well appointed, and Hugh Fraser of Struy, his lieutenant colonel, Hugh Fraser off Foyer, major. I myselfe present at that pleasant parade.

My Lords setlement at Lovat.

My Lord came to Lovat in the evening, with his friends and retinue, and I can say there was nothing wanting that could be necessary for a sumptuous feast and noble entertainment; and that which made that infare splendid was the convocation of my Lords friends and allyes to welcom him home to his country. His Domestick servants and attendants were, John Allans, his chiefe gentleman, and William White, his page; Robert Carr, master houshold, and James Fraser, Stuart; John Card, groome; William Innes, groome; John M'kall, stabler; John Dason, brewer; William Glasse, cooke; John M'kleod, his servant; Farquhar Fraser and Alexander Peddison, chamberlains; John Mackallister, a Fraser, porter, etc.; Isabel Fraser *alias* Forbes, maid of honor; Isabell Dempster, Marjory Reed, Anna Dinguall, nurses; Anna Tulloch, Anna Hay, maides. I am the more punctuall to set down the servants names becaus I had the conduct and government of the famely, being Chaplain in this noble famely for two yeares untill I entered minister at the church of Wardlaw. My Lord spent the remainder of July and most of August in visits, went over to Brahan, Coule, Farburn, Dochmiluag; went to see Fowles, and Balingown, and Tarbut; and then visited the Chisholm of Strathglasse in Erchless [and visited] Struy, Culboky, and Belladrom; and afterwards, with his Lady and train, went to Stratharick, visiting Foyer and all the numerous familes in that country. This I was witness to as being his domestick.

This nobleman, to give him his due, was generous, humane, and affable, oblidging and curtious to all. His love and affection was such that he might well be termed, with Titus, the sone of Vespasian, *deliciæ generis humanæ*, the delight of mankind. Take him in the complex, as to his personall, domesticall, relational capacitys and concerns his accomplishments were singular, and all his actions mixed with discretion and prudence; but ah, *Ah, voluptates nimium fugaces cuncta caduca*, all things fade, and short is the lace we had of him as the consequence confirms. He is now but about 19 yeares

of age current, being born *anno* 1643. Alas for his too soone appearing uppon the stage of affaires, his too early marriage, before he knew either the world or himselfe, and got no time to purchase or polish his partes or person, to gain the education which was fit to accomplish a nobleman, a thing too fatall to that famely, and portends no good omen to his country or us his kinsmen. If I were able or in capacity to foretell events, as Astolfos Logistilla shewed the race of the house of Este in Modena before their conception, I should not keep others or myselfe in the mist, but I clame no pretences to predictions or delphick divinationes, and resolves to shut the eyes of my reason, since she must look through a false perspective. Time is big with child of many things, which we are to expect.

In the closur of July, by an Act of the Parliament, an order is issued out to slight and demolish the cittadels of the kingdom, which were built by the English. This of Invernes had not stood ten yeares. The first part they cease uppon was the centinell houses, neat turrets off hewn stone, curiously wrought, and set up uppon every corner of the rampart wall. These were all broken down in pieces by the souldioures themselves. The next thing was the Commonwalths armes pulled down and broken, and the Kings arms set up in their place, the blew bridge slighted, the sally port broken, the magazin house steeple broken, and the great bell taken down. All this done with demonstrations of joy and gladnes, the souldiours shouting with God save the King as men weare of the yock and slavery of usurpation, which lay so long about their necks. I was eywitness now of the first stone that was broken of this famous citadell, as I was also witness of the first foundation stone laid in the same, *anno* 1652, in May. This sconce and cittadell is the Kings gift to the Earle of Murray, to dispose of it at his pleasure. The citadell of Aberdeen and Lieth are both slighted; that of Aire also, the finest in all the kingdom, a stately worke, for curious stoone contrivance, carving and situation. A rare thing fell out here, that was notarly known to a thousand spectators, that the Commonwalths armes set up above the most conspicuous gate of the cittadell, a great thistle growing out above it, covered the whole carved worke and arms, so as not one bit of it could be seen, to the admira-

tion of all beholders. This was a presage that the Scots thistle should ecclipse Saint Georges Crosse and the harp, being now to succeed, and to be set up in the place of it by the Kings restauration. This sentiment severalls of English and Scotch conjectured of it.

16$\frac{5}{1}$1. In April the Tutor of Lovat, dwelling then in Invernes, near the bridge, in one William Patersones house, just as he was takeing horse to goe south, his eldest daughter, Isabel, died of a chronick decay. She was but 11 yeares of age, a hopeful, wise, pious child, but his peremptor appointment could not permit him to wait her buriall. He convoyed the Lady M^{c}kleod, and Mary M^{c}kleod, 2 daughter to the Laird of M^{c}kleod, south for Edinburgh, where the said Mary was married to Sir James M^{c}kdonald at their arrivall there.

A sad accident of drouning at Invernes, Aug. 3.

August 3, being Saturday, Mr. Alexander Fraser, schoolmaster at Invernes, haveing given his scholars the play, he waited uppon them himselfe in the Links, his school being numerous. Meantime, the sea being full some of the boyes bathed themselves in the river, and two of them ventered in further into the Dock, viz. Donald Bain, sone to Tulloch Bain,[1] and Hugh Fraser, eldest sone to Alexander Fraser of Rilick, whilst of a sudden they began to sink. The loud cry allarms the schoolmaster, reading uppon the bank; he starts, slips off his cloathes, and, being a suimmer, ran into the Docks, gets hold of the boyes, and seperates them. Donald Bain flotted down the river and was brought in safe. Mr. Alexander, thinking to rescue Hugh Fraser, put him from suiming, sinking him down with his weight, and were both drowned. They were both instantly taken up warm, but no life, though hung by the heeles till a great deal off water sprung out at their mouths. A most dolefull accident, the master drouned rescuing his schollar; severe providence to Mr. Alexander's wife and children, and also to Hugh Fraser his parents, the eldest and best of their children. This Mr. Alexander Fraser was a great schollar, and a preacher; was presented be Kilravock to the Church of Croy, where he was to preach next morrow. This youth, who escaped wonderfully, is this same Sir Donald Bain of Tulloch, a good fate attending him.

[1] Bain of Tulloch.

The 7 of August a sturgion fish was taken in the Yarr of Drumchardeny within our paroch of Wardlaw. It was 12 foot in length, a monstruous creatur. In all my travels I never saw so big. Severall English came out from Inverness, who had not seen such another. They bought it at a very great rate, to preserve it pickled, this fish being meat and medicin; they barrelled it, and sent it to London, wher it will sell very deare. The report is that such fishes coming ashore is ominous, and presages the death of some eminent person. The 7 of September were 3 big whales catched at Ardersire, uppon the Laird of Calders ground, and Alexander Campbel, the Lairds 2 brother, an excellent youth, comming to the coast with severall others to watch and oversee those whales, a great many sea foules flockt about them. This Alexander Campbell drawes out on of his hulster pistolls to shoot at a big sea maw; which misgiving him 3 severall times, he at last sits down uppon the shoare, and, setting the pistoll to his boot toa fast, and the barrell mouth to his breast to draw out the rammer, the shot gat off, and two balls run through his heart, killing himselfe stark dead, without ever speaking one word; a dreadfull dismall accident, sad blow to that famely: the prettiest man that ever came of it and the floure of all the Campbells in the North, a youth of wonderfull expectation, my trusty, true, and real friend, universally beloved, and universally bemoand.

Mr. Alexander Campbel killed accidentally.

June 1661. The Lord Cranston, being newely returnd from beyond sea, killed Ja. Scrimgeor, the Lord Didops brother, and Governour of Dumbarton, in a loan neare St. Paules in London, and escaped; for which an act of banishment is emitted by the King against Cranston to leave Brittain; but apparently the law made but chance medling off it, and so obtaind a reprive. In October thereafter, this same Cranston killed an Italian in combatt at London, who had gone over all the Courtes of Eurp, and gaind the mastery as a fencer and swordman of all that everywhere grappled with him, and would needs dare the Brittish Court also, till at last his hard hap drew him to London, where he got his last thrust, which he could not ward: for this and other feates the Lord Cranston was renouned. This sumer, William Sutherland, Master of Duffus, died att Towres in France, and his governour, famous

Lord Cranstoun killed Ja. Scrimgeor.

Doctor Andrew Monro, with him, and John Sutherland his page; all 3 successively of a plague, poison, or malignant fever. This youth was the hope of his famely. I know [not] who was more bevailed and missed himselfe or the Doctor.

This September died 5 horse in a toune near us called Obriachan, of a kind of plague not aparent or perceptible to the eye: some run mad; some fell suddenly dead; and as lusty as any horse could be. Men knew not what to make of it, the whole country being in a terrour, feareing that it might overrun all; but Gods Providence stopt it. September 24, dyed Alexander Schesholm, Lord of Commer,[1] at Brackach, and burried in Beuly. Here my Lord Lovat had occasion to muster his men, for at this burriall he led 800 brave fellowes.

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[Account of affairs in England.]

In Scotland Episcopacy, which had been so long banished thence, is now to be reduced with all gladness, and testimonies of a welcom reception after the experience of so many miseries and confusions which had befallen that nation through the fury and zealotry of the Kirk, the whole sacred order being there defunct, to one single person, by the long usurpation of the Presbiterian disciplin. To the reestablishment of the same there were 2 Scotsh Bishopes consecrat at Lambeth in December, viz. Mr. James Sharp, minister at Crail, Archbishop of St. Andrewes, Metrapolitan of Scotland; Master James Farefull, minister at Duns, Archbishop off Glasgow. Meanwhile, there is an Act of Council emitted, and a printed coppy sent to every shirref in Scotland, inhibiting all ecclesiastical meetings, presbitries, Commissary Courts, Church Sessions, etc., untill the setlement of Episcopacy. My owne tryall before the Presbetry of Inverness as probationer was stopt from October 1661 till March 1662 thereafter!

In January [1662] the Lord Commissionar of Scotland, in order to the confirmation of the sacred resetled authority of bishops, with most of the nobility and gentry, accompanied the Archbishop of Glasgow thither, where the Kirk Rebellion

[1] The Chisholm, who held the barony of Comarmore.

was first hatched; and the face of affaires quit altered in that city. No person or occasion ever welcomer or more acceptable then this, as their bells and bonefires declared; and here the Lord Commissioner put forth a proclamation prohibiting the payment of any ecclesiasticall rents, or tyth, or profit of the ministry whatsoever, to any who in a short time limited should not acknowledge and owne their Diocesan Bishop and his authority, and receave induction from him. Some few grand factious predicants stood out, and were outed of their livings, and others, the more unquiet and refractory, commanded to Depart the kingdom, now happily cleared of that clergy, the originall and fountain of these bitter waters and rivers off blood which overflowed the three nations!

The Bishopes of Scotland consecrated in the Abay Church of Halyroodhouse. 1662.

1. Master James Sharp, minister at Crail, being Commissioner from the Presbiterians of Scotland to the King for continuation of Presbetry, was won by the Bishops of England to their side, came down Archbishop of St. Andrewes.

2. Master James Fareful, minister at Duns, consecrat in England, came down Archbishop of Glasgow.

3. Doctor William Wishart, minister at St. Andrewes, suffered tortur and extremity by Presbetry, con[secrated] Bishop of Edinburgh.

4. Master William Michell, minister at Edinburgh, translated and consecrat Bishop of Aberdeen.

5. Master Murdoch M^{c}kenzie, minister at Elgin, consecrat Bishop of Murray.

6. Master Robert Laury, Dean of Edinbrugh, translated and consecrat Bishop of Brechin.

7. Master Robert Lichton, minister at Newbottle, translated and consecrated Bishop of Dunblain.

8. Master John Paterson, minister at New Aberdeen, translated and consecrat Bishop of Rosse.

9. Mr. John Forbes, being abroad with the King, livd in Holland, consecrat Bishop of Cathnes.

10. Mr. Thomas Sydserf, the onely surviving Bishop exild with the King, continues Bishop of Orknay.

11. Master James Hamilton, minister at Camslang, consecrat Bishop of Galloway.

12. Master David Flesher, minister at Melross, consecrat Bishop of Argile.

13. Master Robert Wallace, minister at [Barnwell, Ayrshire], consecrat Bishop of the Isles.

14. Master George Haleburton, minister at St. Johnstoun, consecrat Bishop of Dunkeld.

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[Account of affairs in England.]

March 1, the magistrates of Inverness set up the port and pillars for the annuall horse race about the Hill of Tomnihurich, to be run next May, and advertisement sent abroad to that effect; the silver cuppes, sadles, and suord prepared be the toun. There came then to Inverness on Mr. Paterson, who had run over the kingdom for triall off witches, and was ordinarly called the Pricker, becaus his way of triall was with a long brasse pin; stripping them naked, he alleadged that the spell spot was seen and discovered. After rubbing over the whole body with his palms he slipt in the pin, and, it seemes, with shame and feare being dasht, they felt it not, but he left it in the flesh, deep to the head, and desired them to find and take it out. Itt is sure some witches were discovered, but many honest men and women were blotted and broak by this trick. In Elgin there were two killed; in Forres two; and one Margret Duff, a rank witch, burn in Inverness. This Paterson came up to the church of Wardlaw, and within the church pricked 14 women and one man[1] brought thither by the Chisholm of Commer, and 4 brought be Andrew Fraser, chamerlan of Ferrintosh. He first polled all their heads and amassed the heap of haire together, hid in the stone dick, and so proceeded to pricking. Severall of these dyed in prison, never brought to confession. This villan gaind a great deale

Triall of witches.

Isabel Duff [*sic*] a witch.

[1] See for the names of these, and the extraordinary means taken to prove their guilt, the editor's paper on the 'Strathglass Witches of 1662,' *Transactions of Gaelic Society of Inverness*, vol. ix.

off mony, haveing two servants; at last was discovered to be a woman disguised in mans cloathes. Such cruelty and rigure was sustained by a vile varlet imposture.

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[Account of executions in England.]

In the beginning of April the garrisones of Scotland were given up, the regiment at Invernes ordered to muster and be ready to march. April 11, 400 of the English removed in arms, rank and file, with wives and children, for Lieth. Next morrow, other 400 marcht, with their arms, commanders, and colloures, to the great griefe of all the English souldery; never people left a place with such reluctancy. It was even sad to see and heare sighs and teares, pale faces and embraces, at their parting farewell from that town. And no wonder; they had peace and plenty for 10 yeares in it. They made that place happy, and it made them so. The cittadell was slighted, all the country in course called in to rase it. I saw it founded, I saw it flourish, I saw it in its glory, grandeur and renoun, and now in its ruins. *Sic transit gloria mundi. Mors etiam saxis lapidibusque cluit, etc.* Now the fragments of the Commonwalth breathes out its last gasp, and prosperous wickedness is now precipitat to its period. April 10. Kenneth M'Kenzy of Scattuall died, a gallant and great spirit; he was interred in St. Clemens Chappell in Dinguall. My Lord Lovat paraded there with near a 100 horse and 500 foot. 1662. The garrison of Invernes remov'd.

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[Account of the King's marriage.]

The horse race at Invernes, which had turnd into a desuetud for many yeares before, is now restored and brought to its pristin consistancy; the Port set up at the end of the Reeds uppon the edge off a march closs uppon the rode, and the stage posts also round about the hill [Tomnahurich], along the plain. The 24 of May, the concourse of people flockt to Inverness to behold the course. The Earl of Murray, with his vassalls, came in that morning; the Earl of Seaforth and my Lord Lovat, being the night before at Kinmilies and Moorton dyeting A race at Inverness, May 24.

their race horses, came to the place. The Lairds of Grant, M'kintosh, Fowles, Balingown, the Barrouns of Murray, the Lord M'kdonnell [Glengarry], and the English officers of Inverlochy, and many mo. The Provost and Magistrates of Inverness, with the citizens, came in procession over the bridge to their bounded march, and, with the usual ceremony, hung the silver cup with blew ribbons uppon the hookes off the painted port, the Sadle and the Sourd set uppon the top of it. The matches that run the first day were the Lord Lovat, Laird of Grant, Kilravock, and Captain Man; all the riders in whit, their distinction blew, reed, yallow, and green ribbons. The Lord Lovat rode in person, as also Mr. Man. The sign given, near ten of the clock, they start, and closed at 11 houres. The compeating riders got off first, and a great number of gentlemen riding after in their reer. At first Mr. Man seemed to carry; the Laird of Grants horse outran him quit in a short time. Lovat, who came short of no rider in Brittain, cunning enugh for them all, kept closs in the reer of all till within halfe a mile of the port, and then, to the admiration of all the beholders, takeing the start of them, like a bird uppon wing outran them a full quarter of a mile neare, and rideing back gave them his conge. Mr. Man was next, the Laird of Grant 3d, and M'kintosh 4th. I heard Captain Man avow that all England over he never saw a better horseman than Lovat, nor a suifter fourfooted beast than his brown mare he rode on. Thus my Lord Lovat carried the race, and the best cup, valued at 7 pound starling, and the sadle at 3, both which were dillivered to Will White his page; and the magistrates gave the nobles a sumptuous treat, and so this dayes sport was at an end; the rest of it spent in visits and recreations.

The second race, May 25.

The next dayes competition was tuixt the Master of Lovat, Kilravock, Laird of Innes, and Balife Finlay Fraser at Invernes, who had the best horse off all the foure. Thomas Fraser of Bewfort, the Tutor of Lovats brother, rode his bay horse, a light nimble horseman. They set off about halfe an houre after ten, and closed the race near 12. They all 4 ran almost equal, hardly such a match seen, riding all abrest, and at the close there was so litle ods tuixt the two formost, Bewfort and Balife Fraser, that it was scarce discernable; so that they cast

lots, and Balife Fraser carried the cup and sword with approbation and applause: and that afternoon the Laird of Grant bought that horse, paying 13 pound for him, and, to my knowledge, carried the race in the same place next yeare. Men of judgment conclud that if this race at Inverness were incurraged and well mannaged, in process of time it would come litle short, if not equal, Couper or Cavertonedge. The 29 off May the remaines of the English regiment at Inverness went off, and the officers of Inverlochy. The souldiours there were all Scotch men who remaind behind, and one Captain Hammiltoun sent governour to that fort. I remember there was a great whale of a 116 foot long cast in be-east Inverness uppon the lee shoar. A debat fell out tuixt the town and Culodden about the whale, but the citty carryed it. We all conjectur that this prodigious creature was a presage of the expiration of the garrison of Invernes, haveing tristed so neare with their removall. It came in the February before, a monstruous big beast, non like it ever seen uppon that cost; and men wondered that it was cast in alone without its mate.

The 29 day of May, being the anniversary thanksgiveing for His Majestyes restauration, was solemnly kept here by preaching, singing of psalmes through streetes, ringing of bells, bonefires, small and great shot, and all other demonstrations of joy imaginable, and no difference observed tuixt presbiterian and Episcopalls. All are seemingly loyall, the lawes so strick and observant that non appeare to dissent.

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[Account of affairs in England, and proceedings of the Scots Parliament, 1663.]

In this Parliament the overture made in the first session anent the division of the shire of Ross from Murray, and being erected in a shire be it selfe, was unanimously concluded and determined; and the result was that an act establishing the shirrefdom of Ross and the bounds of it should be expressly recorded, and the commission sent by his Majesty to Kenneth, Earl of Seaforth, to be Shirref principall therof to be insert. And it canot be omitted nor forgotten that, when the commis-

The shire of Ross bounded marches.

sioner Midletoun had motioned the bounds of the shire of Ross, marcht betwixt the Stockford to the south and Portincouter to the north, he asked quhat place the Stockford of Ross lay in. A gentleman unadvertantly replied that it lyes a litle below the moore where his Grace leagured his troupes when he gave Montross the chass over the river of Beuly, a mile bewest Lovat.[1] The reply gave occasion of laughter enough in the House, but the person meant no ill by it, being simply and not subtily spoken, nor satirically to reflect uppon the Commissioner, being purly mater of fact. In this Parliament many acts were past of rescinding the forfeitures against the Laird of Glengery, M'klean of Lochbuy, and M'klean of Kingarloch. Acts rescinding the pretended forfiture of the Marques of Huntly, the pretended forfeiture of M'kdonald of Largy, of Sir John Gordon of Haddo, and many mo tedious to relate.

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[Account of affairs in England and on the Continent.]

Lord Lindors. James Lessly, Lord Lundores, a good as well as loyall man, was confined to the towne of Thain, and limited to the extent of 3 miles; the farthest he could goe was to his own sisters house at Katpole. This Lady was so loyall that she never saw an Englishman in the face, and would curse her own brother, Generall Lessly, and hopt to see him hangd. The Lord Lundors went to London to his royall master the King, but got not his bare expense. All I got, said the good Lord, was a kisse of the Kings hand, a very great complement.

Lord Ray. The Lord Ray is now at Court with his excellent lady, Barbara Macky; and all he gaind by his going there was that his Lady was admired for sharpness and eloquence. Indeed shee was the mirrour of our north bred ladyes, the prettiest, wittiest woman that I ever knew here; a great historian, a smart poet, and, for virtue and house keeping, few or non her paralell.

Cathnes. The Earl of Cathnes stayed at home. It was enugh to scarr him from the Court that Argyles daughter was his lady.

[1] See note p. 176.

They lived in very great splendor in Thearso East; but all complain she brought ill luck with her to that country.

Old Earl John of Sutherland lives still unmaried, after the death of the Lord Lovats daughter. It is enugh for him that he got his sone well matcht at south with the Weemes, and lives very happily upon that jointur. Sutherland.

Kenneth, Earl of Seaforth, was prevailed with to goe up to Court, expecting some favour for the service quhich himselfe had done for the King. As for his father, Lord George, he ruined his interest in the civil wars, in the Royall quarrell, though all he did had bad success, till at last he was forced to take banishment, and died in exile, at Skidam in Holland, where he is interred. Yet, all that Seaforth gaind at Court was the Kings countenance, and the complement of carrying the Sword of Honor before the King uppon some solemn holy day from the presence to the Chappell Royall, and, after service, back again. A farthing of the Kings mony he never saw, not so much as to repaire his castle of Brahan, which the rebells spoild. And what could he expect, when Lautherdale, the universall enemy to all loyalists, stood in his way, and a profest enemy in particular to the Mackenzies, for it was the Maitlands motto to be *M'kenio mastix*, the Scurge of the Mackenies; and himselfe was heard to say that to be a Mackenzy was a mortall sin! Seaforth.

The Laird of Glengery had the best luck of any chiften in the North, for he got the title of Lord Æneas Mackdonel, and a pension, proportionable to that stile, to keep up his spending, still at Court. Lo. M'kDonell.

As for the Marques of Huntly, the King was generous to him, giving him the gift of his own great estate, and restoreing him free to all his revenues, without the burdin of a farthing debt. If this was in odium of Argile, who comprised his whole estate and possessed it, who knowes? but there were many poore famelies broke by this donation, who had all their stock in Huntlies hands, haveing their annuelrents duly payed them before. M. of Huntly.

All this while the good Alexander, Earl of Murray, kept closse at home, living for most part at Stuart Castle, which aire agreed better with him and his children than Tarnway, Earl of Murray.

and though he be a Steward yet hath not yet payed a visit to his King these 5 yeares current. His estate is mean, but lives handsomely. His mother, the Earl of Humes daughter, living at Dunabissle, liverents 15 thousand a yeare.

1665. My Lord Lovat to Murray.

My Lord Lovat, though often invit to Court both by his mother, the Lady Dalavill, and Sir Alexander Fraser, the Kings phisitian in ordinar, yet moved not as yet; and this year his indisposition impeaded that expedition. In January 1662, he was invit by Sir Hugh Calder to witness his espousalls and contract at Tarnway, and, though the storm was great, would not declin the call. So he got his uncle Alexander, the Tutor of Lovat, Thomas Bewfort, and his own train, and we were the first night at Dalcrosse, the Tutor haveing a labouring there, where we were very well treated. In the morning set forward, and came to Tarnway to dinner, quher we got a generous welcom; stayed all night. The Earl waited uppon Lovat to his bedchamber, telling him that this was the Kings apartment and bed where he was to lodge while he stayed at Tarnway. Next morrow, the Lady Henrietta Stewart was solemnly espoused to Sir Hugh Calder of Calder, and I deemed that she loved my Lord Lovat better, and had he not been married alrady this had been a meeter match be farr. The gloves and contract ribbans being distributed in state, we had a most solemn feast, a wedding rather than a contract dinner. In the afternoon the wits of the house gave anagrams and accrosticks in writ to the bride, and I judged Lovat gave the most apposit of all, Henreta Stuart/an true sweet hart: which, with the accrosting pertinent verse, was applauded, the bridgroome, Sir Hugh, the greatest poet in Murray, being the most competent judge in that case. After a surfit of sincere friendship and feasting, my Lord Lovat, the 4 day, takes leave of the noble famely off Murray, and, in parting, the finall complement was, my Lord Lovat takeing horse rids up the Scale staires of Tarnaway, and in the great Hall drinks the Kings health with sound of trumpet and pistoll shot. The meanest drunk boales off wine, and snowballs cast in for sugar; and, after many a loath farwell, sounded good night and God be with yow!

Sir Hugh Calder, his espousals.

Takeing horse at Tarnway, Mr. Frances and Sir Hugh

Calder and others convoyed my Lord Lovat off to the high road, and at parting excambd servants, my Lord Lovat leaveing Thomas Fraser, Teanikill, with Calder, who sent his servant, John Campbell of Achindown, with Lovat to attend him at his own house of Calder, where we were treated at a singular rate. The kingdom could not afford better wines than was drunk, and musick of all sorts. Edam Smith, master of the musicians in Murray, for virginall, violins, harp, and organ, was Calders domestick; Mr. William Cuming, an excellent learned youth, chaplen in ordinary; and varieties of divertisement in all things; the entertainment was princly, Saturday, Sunday, and Moonday. Sir Hugh Calder himselfe came to us with an addition at what was wanting, if any at all, of good cheer and fare. We spent that day in a charming converse of sport, gamming and singing. Next morning Calder convoyed my Lord from his own house over the river, a fair braggad, to visit the Barron of Kilravock, and his lady; thence to Coule to see the Shirrefe Bain; he at last added to our train, and rode forward to visit Cullodden, and thence to Drakies to pay his respect to the Lord Æneas Mackdonell; and thence to Inverness in no small state, few or non parting with my Lord Lovat that once met with him on his journay; he was so universally beloved and respected of all ranks and degrees of persones. Such a progress and parrad as this of Lovats was in the limits of ten dayes through Murray, all things considered, was so singular that such another I saw not since I came to my native soil from abroade!

Culcabock corn burnt.

March 20, 1664, the great barnyards of Culcabock belonging to Inshes, and 3 more, were all set on fire, 11 stacks, about 10 at night, all irrecoverably burnt. It made such a dreedfull flame as put Inverness in a consternation, being so neare. This was jealoused to be done by Glenmorriston men for some old quarrells with Inshes.[1]

A meeting tuixt Locheal and Mackintosh.

May 7, a meeting and congresse tuixt Mackintosh and Locheal about their marches and rights of Lochabber, happened at Kilvain, south [north?] sid of Nesse River. Uppon Mackintosh his side were the Earl of Murray, Laird of Pluskaden, Alexander Cuthbert, provost of Inverness, Lachlin Kinrara, Mackintosh

[1] See *Urquhart and Glenmoriston*, p. 179, *et seq.*

his uncle, and young Connadge. Upon Locheal his side were Hugh Lord Fraser of Lovat, Alexander Fraser the Tutor, Hugh Fraser of Struy, Hugh Fraser of Foyer, Hugh Fraser of Belladrom, etc. M'kintosh his men, about 500 in rank and file, lay on the east side of the river at Haughs; Locheals men, 300, about Tomnifirich. Earth, water, aire, rebounded at the sound of bagpipes Martiall musick. At the sound of a trumpet the meeting sits, at some distance, and my Lord Bishop of Murray and the Laird of Alter, as arbitrators and trenchmen, passed betuixt them, and at last, the 3d day, being Thursday, maters were brought to an accommodation and agreement, that it prevented litigation and cost in law. This was a noble sight of gallant gentlemen, and the clergy in decent grave garbs.

May 23. A debat and perambulation of mosses happened tuixt Balingown and Tarbut, quher 800 Roses were in rank and file; Rose of Invercharran was Collonel. Providence prevented a signall mischeefe that day!

Cruel thunder. June 22, was such thunder and lightning 24 houres, signall and non such. In our hills, the hight of Urqhart, and Strathglash fell such pieces of ice, inch thick and 3 inch broad; and our newes letters report that in France was such hail this spring as brake glass windowes, killed young store, and destroyed the vines.

Clavas buriall. August 12. William Ross of Clavah, tutor of Cilravock, was burried; his funeralls at a vast splendor and expence. The corps carried from Narden, quher he died, to the Chappell of Geddes; vast convocation, men in arms and horse. To this burrial came the Lord Lovat, with 80 horsemen; no convoy there to equal him. Here I happened to see Doctor William Forbes, whom I left at Pisa in Italy, being the Grand Duke of Florence his pensioner, preferred by him before Italian phisitians. He is now come to Scotland, and would setle at Inverness; but the contest tuixt the two factions Cuthberts and Forbesses is so strong that the fine man cannot enter in peace.

Dr. Forbes at Pisa, 1658.

Inshes ceased be Glenmoriston. August 23. A meeting happened tuixt Glenmorison and Inshes, at Lochend of Ness. Differences referred to Cullodden Forbes, Provost Ross, P. Cuthbert, Connadge and things like

to close. Glenmoriston, for some harsh expressions of Inshes, caused 4 men to dismount him, carried him into a boat, convoyed him to Glenmorrison, quher he kept him till October. A desperat ryot, so barbarous undercommuning that no law can sit with it.[1]

September 17, 1664. Margaret, daughter to the Lord Lovat, was born at Lovat; within two dayes baptised, the witnesses, Earl Seaforth and his lady, Lord Tarbut and his lady, Sir James Foules Collintoun and Margret his lady, Margaret Grant, widow of Struy at Bruiach, Kathrin M^ckenzie, mistress of Culboky, all godfathers and godmothers. My Lord Lovat his eldest daughter Anna born at Edinburgh, May 1660. Isabel born at Lovat September '62, and Margaret the 3^d now.

The bridge of Ness fell.

September 28. The great old wooden bridge of Invernes repaireing, and by the unadvertancy of a carpenter cutting a beame that lay fast 'tuixt two cuples, to set up a new one, the bridge tending that way ten of the old cupples fell flat on the river, with about 200 persones, men, women, and children upon it. 4 of the townes men broke leggs and thighs; some 16 had their heads, arms, and thighs bruised; all the children safe without a scart; and, by Providence, not one perished, a signall instance and dreadfull sight, at 10 houres forenoon. Immediatly, a great inundation happened, that the river run over the banks; the passage all that winter by a great coble over it.

Tusday, October 4. John Grant, Laird of Glenmorison, met the Earl of Murray at Narden water, being a head court day, to parly with him anent his ryot against Inshes. The Earl causd him ride with him to Invernes, the next morrow intending to present him in the Tolebooth. The unhappy man made his escap that night, and away; quhich gross carriage of his aggravates his former guilt, and quhat can appease it? *Quos Jupiter vult perdere, etc.* This harvest and forewinter was fair, soft pleasant wether, non like it. In December, the terrible storm of snow fell which continued but alteration till the 15 day of March following.

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[1] See *Urquhart and Glenmoriston*, p. 184.

[Follows account of the war with Holland, etc.]

1665. The spring, 1665, was so unnaturall that men despared of any tillage. The old winter storm continued till March 20, mens cattel perishing, young store all died. The snow so excessive in Strathspey, Badenoch, Atholl, and Strathardick that the dear and rooes died in great store, comming to barn-yards and houses as tame as sheep; flocks and heards off cattle lost. In Gerloch one man had 60 cowes dead in one night in a glen. The midle of March, like December, a new storm with blowing such as I never remember to see, about the 16 of March. The calme good thaw came seasonably, and then good, dry, warm weather all April; so that plowing and sowing continued, and, to admiration, the bear seed closed about the 12 of May, to the admiration of all men, and an excellent fertil crop ensued; the harvest closed October 10, notwithstanding of the rainy summer and a great rate for cattell, and corn plentifull.

Seaforth to Lewis. This spring, the Earle of Seaforth went to the Lewis to live, for the more convenient way of living, and improveing his interest in the Low Countries. This summer died Rory Laird of M'kleod, a prodigall, vitious, spendthrift; and his brother John succeeded Laird, a most hopeful, excellent, wise youth. Sir James Mackdonell married Mary, Mackleods sister, to his second wife, giving her an extravagant jointur, 8000 marke per annum. He delighted much to live in the Low country, at Balcony. For his divertisement he came to pay a visit to my Lord Lovat, and, haveing seen the rareties of the country, one James Lundy, Chamerlan, told him that the greatest rarety was yet unseen, and Sir James here it is, a Quern milston set here in the pavement before my Lord Lovats entry into his house; this among other things was taken from your predecessors besieging Lovat; and takeing the retreat their bagg and baggage was all taken, which they left, and this being one of their quern stones was laid here as a monument of its memoriall; and the town above the gate is called Croft ni Balgan, from the many baggs left there, which yow are concerned to notice.[1] Among many there

[1] See p. 250.

present I was one; and, indeed, the reflection altered Sir James his countenance, and knew not how to resent it; and it was remarked that he never came to Lovat afterwards for a visit. The Lord Mackdonel lives still at Drakies, within a mile east from Inverness, and some do construe that his stay there is to give the greater latitud to his rude clan to sally out, sorn uppon, and pillage their nighboures, for the Highlanders are now brakeing out to prey uppon the Low Countries in robberies and depredations everywhere; the strick restriant which the English kept uppon their necks being now taken off, there is no right method as yet fallen uppon to punish or curb these ravage courses at all. Depredations.

This February, my Lord Lovat went for England on design to salut his sovereign, the Kings Majesty, being convoyed with a statly train and retinue from Inverness. His two uncles, Alexander the Tutor, and Thomas Beufort, and severalls of his kinsmen, with his brave servants, Peeter Forbes, Mr. Simon Fraser, and William White, his page. At Edinburgh his friends take leave of him, and return; onely the Master of Salton, Philorth, goe with him all the way. Near Newcastle my Lord payed a visit to his mother, now Lady Siddn Dalivel, where he was welcomed with extraordinary care and respect. Tarrying there but two dayes, Sir Ralph Dalivel his stepfather (waiting him all this while) takes horse and convoyed my Lord Lovat all the way to London, makeing a very considerable companie of good horse, so that they were not affraid to be sett uppon by highwaymen in the rode; and, by a good Providence, they all arrived safe at London uppon St. Edwards Eve, March 18. My Lord Lovat for England. March 18, St. Edwards.

Thursday, March 20. Sir Alexander Fraser (who then had taken the title of Dorrs), waited uppon my Lord Lovat and convoyed him to Court, accompanied with the Master of Salton and Sir Ralph Dalavil, and most oportunlie introduced them to the King as his Majesty was going out to St. James's from Whithall, and not many of his Court with him. His Majesty was pleased to give them a most gracious reception, and after the ceremony of kissing his hand, followed him fast at the heeles, untill they arrived at the Park. The King then used his ordinary freedom of his inquery into the

State of affaires in Scotland and in the North of England; and, having heard all their narrations most attentively, after a long pause the King was pleased to direct his discourse to Lovat, saying, My Lord, I call to mind that being with my army at Torwood, in the Park of Stirling, *anno* 1650, falling in discourse with one of my chaplaines, Mr. Colvill, and asking him what he thought of the camp, and what clan he thought most loyall, he truely gave me a most singular account and commendation of the fidelity off the Frasers, and their loyalty to the Crown. I hope they continue so, and after that some corruptions hath creept in among clans dureing the late rebellion, that now the Frasers, with others, have returnd to their duty, being fully convinced of the evil of rising in armes against their sovereign, and that in time the universall and usuall character of a treacherous Scot shall be worn off, and loyal impressiones receaved by them, and insisted long upon the subject to this purpose. My Lord Lovat replyed, Sir, I had the same account from one of my kinsmen who was Captain of your Majesties guard that morning att Torwood; and I wish we may deserve the encomium given us by that reverend divine; and may we never surceise to doe dayly what may confirm it, and pray God non of my name be ever tainted with the least suspition of dissloyalty, but that I with them may ever prove true and faithfull subjects to your Majesty, and that with our lives and fortunes, *et etiam ad natos natorum et qui nascuntur ab illis.*

Read this account at large, p. 249.

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The Kings favour for Lovat.

The King had a great respect and favour for my Lord Lovat for his candor, good carriage, and currage. As for tilting and riding the great horse, non about Court could compeat with him. He would and did often mount the statliest horse in the Kings stable, putting his left hand on his mean, jump in the sadle, and not touch or take the help of a stirrup. He affronted a French fencing master before the King by a secret thrust most dexterously mannaged, to the wonder of many, and carried the dauncing in a balle in presence of King and Queen, yet had litle or no art but pure nature. The Bishops had more than ordinary kindness for him, being a great Church of England man, and could argue most acuratly uppon that point against dissenters. The Duke

of Albimarle [1] made him his domestick, being so frequently with him at dyet, reflecting uppon the discretion and civility of the Frasers towards him marching from the hills towards Inverness in *anno* 1654; and the Duke of Monmouth used my Lord Lovat as his cammarad and would very often mention him to the King. I would say much more of his carriage at Court were it not construed flattery, for Sir Andrew Foster gave me a particular relation of his conduct and contingencies while he was at London; and, had not the pestilence interveened, and could have stayed in England, he would no doubt have got some place about the King, for Lauderdale (which was rare) became his great friend uppon the account of some relation, and Sir Alexander Fraser gave him a coach with 4 pretty pybald horses, very remarkable, and was known with respect through the city off London under the notion of Doctor Fraser his chiefe; which was no small complement in that place.

My Lord Lovatt return for Scotland.

The onely thing which hindered my Lord, being now ready to return for Scotland, was that he waited his Royal Highnes and Prince Rupert comming from the Fleet, who in the beginning of June landed at Gravesend. My Lord, with the Master of Salton and Sir Ralph Dalavile, accompanied with Doctor Fraser and Sir Andrew Forrester, slipt down the river be barge, and, kissing his Highness the Duke of Yorks hands and Prince Ruperts, convoyed them up the river to Lambeth, where, visiting the Archbishop, and there receaveing his Graces benediction and the Dukes commands for Scotland, take farewell and depart. The Doctor haveing provided their antidotes, cordialls, and phisick for the contagion of the pestilence, with suitable directions thereanent, he gave his Cheefe 50 libs. sterling to beare his charges down to Scotland, with mutuall embraces tooke their last adue, and went on their journay, without the least touch of the infection all the time of their abode in and about London; and its observed as a singurall Providence that dureing the rage of the pestilence and the continuance of it, and many thousands dying in and about the city, not one person dyed within the precinct of

[1] General Monck.

Westminster Abey, or Lambeth House, as if some sacred spell had preserved these consecrated places.

The season of fair June favouring, my Lord Lovat had a pleasant journay through England to York, without the least distemper or hasard be the way. My Lord, the Master of Salton, and Sir Ralph rode in coach, their retinue a horse-back. The 27 of June they arrive at New Castle. My Lord going thence to Siddon Dalavil, he rested and refreshed himselfe 4 or 5 dayes with that good lady, his mother. At last, with many embraces and loath farewells, they parted, never to meet (no more they did) again. Sir Ralph convoy them to Morpat, leting them go on with a hearty adue. In two dayes they came to Edinburgh, quher, staying but short, came over the Firth to Weemes, where my Lord got a kindly welcom from his granduncle the Earle, whence they needed make no heast, that being the place of his production and education. Att last they leave Fife, and through Anguis, payed a visit to his grand aunt, my Lady Arbuthnet, living at Geres Mill in the Mearnes, went forward to Muchall in Marr to pay their respects to my good Lord Fraser, his Lady Lovats aunt, being but dead the year before, and, notwithstanding of the old gum and discord in law betuixt Mucholl and Philorth, yet the master and he kept kindly correspondance. Thence through Garioch to Buchan, they salut the good famely off Udney, and so in course to Inveralochy, and forward to Philorth, where old Salton, now above 80 yeares of age, waited and longed for them comming, and gave them a freehearted Frasers welcom, with a devout reflexion uppon the words of the Psalmist, The dayes of our yeares are threescore yeares and ten, and if by reason of strength they be fourscore yeares, yet is their strength labour and sorrow; for it is soon cut off and we flye away. *Meditatio senectutis est meditatio virtutis.—Præcipitat tempus, mors atra impendit agenti—Ars longa est ars bene moriendi.* My Lord Lovat, not weary of his great friend, yet posts over Moremount to Strachin, where words could not expresse his welcom, and the good luck was that the Laird of Strachin and his good lady Marion Irving, were uppon wing going North, and that one night determind them, and next morrow tooke journay together, and, not resolving

Psal. 90. 10.

to digress off the rode, payed onely two visits, viz. one to James, Earl of Finlater, at Cullen, and the other to Alexander, Earl of Murray, att Tarnway; and, without any more adoe, save a *hic sum* at Inverness, they came to Moniak, the 10 of July, and thence to Lovat, where he found his lady and children all in good health and peace.

In April, Thomas Fraser of Beufort was married to Sybilla Mᶜkleod, be Mr. William Fraser, minister at Kiltarlity, being the last act as well as publick appearance of that good man in his sacred function. The Tutor off Lovat lived now at Tommich, and sutle Sybilla, his lady, pretended an aversation to this match of her daughter with Beufort, and, yet, cordicitus, the thing on earth she was most desirous off. So that my Lord Lovat found his uncle Thomas at his return a married man, whom he had left a batchelour in March, it being now the 34 year of his age. Thomas Fraser Beufort married.

This May came in so rainy and continued so till 21, such inundations as if we were to expect a deludge; the wether so stormy that almost all cattel were destroyed in our months, and June so rainy and cold that scarce 3 day dry in it; and July came in rainy, and the 17 day was such hail that scarce in winter the like was ever seen; and the end of the month and August 8 was such dreadfull thunder, and of so long continuance, that none liveing ever remembers to hear such claps. September 2, Saturday, was such a dreadfull frost as did great hurt to barly and peese, that men feared a derth to ensue, and raised the rate of victual.

The 25 of September, that horrid murder of Cappoch Mackranald happened, for Æneas Mackdonald,[1] a good youth, who to his naturall propensions of wit and smartnes had the addition of good education at home and abroad, he married an Englishwoman, with whom he had two sones, Donald and Alexander.[2] Himselfe dyed att London, and left the two children to the tutelage off Sir James Mᶜkdonel, who fostered

[1] Donald Macdonald.

[2] Alexander and Ronald (?). For the story of the murder of Keppoch, see *The Clan Donald*, vol. ii. p. 635. See also *Beauties of Gaelic Poetry*, p. 36, for poem on subject, by John Lom Macdonald, the bard through whose efforts the murderers were brought to punishment.

them in his own house till fit for letters, then sent them to Inverness to school. About 19 yeares the eldest goes up to see his interest at Cappach, repaires the building, hires servants, and laboures the maines, and above all things, being piously inclined, resolves to reform that rude country. Archibald [Allan?] his uncles sone, living near hand, incurrages him dissemblingly, and clandestinly conduces with one Alexander Roy M'kdugel in Inverlair to kill the two boyes, and then Cappach should fall to himselfe, and Alexander M'kdougall should have Inverlair. The paction and contract is writt and signd: this witty but wicked Archibald in a subterfuge is to go to Inshgall [Hebrides], and meantime the murder was to be mannaged. Friday, September 25, Alexander M'kdugall, with 6 accomplises sworn to him, came to Cappoch, the reapers shearing, and Cappach and his brother with them, counterfits an expedition that required his recommendation. The young yowth, suspecting no ill, goes with them to the house, and his brother followed after. Alexander M'kdougall, finding them both within, began to be joviall, telling he had got two new fine daggers, and would gift each of them with one. When the daggers are drawn, Alexander Roy saith to Cappach, it is fit we exchange or hansel this new knife. A centry watching at the door meantime reaches a thrust at the youth and stabbs him, and successively the other sex gives each his wound, like Cæsar in the Senat house. The youngest, seing his brother murthered, he pleads for his own life with an asseveration to goe off the nation never to return. This would not be heard, but dispatches him with as many stabs as his brother got, leaveing them both dead flat uppon the floor, escape, locking the door, and away. The shearers, fearing no harm, challanged nothing, till, waiting long, and seing none of the brothers come forth, run to the new chamer, opening the door, found Capach and his broather streached dead in their bloud uppon the pavement. The hue and crye goes, but to no purpose. Law cannot reach these fugitive murderers. Sir James Mackdonell sends a party of pretty men to the country to apprehend them. Alexander M'kdugel makes a stronghold near a linn, impregnable as he thought. They assault the fort, and, after a long siege and slaughter, they smoake him out, wearied with

The horrid murder of Cappach, Septr. 25.

shot; being wounded deadly, is cacht and his assassines their 7 heads cut off and sent to Edinburgh, set uppon poles on the gallowes at Lieth. Archibald, the cursed contriver, returns home, catches a gangren in that finger which subscribed the paper paction with Alexander M'kdougall; it turns incurable; he is advised to cut of that arm, delayes, in end spreads cancrous and runs over his body and kills him; the just judgement and finger of God is here. I saw this paper and contract. I knew most of these men; the circumstances were tedious to set down: *ex ungue leonem.*

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[Account of wars with France and Holland, and of the Great Fire of London.]

In Scotland a ryot happened at Drumfrice in September, Penthland hills. where 200 of the nighbouring parishoners, gathering together, armd with clubs and syths, tooke Sir James Turner, generall collector, to the marcat place all naked, and like to cut him in pieces for exacting fines uppon nonconformists. Nor was this contemptible number long agrowing and increasing to a considerable force. At last in all 1600 convocats in a body and marcht within 4 miles of Edinburgh, where they were met and set uppon by Lieutenant General Dalyell and Major General Drummond, near Penthland Hills, and were there totally defeated, 500 slain uppon the place. a 100 taken prisoners; severalls of the rebells afterwards sentenced and executed; among the rest Corson,[1] who began the muteny, and Makell,[2] their minister, a main incendiary of the people; so that in a short time all was husht into quietness. This was called by phanatticks the fatall year, frightned the people with predictions of the Day of Judgement to fall in it, or an utter ruin of Monarchy and Hierarchy; nothing but that Bishops should be down, and that the last yeares comet presaged no less. For me, I saw nothing that fell out but the plague, fire in London, the seafight tuixt England and Holland. From the year 1660 till now Presbiterians united with us, frequented churches and ordinances without distinction or objection. Captain Beatman

[1] John Neilson of Corsock.

[2] Hugh M'Kail.

and his brother in law, James Fraser of Brey,[1] lived in my own parish at Moniak, heard and wrot my sermons. Mr. Hary Forbes, minister at Aldern, a Presbiterian, sat in our Sinods as Dean of Murray. Many joined south and north without scruple of Episcopall government, all haveing closed with it, took oaths of alleadgance and canonicall obedience; now they must nicely desert us, keep field conventicles, and foment rebellion and scism!

1666. It was a pretty jest and droll of a minister in our diocess of Murray, Master Gilbert Marshall at Cromdell, usually termd Jupiter for his flights and nimbleness, heareing often of the wonderfull fatall year 1666 and many prodigies to happen on it, would seemingly assent to it and flatter men in their humor, telling it would prove so by this verse:—

> In this instant year you 'le see a great wonder,
> Sex shall chase sexty, and sexty sex hunder!

This proves true in the figures of 1666, sex being last, sexty next, and sex hunder first, retrograd. Besids there is a verse runs this yeare in mens mouths as a presage of omens; many repeat it, few or non understand it, and I as litle. The distich is:—

> *Bartholomeus flet, quonigm deest Presbiter Anglo,*
> *Adventu leta, Sancta Maria tua est.*

What to make of these two lines I leave it arbiter to any who reads it, and I think it may be applied to any other year as well as this. Though many have had wild notions of this year I discovered nothing in it but ordinary contingencies. I heard that some in the north of England crost Twid into Scotland; and some on the Borders and Mers went into England. Sir John Urqhart of Cromarty and Sir George Mackenzie of Tarbut, with their ladyes and famelies, went up to York, and reseeded there till the closur of the year at a considerable cost and expense. Whey they went and what they did I cannot yet learn. I know they were out of publick place and trust, for the Earl off Lauderdale keeps still his gall at Mackenzes: for

[1] Rev. James Fraser, son of Sir James of Brey, and a noted Covenanter. He was minister of Culross, and suffered imprisonment in the Bass and other places.

he cannot get over with the act of billeting; it is a pill of so hard digestion.

This spring was so wet and rainy that men dispared of sowing, and frosts in April impeded the bear seed. Then came the summer in so hot that from the beginning of May to the midle of July I remember not to see one shour of rain, so that men dispared of reaping. About the 10 of July there came a deludge of rain. This refreshed the corn wonderfully; yet the harvest was so aire and straw so scarce that we feared a generall death of cattle for want of provender; but God was gracious, for the forewinter was like summer, and continued mild all over; but the grain universally scarce and dear, 8 tibs the boll; but the highlands prospered.

1666. Lord Lovat went to Glenelg.

In the closur of May my Lord Lovat tooke journay to Glenelg, and, being a nimble footman, resolves to go in highland cloaths as agreeing best with the place and genious of the people, and a garb very becomming the cras [?] and proportion of his person. He brought with him as convoy both his uncles, Alexander the Tutor, and Thomas Beufort, and one out of every famely of the name of Fraser, the flower of the gentry, very well appointed for gallantry; and he gloried very much in his men, and encurraged them as it becam a chiften every way. When he came to Glenelg, good John, the Laird of Mackleod, kept his appointment with him, and gave him a noble welcom, telling his Lordship that he must give him a cheerfull reception with his whole retinue, for his people would do it, the Master of Lovat being married to his mother and had her jointur there. Beufort was maried to his sister, and my Lord Lovat was once superiour of Glenelg, and kindly for him to visit that country. They diverted themselves with varieties of sport and recreation, such as hunting, haukeing, fishing, and arching, which manly exercise they both liked well. There was that year a vast tack of hareing in Lochurn, and many ships in the harbours waiting to be fraughted (both Scots and English vessells) with that curious fish, which brings a vast traffick and mony enugh to that country; and this is judged to be the best and greatest herring in the kingdom, as Lochfine and Dunbarr harring; and no fish sells better abroad than this does, especially with the Dutch and French. It is

Entertaind by Mackleod at Barnorah.

called in High Dutch *ein Haring*, and in French *Haran*, in Latin *Halec, caret numero plurali genus piscis qui sola aqua nutritur dicitur etiam a quibusdam Halex.*

Martial L. ii.

Cui portat gaudens Ancilla, paropside rubra
Halecem, sed quam protinus illa voret!

My Lord Lovat returnd from the Highlands the beginning of July, and then got a sudden call from south, which he kept secret. Some thought it was from the Earl of Weems, his granduncle; some said from Sir Ralph Dalavill, his stepfather; either or both; had no convoy with him but Mr. John Mackinnon and Peter Forbes, two pretty men, his prime servants, and Will Innes, his groom. Being a litle indisposed, he road in coach through Murray, but at Spey sent back his coach and hoarses with Richard Holmes his coachman; and after this we had no account of him for three months, which put all his friends in a wild fright. He left his lady big with child, in continuall feare. It pleased God she was safely brought to bed of a sone, September 28, being Michaelmas eve; and the child being tender by his mothers former indisposition he was presently christened Hugh. 4 of his kinsmen godfathers; Hugh Struy, Hugh Culboky, Hugh Foyer, Hugh Belladrum. The midwife, Janet Fraser Nindonilvickrobby,[1] an honest widow in Finask, told myselfe instantly, Take well about your young cheefe, the Master of Lovat, for his mother will never bear another. He was born with a large black spot uppon his upper right lip. When Kathrin M'kenzie, Mistress of Kingily, on of the godmothers, got him in her lap, and spying the mark, she said to the midwife Berwom E Berwom E,[2] take him, away with him, he will do no good (and alas futur events proved it true). His mother, my Lady Lovat, whither by apprehension or naturall contingent histerick fit, was like to passe; but besids the skillfull midwife, Doctor George Mackenzie was domestick, and Jean Turnbull, her own maid, had good experience and practices of such maladies, which made us fear the lesse. Now is our old predictions confirmed of 4 considerable chiftens in the North born with signall marks,

Hugh, Master of Lovat, born September 28.

[1] Daughter of Donald, son of Robbie.

[2] *Beir uam e, beir uam e:* Take him from me, take him from me.

of which the Master of Lovat is one. 1. M'kchinnich Glundow; 2. M'khimmi Baldow; 3. Mackintoshich Cline; 4. Shissolach Came / that is, Blackneed M'kenzie; Blackspotted Lovat; Squint Mackintosh; and Shiesholm blind off an eye. All four are so, and whither for good or evil, to raise or ruin their famelies, they are signally marked and remarked. I shall not ominat; let future contingences verify the truth of it.

A reflection uppon the great famelye of Frasers.

Now are our feares commenct of the decay of this famely. The present lady like to be barren, and short lived; my Lord Lovat hectick; the Tutor of Lovat alrady cacochimick, and no hopes of his ofspring / Sibilla aged and will outlive him; Thomas Beuforts children droping off as they are born, and his lady too fatt and corpulent / and non extant but they two threatnes the worst. What a famous flourishing famely was this! Lord Hugh, this mans grandfather, had 6 sones, all at once lively and hopefull enugh; now all centers in this poore infant boy and suckling. God dissappoint my feares; but the same fatality followes all the leading famelies of the Frasers. Lord Lovat hath but one sone / the Laird of Strachin but one sone; the Lord Salton but one sone; Laird of Inveralochy but one sone; Sir Alexander [Fraser of] Dorris one sone; and the Lord Fraser of Muchell but one sone / *Ach! Voluptates nimium fugaces cuncta caduca!* Alas, if we have formerly gloried in our goodly, gallant, heroick family we have now cause to grieve; but all is not lost that is in hasard. In all my straights, troubles, trialls, horrours, hope never failed me; nay, where there was litle appeareance of reliefe. *Dignus vindice nodus*; Gods finger was found; he solved my scruples. I will never dispare / becaus I have a God; I will never presume / becaus I am but a man. Seneca, the Roman poet, hath a councill which I hold as a wonder so worth the following:—

Surguntque cadunque spes mihi magna tamen!

Nemo confidat nimium secundis
Nemo desperet meliora lapsus!
Miscet hæc illis, prohibetque Clotho
Stare fortunam!

Let none fallen despaire to rise
Nor trust too much prosperities,
Clotho mingling both command
That neither stand!

It is a sóllid undeniable truth; blissings appeare not till they be vanisht. The commedian was then serious quhen he writ,

Tum denique homines nostra intelligimus bona,
Cum quæ in potestate habemus ea amisimus.

Fond men, till we have lost the goods we had,
We understand not what their values made.

Further, to confirm that fatall aspect of a critick constellation whose influence hangs over our head, I will here set doun a prediction or prophecy relating this great famely, found in the Priory Church of Beuly, and the manner how Alexander, Tutor of Lovat, liveing still at Tommich, a halfe mile north east from it, in the beginning of October current, about 11 at night, a clear light was seen in every roome, chamers, hall, and office house about that close of the building. Non noticed it much the first night. The 2 night severalls observed it, which put them in a consternation. A voice desired the servants to intreat their master to goe to the church off Beuly, and there he would find a response as to what troubled his mind often. The voice increased their fright, and, being in a doubtfull commotion, midnight was over and the light evanished er they had the currage to waken the Tutor. They told him the message, but he heeded it not. The 3d night the light and voice both surprised his own apartment about the same hour; a voice heard, no spectra seen. It commanded him, and on his perrill not neglect it, to goe to S. Dunstance Priory Church in Beuly, and on the Alter he would find a parchment writt in Gothick character, unfolding his famelies fate; *tollet lege, tone et tace.* With this the light dissapeared. The Tutor arose, put on his cloaths, called his servants; in companie all rise, puts on fires, lights candles, sits up reading the Scriptures till morning; and, in the very dawning, himselfe, with his two servants, Mr. John Fraser and Alexander Rose, go all 3 to Beuly, gets the key from the officer, who goes in with them, and uppon the alter they find a piece dark antick parchment, with these lines, the Capitall letters rubrick:

A prophesy what and where of Frasers.

X Reall ofspring, O Duke off Guys,
Draw your forces to a head,
Now act the men, for otherwayes
Your renouns for ever dead:
Let not guilded glosses blind
Your judgement about land debates;
Mark bosom foes, love yourselves,

Your ruins are contrived all
That join with Bizets for your arms,
The flamming hills will work your fall
Iff courrage prevent not your harms.
Quit, credulous and facil mind,
Childish foolish vain conceit;
Lay aside intestine jarres,
That loose sinewes brake the nerves
Of the best devised warrs!
My ghost is grieved at the lot
Of my ofsprings currage beaten;
Rouse yow! beleeve them not;
Observe the distich underwritten!

Sed mora damnosa est, nec spes dubiture remittit,
Dum super est aliquid, cuncti coeatis ad arma!

The very next morrow the Tutor of Lovat had occasion of affaires near my house, payed me a visit, and his two servants, Mr. John Fraser and Alexander Rose in company with him. He was pleased to narrat the whole mater to me as it happened, and as I have written verbatim. The parchment he gave me to read, written in two columns as I have set them down, drawn in course Gothick character, the first letter of every line rubrick, the Latin distich *ad longum* underneath, without alteration of the letters, a St. Andrewes X set before the first line. The two gentlemen, my own relations, declared all the circumstances forsaid with an asseveration. I was oblidged to beleeve them without this confirmation. The Tutor left the parchment with me, and could have kept it still, but I returnd it to confirm others of this truth. The lines were dispersed all the North over; it kept men in a mist, knew not what to make of it. Ridles will unfold themselves. Rymers prophesies were clear when fullfilled: so may this. Men had odd conjectures who the author could be. Some jealoused Doctor George M'kenzie; others, Master Donald Beaton in Sutherlands service; Spiny Douglas was suspected; also the Kings Colledge at Aberdeen: yet, after all search and enquery, no detection; no confession to this very howre. 1667.

About the midle of October, Seaforth came from the Lewis, and, paying a visit to his sister in law, my Ladye Lovat, he sent for the Tutor; and Strachin happened to be in the country. Struy and severall others of the name were present in the great Hall; and in a storm he began to challange all the name of Fraser present whey they were not more dutifull kinsmen as to send in search of their cheefe, who was amissing and absent of a long time, and nothing heard from, nor no A contrivance to send in quest of my Lord Lovat.

account of him; much more to this purpose, in a very surly stile. The master answeired, My Lord, we know our own duty without your direction; nor were we wont to crave or stand in need of your councell in what concernd our credit. My Lord Lovat is but your nighbour, and at most your brother in law, and he is my nephew in particular, and our cousin and cheefe in generall. We know what is fit for us to doe in reference to his Lordships good, and shall do it when we judge it seasonable. And Strachin told him plainelie, My Lord, if this was your errand to Lovat yow might have stayed at home. We are not fooles or children to be taught be any what is proper for kinsmen to act for their cheefe and superiour. I know where my Lord Lovat is at present, and will goe or send to wait uppon him. Things were like to grow to a heat. Seaforth found them all rankled, began to smooth maters, and retreat hansomly, mixing his discourse with another subject; and so parted somequhat abruptly. For the Tutor and Strachin had before then appointed a meeting att Dochnicrage, the east end of Lochnes, where the Stratharick gentlemen, Foyer, Farlin, Erchit, Culduthell, and many mo, conveened at the appointed time; so that all concernd being present, after consultation the result of their meeting terminated in sending two gentlemen of the name in quest of the Lord Lovat, whereever he be. The first they pitcht uppon was Hugh Fraser off Kinaris living in Kinmilies, and he chused for his mate Simon Fraser,[1] sone to Mr. William Fraser of Phoppachy, then at Invernes, two batcheloures, and pretty men very fit for the expedition. To this end the prime of the gentlemen present road into Invernes, such as the Tutor, Strachin, Struy, Beufort, Foyer, Belladrum, etc., and at Balife Fraser house near the Bridgend concluded what soume to be given these commissioners for the journay. But as Providence still disposes of mens proposales, the very next day Strachin's post comming from Buchan broucht us certain account of my Lord Lovats being at Carnbuilg when he came off; which put a stop to this design at present.

My Lord Lovats progress and visits.

About the close (the very last day) off October my Lord Lovat arrived here *gratus et optatus*, longed and wisht for.

[1] The author's brother.

He tristed indeed with the feast of All Saints, where many of his great friends toke occasion to wait uppon his Lordship, and congratulat his safe and happy return. This faire of Hallowmas at Beuly was signall for number, goodness, and rate of cattle was hardly ever seen: which brought a great deal of mony to the country, and the Highlanders went home well pleased. This November my Lord tooke a progress in circuit to visit his friends and nighboures, through Ross and Sutherland; his two uncles, the Tutor and Beufort, along with him. Begins at Chanry, giving his first complement to the old Countes of Seaforth, Barbara Forbes; and the Earle, living there, waited uppon him next. Thence, next morow, payed his duty to my Lord Bishop of Ross at his own lodging, who carressed him with his paternal benediction. From thence to Cromarty, visiting Sir John Urquhart, who convoyed him over that ferry to Milton, where his brother in law, Tarbut, lived for the time; who next morrow waited upon my Lord to Balnigown, who was newly married to the Earl of Murrayes daughter; and thence over the Larges [Lairg], crosst the Mickle Ferry, Portincouter, and streight by the coast to Dornach, the Bishop of Cathenes living then there, and got his hearty blissing. Biding him farewell, went forward to Doun Robin, to visit kind Earl John, his uncle in law, who gave him a most cordiall reception, and sent for all his friends about to entertain my Lord Lovat at a singular rate. A weekes generous noble treatment being over, takes leave of the Earl of Sutherland and returnes home through Rose, visited old Presbiterian Foules, who protested his affectionat passion for him and his noble famely, and begged of his Lordship to keep up the old rooted correspondance tuixt the Frasers and Monroes, blood relation being the late cement which confirmed it. My Lord replied that while he lived nothing should be wanting on his part; so after a hearty botle Fowles commands his 3 sones and two of his kinsmen present to wait uppon my Lord Lovat, and convoy him home to his own house, where arriving the 4 of December, his next project was to send express to his friends, appointing and inviting them to be with him in Lovat at their Christmas, and, it being Yewel Royall falling uppon Sunday, most of the gentlemen

My Lord invites his friends to a hearty Christmas.

being at sermon convoyed my Lord from church home, the Tutor and his lady, Beufort and his lady, Struy, Culboky, Foyer, Rilick, Achnigarn, etc.; a confluence and convocation of hearty good fellowes, and nothing was wanting for their suitable entertainment. This I can say without flattery: I never saw a more solem, handsom, opulent Christmas feast, my Lord telling them with their welcom that this might be the last Yewel he would ever keep with them, blissing God for bringing the fatall year to a happy period. What I here say as well as formerly of this famely is *ex certa scientia*, being eye and eare witness of all those transactions.

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[Account of affairs in England.]

A sad drowning on Connan Ferry, Feb. 6, 1667.

This year, on February 6, a dismall accident fell out at the Candlmas marcat in Dingwall. A great croud of people comming to the ferry, and but one boat, they press in so thick into her that the ferrier told them he would not launch out from the bank untill they would disburden the boat, and most of them goe out again. There was no heareing: he could not prevail. Well, then, since yow will not, I resolve not to drown myselfe—and so leapes out of the boat uppon the bank; some of them followed out, two men and a woman. He calls again that the boat was overloadned. They did not regard, but sets her off, and immediatly oversets and sunk; all the loadning of people, men and women, floating upon the water lick dukes, and, no doubt, many of them in drink could not escap; those uppon the shoare could not reach to recover them; some casting out their plaids, others long poles, pulled some of them to shoar. Such as kept the midle of the river sunk or carried down the stream; two men onely swam in to the other side; 22 persones, men and women, drownd outright. The most of them, out of Ferrintosh, madly impatient to be home, thrust themselves, being so late, into seen danger. Mr. George Cuming, minister at Urray, heasting to the boat, was like to be in with the rest, but Providence stopt him, calling to his boy to take his hoarse, as himselfe told me. My brother in law, William Monro, was uppon the bank, and rescued 6 persones by casting out roapes and plaids which they

laid hold on and were draggd ashoare. Down the streame, quher the water grew shallow, men wead out, and brought in many, but drownd, and some irrecoverable. The water was thick, the stream strong, and people clasping together in their cloaths, sunk and drownd most of them. The loss was great, so many soules perishing in our view, 13 widowes known in one parish.

This spring was very stormy; great losse by sea uppon all the British coast; thunder and lightning did much hurt in England. The summer very dry, straw scarce, all our corn ripe and our fields reapt before the 10 of September; the close of harvest and forewinter so faire that we might conclud it was two summers in one yeare. This summer my Lady Lovat, finding her indisposedness increaseing, resolves to trye the Spaw welles att York, and tooke journay in June from Lovat. She went by sea to Chanonry, where her horse was to meet her. In company to attend her went Dr. George M'Kenzie, Mr. John Fraser, James Londy, chamerlan, who pretends bussines of consequence to lead him south, and substitutes James Ritchy, burges vintner in Inverness, chamberlan in his vice, and I conceave he gives him trouble enugh, with litle gain; for all the creame of the milk he hath lickt off these 7 yeares bygon, with a great sallary, and is now indifferent who take the employ. My Lady had many relations to see by the way, and at Edinburgh. She stayd long in Sidden Dalavel, near Newcastle, with her mother-in-lawe, going forward, and longer at her return; so that in all she was away 3 months, June, July and August, and returnd to Lovat September 6. All the alteration I found on her by her phisicall water was that her collor is more lively, and her stomach sharper; all which might be procured by her motion, travel, change off aire, though drinking off water were not in the bargan at all.

My Lady Lovat to the Spaw.

All this while my Lord Lovat and Strachin tooke a progress to Abertarph, Foyer and other Frasers joining with them at hunting; and after his return, his Lady being away, he was induced to goe to Buchan and Marr to visit friends who longed for him, and loved to have him with them. He diverted himselfe there all harvest, and in his absence my Lady deserts

Lovat, and chusd the house off Beuly for her dwelling. Whither her own inclination or bad advice caused this I never examined, but the better house, more conveniency, a purer aire, and haveing necessaries nearer and easier, and to be beside her friends. All these pretended reasons prevailed, though all false; but the main was she went their to dye: so ominous was her flitting.

1668 [*sic*]. Now this great famely is flitted from this parish with mine and the regreet of many. They were my parishioners 7 yeares. I was my Lords chaplain and pastor; nor was it his choice to leave me. The Lord preserve them where now they reseed. This I must say, they were a good example amongst us, hospitable, charitable and discreet. I had never scandall or delation before my session out of that noble famely, notwithstanding of what extravagancy and liberty it was chargd with. And the main incurragement was their countenancing the ordinances of God uppon his day. It was a pleasure to see that famely come to church, especially at a sacrament time. The last Easter the Holy Eucharist was solemnly celebrated at Mons Mariæ! for besids our own numerous gentry, the old and young Countesses of Seaforth were here, the Lady Cromarty, and many mo. Lord, make thy seales and sacraments effectuall for that great end thow hast appointed them for, and grant whilest we have Gods seales there be not unmarcked soules.

My Lord Lovat came home to attend his fares about the closur of harvest, and, finding his lady and famely in Beuly, never challanged her deserting of Lovat, or whey she came hither. He was ever wont to give her her will in every thing, and in this would not stint her. He spent that winter at home demurr and melancholy, a temper that set him ill, and to be confined no better. I mind the old Kitchin Latin, *mitte hoc vadere sicut vadit nam vult vadere sicut vadit, modo hic sit bene*, said the old monck in his cell; but when a man wants contentment at home all is wrong!

My Lady Duffus sudden death. This January 1667 died Lady Margret Stuart, my Lady Duffus, the Earl of Murrayes daughter, at her own house in Elgin. She was safely brought to bed, but a hysterick malignant distemper dispatcht her; a most excellent woman. She

made up that famely; yet generous, liberall, charitable, hospital; who could surprise her in city or country? I happened to be a night in Duffus at a Synod time, with Mr. James Sutherland, my *alter ego*. We payed this good lady a visit, and she would not part with us, assureing us that she lickt our character well, no company was more welcom to her than the clergy. We spent that night most pleasantly. This was a lady of singular parts, loyal, sound, and a true Church of England woman. She was *malleus schismaticorum*, a hammer of phanaticks; they must be musled in her presence; she banterd them out of their persuasions with strong reason. Her husband was wont to say that he would turn her louse against the stoutest of them. Alas! we want a true patroness. I could run out in her praise, but it were to light a candle to the sun. Give her of the work of her hands, and let her works praise her in the gates. She lyes now in the silent grave; Pro: 31. 31. it should not be closed. So many of her ofspring posted after that her husband might be written childless; non extant of them this day.

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[Account of Affairs in England.]

Leaveing these great actors uppon the stage of the world, The Laird of Foules his death. let us now come to those who have made their exit. The Laird of Foules, Monro, being under a decay, dyed on the 24 of January. I will not say off [?] being lame, *tam curvus corde quam cruribus*. I will judge none. I have learnd that *de mortuis nil nisi bonum*. He was interd at Kiltern, 28; and, indeed, there was nothing wanting to make his funerals compleit and solemn. The Rosses were there in a body of a 1000 foot, under the conduct of Ross off Inercharran and verry well appointed. The Monroes would be 600. Seaforth came there accompanied with a few horse, and no foote at all; and it is a thing I wonder off that nobleman that he makes no figure at any time at burrialls. My Lord Lovat being farr off the season, would not allow him to bring foot, but as it was still his [?] he had a good convoy off gentlemen, 50 horse very well appointed; I am sure non like him there. [?] funerall feast it was to purpose, and

the foot in the fields well noticed. It was a most pleasant sunshein winter day, and truely the parad of horse and foot, the church being so neare, was a noble show.

1668. The next who parted this life was Sir Robert Innes of Moortoun, commonly called the Generall Quarter Master, being ingaged in the late rebellion. He sould the reversion of Cromy, and bought the lands of Moortoun and Leuchers, about Kinloss, a bad purchass, church land, borrowd monny to buy it, could not extricat himselfe, turn melancholy after his ladys death, and died himself in March, and left a poor unsolved ofspring. He thought to leave the care of all uppon my Lady Duffus, but her death crusht him, and all evanisht. Many deaths at south this year, Lord Kingorn, Lord Sinclar, Fife, and Angus, whose names I leave to be enrolled in the Bill of Mortality where they lived.

The Earl of Traquars fall. A remarkable Death this yeare was that of John Steward, the old Earl of Traquar, time, place, and manner. This man was King James the 6 his cousin and courtier. King Charles the 1 sent him Lord High Commissioner down to Scotland, and sat viceroy in the Parliament, June 1639. He early cast anchor at Court, the haven of happiness for all aspireing spirits, and this broke him; at last turnd the tennis ball of fortun. What power and sway, place and preferrment, he had then I need [not] mention; onely this copping then with the reverend bishops, and tampering under boord with the Covenanters, he acknowledged to be his bane. But whither by his own malversing, or by paction and resignation of his interest to his sone, or the immediat hand of God upon him, I search not; but he provd a true emblem of the vanity of the world, a very meteor *oriens et moriens* and, as many more, *Tolluntur in altum ut lapsu graviore ruant.* I saw him *anno* 1661 begging in the streetes of Edinburgh. He was in an antick garb, wore a broad old hat, short clock, and pannien breeches; and I contributed in my quarters in the Canongate at that time, which amounted to a noble, which we gave him standing, and his hat off, the Master of Lovat, Culboky, Glenmoriston, and myselfe; which piece of mony he receaved from my hand as humbly and thankfully as the poorest supplicant. It is said that at a time he had not to pay for cobling his

bootes, and died as we hear in a poor coblers house; so that of him we may say with the poet, who describs him well,

Fortunæ speculum, Tracuerus scandit in altum
Ut casu graviore ruat, regisque favore
Tollitur; hinque cadit!

Gold found in a field at Culodden.

In April a providence happened at Culodden, two miles eastward from Inverness. A tenant, John Anderson, had plowed a field near the shore, lay land, causing digg about the stones in mearins, and, casting many up, especially one remarkable stone stand in the west end of the field; but whenc it came non knowes; but a servant harrowing the field over and over found two or three pieces of bright mettall, gold as he thought. This comes to John Forbes, Laird of Culodden, his eares, calls for the tennant, gets the gold, being informed of the place where it was got, convocates a number of persones to search throw that field, and they found very many various slices and cuts of gold through the harrowed ground, and near that standing stone they digged round the old ground, and there found more yet, and at last a neat frame of curious wood crusted with gold uppon a pedestill standard, curious work. It seemes that in this box the gold had been preserved, which was found scattered up and down the field, being now broaken to pieces. The rumor running, it was discovered that one John Taylor, merchant in Invernes, had bought a ponderous piece of this gold from a servant boy. Him Culodden chargd before the townes court, who confessd and delivered up the same, as did every one who had got the least od bit of it. After a while John Forbes invited myselfe to Culodden, and present all that was found of this hoord in a basin. We set up all the frame to a very litle that was wanting, and found by the composur that it was a capsula or cistellula in which some rich jewel had been kept by the cavety of the casket. It might be capacious of above a pint of liquor. There were bits of chaines, clasps, smal joints, ribs, cuts, some ponderous oval and foursquare pieces, and another bit like a wilk, which I judged to be the winding top of the casket. If it was a gold image, the head was wanting, the fingers and toes and other purtenances disfigured might be there. Such another casket

like this, containing an image, I saw in Luca, which the Pisani had impignorat with them for a soume of mony/ quhen accosted by the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and this might be St. Andrewes or St. Kathrins image, hiden here by the priests at Invernes in time of the broyles with Mackdonels. Culodden uppon the report was chargd before the Councell, but came off.

The Phœnix prise at Invernes possest by Sir Andrew Forrester.

There was a great prise, 1666, taken from the Dutch, which lay at Monlochie mouth, a vast hulk of about 500 tun, so bigg that it could not be carried up to Cassack [Kessock] rode. At last the Earl of Crafort, Chancelour, got the gift of this ship from the King, and he substitut Sir Andrew Forrester to come north this June and cause carpenters sight the vessell, who, finding her sound and strong, sent for a crue of seamen south to mannage her, and stayed at Inverness untill they came to him. They considered her burden, and faddoms of water she requird, brought her up to the Road off Cassock, and compleated her with all necessaries and provision for a voyage. After this he went abord of her, and feasted some cammarads in Inverness, and with the usuall solemnity baptised this prize under the name of the New Phenix Borealis; and thence Mr. James Sutherland, Will Trent, and my selfe convoyed my dear Foster down by sea to Cromarty, where after paying some visits, and exchanging toakens of true fraternall affection, we leave him *in porta salutis*/ and with the first faire wind next morow they sett saile, and came very safe to Sherise in Spain, whence I had his letters, in one off which he made his latter will disponing all he had to me, a sign of his sincere love, which I keep still by me as a singular thing amongst cammarads. In Porta Nova the Phœnix was loadned with Scheris sack, Kinary Rice, rasins, oyle, olive, and spices, and by Gods blissing returnd safe with a prosperous gale to London in September thereafter, and being at anchor in Wapping rode, the King in his berge from Greenwich came abord of the Phœnix, and after a magnificent treat, knighted Sir Andrew Forrester uppon the deck, with a volly of shot, sound of trumpet and hautboyes; and after this honour done to a poor Scotch student the King chusd him for his under Secretary when Lauderdale came down to Scotland as Commissioner to indict a Parliament the next summer, 1669.

A rude ryot and slaughter at a fair in Invernes, called the Cabog day.

To finish this yeares accounts and observations among several forrunning accidents, one shrud one is to be noticed which happened at Invernes at a grand faire, August 15, being the feast of the Asumption of the Blissed Virgen. Uppon the hill south of the castell the horse mercat stands, and there being some women uppon the edge of the breay selling of cheese and bread, readdy for such as could not go farr to fetch it, one Finlay Dow,[1] a townes man, takeing up a cheese in his hand, asked what the rate of it was. This being told him, whither designedly or by negligence, he let the cheese drop out of his hand, and down the hill it runns into the river. The woman told him she would oblidge him to pay. He (a crabbed fellow) gave her cross language of defyance. One that stood by, espouseing the quarrel, held him fast, and tooke off his bonnet in pledge untill he should pay the woman. A relation of Finlayes challanged this man as non of his concerns. Yes, said he, I am concerned as a wittness to see just things. To threatning words and as goods, they goe from words to blowes, till at length most of the hill markat is ingaged to a confusion. This allarms the whole town. The guards are called, who come in arms, and John Reed, a pretty man, their captain, runs in betuixt the parties to seperat them. Severall other gentlemen present offer their mediation; no heareing, but swords drawn, guns presented, some vounds given. Provost Alexander Cuthbert is told that his guards are not regarded, puts on a steel cap, sword, and targe, caust ring the alarm bell, comes up streight to the hill, and many pretty fellowes with him. The people cry for justice. The guard, being opposed and abused, let off some shot. Two are killed outright, and above ten wounded. The noise husted, maters examined, the guard blamd. If the Provost in a fury said he allowed and avowed quhat was done, for who durst disturb the kings free burgh at a markat time? is debated; but it is alleadged he said so, and *manet alta mente repostum judicium Paridis.* The Highlanders keep a grudge; two Mackdonels were killed; one Cameron and a Philan dyed of their wounds. The open ruptur was honested on both sides with a punctilio of honour,

[1] Black Finlay.

but a revenge was promised and vowed. A great many gentlemen, Frasers, Grants, Mackintoshes, offered to compose the mater, calling it chance medling, extenuating *hinc inde*, the cause of the furry. The leading men of the Mackdonells present were invit by the magistrats and civily treated, with a promise of strick examination, and execution for the bloud; but, alas! it was *post naufragium*, or a pardon after execution, as the losed party thought. *Tetra venena bibens, et naufragus ebibat undas!* a wound may be hid, that is, though not healed, and covered that is not cured. This rupture burst out afterwards, as the consequence will confirm. But this unhappy fellow who occasioned the frey was shapen for mischeefe, being marked like a stigma, having naturally one halfe of his beard whit, the other halfe black. Meanwhile, the wounded men and the dead corpses were all carried over to this sid the bridge of Ness, as an odium to the town. Thomas Fraser Beufort concerned himselfe; our parishioners of Wardlaw went into the town and transported the corpses to their interment at Kirkhill very decently, and the other wounded men, also quhen dead; of all which I was an assisting eye witness.

A mournfull fatal funerall.

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[Account of public affairs and events in England.]

In the North the Marques of Huntly haveing gottin a full ratification of his Majesties gift to him in Parliament returnd home, settling all his vassalls, according to his promise and their expectation. In February the good Earl of Marr sickned, and no great hopes of his recovery after his return home. The Lord Marshall, after a chronick mallady, dyed in his own house of Dunnotter in March, age 63. This May the Earl of Seaforth tooke a progress through his own highlands, and to setle old differences betuixt his clans, and to give new laces of lands and tacks, which till now was omitted. My Lord Lovat this June tooke a progress north to perform his long promised visit to Strathnaver, haveing appointed a select number of his kindred to wait uppon him, such as young Struy, Culbokie, Culduthell, and many of his vassalls. The convoy was honorable and splendid, and were suitably respected all allong the roade in their jurnay. He was treated

Earl Mar.

Marshall.

Seaforth.

Lovat.

the first night at Fowles, a true-hearted Fraser; from thence- 1669.
forward the Laird of Foules convoyed him through his own country, and was treated to a high degree in every famely of the Monroes, to the Brig of Alnes, and every gentleman convoying him from his own house to Sir George Monroes at New More, who told him at his own gate, My Lord Lovat, yow are now in your own country; the Laird of Foules is a Fraser, and be sure I am one too; yow are welcom to my house, and be sure my wife will welcom yow, and all your train. We will deliver yow tomorrow to the Rosses, and if they fail in any duty to your Lordship we will wait uppon yow over the Large [Lairg] into Sutherland. I am a souldier, my entertainment will be course, but very cordiall, and yow are sure of the hidden dish: a free welcom. The Presbiterian Lady Christina Hamilton seconded her husbands invitation, telling Lovat that her house was his own, and to take it so, and that he would find in every step of his entertainment a confirmation of the real affection which the Monroes had for his person and kindred, and to make use of his own chaplens within her famely; and this was the greatest complement of all, which myselfe was wittness off. The next morrow my Lord went to Ballnigown, and Sir George Monro waited uppon him thither, and in the afternoon tooke leave of Lovat, returning home again with his friends. Balnigown and a select number of his friends waited uppon my Lord Lovat over the Lairg and Mickleferry of Portincouter, and so to Dounrobbin; and, paying his complement to his cousin, the Earle of Sutherland, went in to Cathnes, and at Scrabster visited Doctor Patrick Forbes, my Lord Bishop, and stayed with him that night and next morrow, who at parting told Lovat, My Lord, your person and parts are so charming that I wish to have enjoyed yow longer, known yow sooner or never—*In quo viro—Ingenium pietas artemque modestia vincit—Cui blanda in vultu gravitas et mitc serena—Fronte super illum sed pectus mitius ore*, etc. Such a high epithet, given by the good Bishop to a young nobleman of so short acquaintance, was an evidence and indication not onely of his ripe judgment, but also of his true affection and respect to him, for which he signified his deep resentment and hearty thanks to his Lordship, and so parted with his blissing; and,

My Lord Lovat to Ross.

My Lord Lovat goes for Cathnes.

takeing horse, his next stage was to Thearso East to visit the Earle of Cathnes, where he got a noble reception. My Lady, being Argiles daughter, told my Lord Lovat that a Fraser was most welcom to a Campbell; and there, with no less than officious kindness, not with umbrages, but a substantiall entertainment, this Earl keeps a splendid port as Princes table use to be. Few in Scotland have such grandeur, all manner of recreation and divertisment without and within, gameing and play, and one of the finest liberaries in the nation. Both those Lords, haveing strong impressions of learning and education, their duty to God and loyalty to their King; both being under alleadgeance leatly contracted as very leading men in the North, considering that as obedience in subjects being the princes strength, so is the same their own safety, therefore they who weaken the Sovereigns power weaken their own security. For our peeres now have a true prospect that, as rebellion is a weed of too heasty a grouth, so it uses to decay as suddenly, and that knot which is united in treachery is now as easely dissolved by jealousies. These two young noblemen, after a whole weekes converse together, they part with some reluctancy, urbanity and civility being the compass of society, for a mans conversation ought to be with those by whom he may accomplish himselfe best, for vertue never returns with so rich a cargo as quhen it sets sail from such continents; company like climats alter complexion. My Lord Lovat now heastens for Strathnaver, as his *ne plus ultra*, though it did not reach so farr as *Ultima Thule*. The modern name is Strathnavern, signifying a vally by Navern, the river giveing it true denomination and title. The Earl of Sutherland was superiour of this country, and his eldest sone is designed from it Lord Strathnaver. The chiefe inhabitant here are the Mackyes, who are designed from their lands in Farr, but, *anno* 1625, Sir Donald M'kye was designed of Strathnaver, and made a baronet by King James, and in the year 1631 was created Lord Rae by King Charles I. from a place belonging to him in the county of Cathness holding of the King. He went abroad, and was Collonel under Gustavus, King of Sweden, in his warrs, where he died. This present Lord Donald Ray is his sone, who first married the Earl of Cath-

A serious reflection.

ness daughter; his present lady, Lady Barbara, daughter to Scaury, a relation of his own, of whom I spoke formerly, and cannot say enugh in point of commendion for vertue and true smartnes. They live now at Dureness, whither my Lord came, longd for, and got a most freed welcom, especially to my good Lady, who for her true affection to our name might well be named Barbara Fraser. The Lord Ray contrived all maner of sport and recreation to divert his dear Lovat, as he tearmd him; sometimes out at sea in berges afishing, sometimes haukeing and hunting, sometimes arching at buts and bow-marks, jumping, wrestling, dancing—for my Lord had his trumpeter, Hans Adam, and his expert fidler, Hugh Chisholm, with him. At last, the season approaching, they went to the hills. All the gentlemen of the name of M'ky conveend, and so to the deer hunting, for my Lord Ray hath the finest and richest forest in the kingdom for deer and reas, their number and nimblenes; and some of them thought their luck was singular, becaus Lovat was there, and highlanders observe that short lived men have great luck of venison; and alas! so it appeared, for [he] lived short after this.

My Lord Lovat at Strathnaver.

My Lord Lovat, haveing stayed a whole month and more in Strathnaver, and, we may say, wearied with excess of pleasure, thinks of returning home the beginning of September, loadned with curtesies and obligations. My Lord Ray gifted him a curious, curled, black, shelty horse, severall excellent firelocks, bowes, and a sword that perhaps for goodness and antiquity might be called the nonsuch, and two deer greyhounds. My Lady gifted him a plaid all of silk, party colloured, her own work, and a pare of truse of the same, neatly knit, and a dublet of needlework, all which might be a present for the High Commissioner, his Grace, and would needs see all these garbs put on, and in a droll called Lovat her Joseph with a coat of many collours; so that whatever society he happened to converse with, he was, as Titus Vespasian, *deliciæ generis humanæ*, a very darling. My Lord Ray in end, after a most kindly but melancholious farewell, convoyed Lovat out of his own bounds with twenty gentlemen in train, and set him on Sutherland ground; and arrived at Beuly September 20th, where many of his friends happly chanct to meet him, and non

My Lord Lovat returnd home, September 15.

longd more for him than my selfe, who waited his Lordship comming to put me out of a single life and put on bonds and the chaines of wedlock; and in the beginning of October he was pleased to convoy me to Murray, and countenance the celebration of marriage in St. Peeters Church of Duffus;[1] and how much he was respected among nobles and gentlemen at that wedding feast were flattery in me to magnify. There are many living witnesses can confirm and say more than is fit for me to declare or descrive.

Culcovies death. There happened a great mortality in the North this winter, spring, and harvest. Mr. Alexander Mackenzie of Culcovie [Kilcoy] died at Moortoun, a privat dwelling two mile eastward. This gentleman, being a sone of Kintailes, got Culcovy by marrying Janet Fraser, Lady Culcovy. He turnd somequhat imperious and harsh to her, and after her death he married J. Dunbarr, a daughter of Blaryes, and she reveingd good Janets quarrel, broake his spirit. He dyed in the 67 yeare of his age, and, being concernd in Frasers, my Lord Lovat convoy him with a noble train to his interment at the Church of Killearnan.

Foyers death, *ætatis* 46. Hugh Fraser of Foyer, a very gallant gentleman, dyed in his own house at Foyer, March 16, of a chronick mallady, universally beloved, bemoaned. My Lord Lovat, with many of his name, road over to Urqhart, and was that night in Balmackaan, Thomas Grants house, who had married the Lady Glenmoriston, Culbokies daughter, and sure her cheefe with his train were welcome to her. Here we leave our horse, and my Lord, with many Grants, Cumings, Frasers, croassed the Lough Ness in 4 great boats, trumpets sounding, pipes playing, with echoes rebounding, and convoying Foyers corps to his interment at Boleskin. We all return after the funerall, and over the Loch Ness to our good quarters we had the night before at Ballmackaan. In September, William Fraser of Bobleny died at his own house, and was interred at the Priory Church

Kinaris death. of Beuly. November 2, Hugh Fraser of Kinaris died at his own house in Kinmilies, an excellent youth, *ætatis* 26, and was interred in the Capella Montis Mariæ; and I can averr that

[1] The author's wife was Margaret, daughter of the Rev. Alexander Symmer, minister of Duffus.

his uncle, William Fraser of Culboky, got his dead stroake at his burriall. He sickned going home, and died of a flux, December 26, *ætatis* 73, and was interred with a great funerall solemnity among his ancestors at Kirkhill, in Capella Montis Mariæ. His mother, Kathrin M'kenzies, a woman of action, vertue, fortun, and luck, died of meer age, near 90 yeares, at her own house in Kingily the year before, and might say she was taken away from the evil to come; and as Hulda prophesied, I will gather thee to thy fathers and grave in peace, and thy eye shall not see the evil that I will bring uppon this famely; for shortly afterwards great was the change, near a totall decay happened to that great house.

Culbokies death.

Kathrin M'kenzies death.

Isai. 57. 1.

2 King 22. 20.

At this time Captain Phineas Pot came down from London by sea to trye all the firr woods in the North for masts. He had visited the woods of Straboickle, and found few there; went then to Struy and Glenstrapharrar, and that old wood pleased him. He hath alrady loaded a great ship with masts in Kessock rode, and is providing to load another. Himselfe, wife, and famely have lived at Inverness thir two yeares, and is now wearying. He is a very oblidging man, kindly to the clergy, hath brought much mounny to the country; his uncle, Commissioner Pott, overseer of the navall provision at Shattim [Chatham], hath employed and is like to be his heir. Uppon a certain night, comming down the firth and some comarads with him in his painted great cockboat, he was castin with a northerly blast uppon the shoar of Phoppachy, under the kill. I happened to be there and some friends with me, and hearing the cry we run out and rescued the boat. Mr. Trent, Charles Macklean, marchants in Inverness, were with him, and invited him into my house, very disstressed and wett; got a good fire and provision for them that night. In the morning it calmd and away they went, but to consider a gratfull man he could never sufficiently requit me that nights guesting; never saw me afterwards at Invernes, but still I was of a booke or two, papers, of mace, nutmug, cinnamon, cloves, ginger. I could aver one way or other that I had 7 libs sterling worth of spiceries from that gentleman; and, going away this summer, gifted a trunk, carpet, and Cambdens great History.

1670. Phineas Pott came for masts.

Now is Brittain at peace with all the world; our sea safe

Caping given up, and peace.

for navigation, free from pirates. Formerly there was no peace to him that went out or came in. The Holland capers had done us great loss; many merchants broake by the Dutch warr; and be sure we did them much harm. Not a sea cost town but rickt a capper out; the Fife towns all over; and in the North, Dundee, Monross, Stonhive, Arbroath, Aberdeen, Fraserbrugh, Peterhead, Bamph, and Inverness. Severalls in Cathness too; and many rich commodities and a number of excellent vessells taken from the Dutch; instance the Phœnix that is now in Spain with Sir Andrew Forrester. The Archbishop of St. Andrewes had a stout caper under Captain Fleming at sea, which did much mischeefe. A smart waggish poet gave his Grace this pretty sarcasm, which for the quick fancy I here insert to make my reader lauch:—

At first apostles fishers were of men:
Oures catch by caping, thers by preaching then.
Those in old times did by a happye hand
The gospell preach almost in everye land!
But the wid Ocean shall hereafter be
The great Archbishop of Saint Andrews see:
His Grace is James by the mercy off God
Whilst he uppon the land makes his abode,
But when a caping on the sea he posts,
He is the hight priest of the Lord of Hosts.
Here Saint Andrewes is turnd a Boanerges,
Thundring with cannon, burning ships and berges.
Some take him for Ferrara, 'tis but a rant;
When it turns peace, he 'le quickly turn a saint.
Here Peter walks once more uppon the sea;
From Saintes great wonders may expected be!
And they are tempt to work, then when they think,
That they may justly marchants cape or sink!
But he 'le advise, Boates onely take, youl hear
Our Peter will cut off but Malchus eare:
And then the King will say, to end this meeter,
If't please your Grace put up your spurtle, Peter!

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[Account of affairs in England.]

1670. Patrick Roy, Mackgrigor, a pestiferous robber.

There happened in those louse times in the North a plague and scurge upon the country, one Patrick Roy M'kgrigor, a vile Scithian rude outlaw. He first drive a clandestin course

in Cromarr and Glentanner, winked at by severalls for feare of his outrage. At last he tooke a latitud by the patronage and under the protection of the wicked Lord Aboin Gordon, finding this villain fit for his designs, and harboured him in Glenshell, and Aford, sallying out avowedly uppon the nighboures about in rapin and ravage, that Craigmile Burnet challanged the oppression, and was silenced uppon his own cost. This notorious robber made the Carn of Mounth his haunt, so that all travellers made him homage. Fettercarn and that side of Anguis, till yow come to Eoagel and Forfar, payed him tribut quhen he pleasd. He frighted Bervy and Monross, that they were forct to set out a watch at a vast cost. At last he got a crew of Grigors and Gordons about him, so that he commands all that country. The Laird of Murns, John Lyon, had an interest of 5 or 6 chalders of victuall there, called Glenbymore Haboin, and came thither to exact his rent, and his sone, Alexander Lyon, his second sone, a pretty gentleman, with him. Petry Roy, with his train of robbers, surprisd and seasd the gentleman, alleadging that Alexander Lyon came there to dare the Lord Haboin, and said he would take up his fathers duty in spit of his Lordship. This bold villain fixes a court of his vile crue; appoints a balife, one Askin; chuses a fiscall, a clerk, and nottar; calles an inquest; leads for god probation; conveens, convicts, sentences this gentleman (a most hopefull youth), Alexander Lyon; sets up a gallous, and within 24 houres hanges him; and in the interim takes an oath off the poor old father never to reveal, never to pursue, this horrid, attrocious fact, which no history can paralell or instance.

He causes hang Alexander Lyon.

The last year when the gentlemen of Murray went south to Laderdales Parliament, that bottom betuixt Garmach and Findorn was in such a fright for Petry Roy as Rome was with her Hanniball *ad portas* continually. This winter he descended to Baveny; but there he met with some opposition, and, haveing an old pick at the town of Kaith, he falls down there in January with his whole party, and most insolently enters and marches through that town, his piper playing before him, over the bridge, and up to William Frasers house on Coupper hill, of purpose to impose a tax off a 100 marks uppon the inhabitants,

Patry Roy invades the town of Kaith.

presently to be advanced in toaken off fealty; but this fealed, haveing got resistance—for Glengarrack, and 8 or 9 men in arms with him, came to Kaith, prevailed with the towns men to join with him, and made up a resolut party. Petry Roy, hearing off a convocation, rushes out and in a hostile fury runs down, possesses the churchyard as his best fence. Sir James Strachan, parson off Kaith, sends to him adviseing him to escape and remove out of the town, and there should be no more of it. No, this was cowardish. The gentleman would fight; lets off two or three shott which did no hurt. Glengarocks men gave them a faire volly of halfe a score sound shot; followes a desperat ingagement. Petry Roy is shot through the thigh and through the hollow of the body under his shoulder; his baliefe and lieutennant had his right arm brock with a shot; and 4 of his men killed outright; ten of them wounded. Meantime, by an unexpected providence, the wind turns easterly, which blew the smoake in the enemies faces. This dasht and discurrages them; next they get to their swords, and were soon beat back by the townesmen; the dispute continues untill the night and fogg parted them. Some few carried off their captain, Petry Roy, and his lieutenant, and put them in a litle barn halfe a mile from the town, where they had sad quarters for that night.

Pat. Roy wounded, apprehended, and carried prisoner to Bamph.

Let us observe how the hand of God brought this villain into a snare where he least thought of it. Had he stayed on Couper hill with his men he would have been inaccesible, but William Fraser had a good hand in the descent to expose him to his mischeefe, and also gave him the first wound for not paying his reckoning at his inn. Glengarrack kept out a watch all the night, and in the morning all the gentlemen in circuit conveened to Keith. Lemcarn Ogilvy and his brother, the Captain, though they shifted the action and ingagement the night before, yet concurred with others to give in their resentment and due applause to Glengarrack for his great conduct in manageing this expedition against a cruell robber. After search and inquisition Petry Roy is found in a poor widowes house near Kaith, lying with his lieutenant in their desperat wounds. Sir James Strachan, the minister, convinced him of his lewd wicked life and *qualis vita finis ita*; he lived in

blood and rapin, and so he ends. This varlet, who in his health was bold and impudent as a lyon, lyes now dasht and disprited on a wisp of straw; and he who passed a merciless unjust sentence uppon others is now under Gods severe sentence reaping the fruit of his debauched desperat deedes, deserted of all persons who prompted him to his perverse practices. There are 6 of his wounded soldiers taken, and brought before him for his further aggravation; a chyrurgion brought present to pause all their wounds; and then himselfe carried in a sledge. Others some on horsback, some on foot, convoyed to the town of Bamph, a sad spectacle of Gods vindictive justice, to suffer deserved sentence.

My Lovat cleares with chamerlans.

This January my Lord Lovat, resolving for abroad and travel beyond seas, conveenes a select number of his friends to witness the setlement of his affaires; and first, although he was limited to an aliment, yet he gives a locality to every one of his ministers. He disposes off Dalcross to Major George Beatman for that soume he borrowed from him when he went to England. I told before that this Major Beatman was married to Sir James Frasers eldest daughter Jean, who now live in the castle of Dalcross, that land being given him in morgage and wodset, which was never after redeemed; according to the ancient vulgar prophisy: *Dealginross chuir i geal, Dealginross chuir er Chale*, Dalcross wodset, Dalcross lost.[1] In the next place he wodsets the lands and 3 townes of Pharnway, Englishtoun, Kirketoun, Inshbary and the mill, to William Fraser of Belty, for the mony which he borrowed from Doctor Fraser, Sir Alexander, when he was in England; and now this William Fraser and his wife, Agnes Lauder, live at Kirketoun. My Lady Lovat lives at Beuly with her famely, haveing fallen into her sickness whenever she came there, and is now under a chronick mallady these 3 yeares current, and Doctor George Mackenzie attending her. James Ritchy, chamerlan, haveing lived at Lovat with his wife, Agnes Cock, and famely, his sone, Mr. Charles, being schoolmaster at Wardlaw, cleares his account with my Lord, and is gone for

[1] *Dealganross chuir an geall, Dealganross chuir air chall*: To pledge Dalcross is to lose Dalcross.

Invernes. James Lundy and his wife, Elizabeth Henderson, living at Lovat, not in the quality of a chamberlan, but to take in his debts and arriers, to wax his wings and make up a stock uppon the Lord Lovats cost and loss, as that sutle fellow did, and so begon with a full hand. But *de male quesitis non gaudet tertius heres*; and this I was therafter witness off.

My Lord Lovat, takeing leave at Beuly of his lady and children, begins his journay, February 22, with a grand convoy of his friends to Inverness, where many parted with him, haveing sad hearts sinking in sorrow, never thinking to see him again. His design is to goe over to Holland by sea, and thence up to the Palatinat, being promised a place from the Palsgrave there to passe time to divert himselfe untill his estate were freed by the localities he had given out to creditors, and expecting better days. *Durabo et memet rebus servabo secundis.* From Inverness we convoyed his Lordship through Murray, and was a night att Culbin, quher Broadley, our cosin, waits uppon him, and next morrow Clava, Broadley, and Culbin con-
1670, voyed him over to Findorn. There Captain Fisher was at ancor, and, going aboord of his ship the *Orion*, we were heartily welcomed and generously feasted; my Lord diverted himselfe with these gentlemen, and the skipper a noble good fellow. In the evening the marchants came, Alexander Seaton and Thomas Noble, Elgin citizens, who had loaded the ship. Next
My Lord Lovat shipped at Findorn. morrow, takeing our hearty Foye, we parted with teares and feares. My Lord had non with him but Mr. John Fraser, his servantt, and Tom Noble, halfe a Fraser, his guide and trusty, to whose care and conduct we recommended our chiefe in the voyage and after landing in Holland. The 26 of February, about 10 of the clock, a brisk gail serving, they set saile; and we commit them to the powerfull pilot who sits at the helme—

> Thow glorious guid of heavens starr glistering motion;
> Show thou true Neptown, tamer of the ocean, etc.

Poor marchants venter their persones and portions to the raging sea, with toile and fatigg. *Impiger extremos currit mercator ad Indos: pauperiem fugiens vadit per saxa per ignes:* but we trust our best cargo to this bottom; as Cæsar said to his shipmaster, *Cæsarem et fortunam Cæsaris geris*, so we to Captain

Fisher, our dearest friend and fortun, our *alter ego* : *Pars animæ dimidiata meæ.*

This October came to the country my brother germain, William Fraser. He went abroad with Captain James Fraser, my Lord Lovat sone *anno* 1656, in the qualety of an Ensign in the Lord Cranstons regiment, for the service of Carolus Gustavus, King of Sweden ; and after the peace he went up to Pole with other Scotshmen, and settled at Toru, where he married, as a marchant. He had given trust and long delay to the Aberdeens men, and was necessitat to take the occasion of a ship and come to Scotland to crave his own. He and yong Clunvaky, Hugh, are the onely surviving two of the gallant crew who ventered over seas with their cheefes sone, Captain James, and he is glad of this happy occasion to see his old mother and bretheren ; continued here among his friends all the winter, and returned back in the spring, never to see his native country again. Two of his foster brothers ventered with him, Farqhar and Rory, very pretty boyes. We were sex brothers mustered one day together uppon a street, and sex sisters waiting us in my uncles house, a pleasant sight ; we were not vain of it but willing to se one another in one society. But let never my friends do so, for we never mett chapterly conveened again. We are here in this world planted in order to our transplantation, quher we shall, I hope, one day meet, never to seperat. Till we all come, in the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Sone of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measur of the statur of the fullnesse of Christ, there is that *bonum et jucundum. Unitas fratrum.* Ensign Fraser came home. Eph. 4. 12.

This was an unnaturall cold, frosty spring, the summer too scorching, our reaping harvest closed September 16, all grain scarce, corn and cattle at a high rate, a famin feared, but God prevented it. My Lady Lovat, Dame Anna Mackenzie, after a long chronick decay, dyed at Beuly, November 10. She willfully flitted thither 1667, in October, and never had a healthfull contented day under these roofes. *Nitimur in vetitum semper cupimusque negata*, whats forbidden we fancy. The House of Lovat had litle luck in these mansions, *Semel Deo Dicata ei Sacra maneant.* Solomon tells us that it is a snare to a man to devour that which is holy, and after vowes to My Ladye Lovats death. Pro. 20. 25.

make enquery. This Lady in her prime, within her 40th yeare; she left behind her 4 orphans, 3 daughters and one sone, her Lord being off the nation in Holland, a mournfull, desolat, disconsolat famely. Sir George M'kenzy of Tarbut, her brother, wrot a letter to myselfe, being then at Duffus; intreating me to hasten north to preach this good ladies funerall sermon, which I was free to doe, being 6 yeares my parishioner, and I her pastor and chaplain. It was a very frequent solemn burial, all Ross and Murray gentlemen, and their two bishops present. The day proved fair, the wind very high, west. The corps carried over in a berge, which the strength of wind and streame carried down to Lovat, and receaved uppon the bank; and now is the prophesy fullfilled that her corps should be carried from Lovat to Kirkhill Chappell. Then it calmd like an inchantment. Here was an excellent show and sight of people, horse and foot. Att one of the clock the corps was carried in to the church, plact before the pulpit, and the mourners almost filled the floor, leaving all the lofts for Lords and gentry. The mournful funerall sermon preacht: text, It is appointed for all men once to die, and after death comes judgement. Here lyes now interd amongst the noble ancestors of this ancient honorable famely, a lady of great grace, vertue, piety, patience, and perseverance. Dust returns to the dust; the spirit returns unto God who gave it, under hopes of a glorious resurection.

Heb. 9. 27.

Ecl. 12. 7.

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[Follows narrative of affairs in France, Germany, Sweden, Denmark, Poland, Russia, Turkey, Rome, and England.]

A cruel yeare.

This was a very afflcting yeare [1671] in many places; great losse by raines, winds, frosts, the Spring too drye, snow and hard frost, the seed time cold and wett, the summer and foreharvest constant rain; then ensued tempestuous winds, that all our costs south and north had incredible losse by shakeing; and many parts in our Highlands rotting, blasting, and mildew destroyed corns. Lightning did much hurt to oates on our hights, and many persons thunderstruck. I knew a pretty man who, going in an evening tuixt Boleskin and Mussaty in Stratharick, found dead in the morning, killed with a thunder-

bolt. A number of women washing at the river bank of Lossy near Elgin, the thunder rageing about them, two or three cryed out with feare, Lord God be with us, God blisse us. Another wretch replyed Blisse min arse: the word was hardly uttered but she was instantly struck to death in the midest of them, and non hurt but herselfe. One Balife John Dunbarr in Elgin had a labouring two miles above the town; his sone and servants being within a kill barn, tuisting roapes of straw, quhen a blast of lightning sprung in at a window on the east end of the house and killed the young man, the sone, standing on the floor, and toucht none but himselfe; taken up stark dead. Another servant man on Speyside near Garmach, heareing the cruell thunder roareing about him, the atheisticall fellow cryed, Crack on and drown the corn the year as yow did fornyear. Gods judgement lighted on him deservedly, being instantly chockt with lightning, and fell dead uppon the ground. What dreadfull warnings are these, worthy to be regarded and recorded by all Christians!

There was this year sad losse by sea, severall ships cast away and brock about Lewes and Inshgall, North Wist and Slate; Dutch and French fraughted with fish, hearing and salmon; the Dutch doggers were sadly disperst. Aberdeen, Mont Ross, and Dundy lost severall shipes, and the dareing English, uppon reckoning, had very dreadfull shipwrack. A Dutch marchantman of 250 tun, loadned with wines, brandy, spices, iron, salt, etc., a very rich cargo, was cast in uppon the coast of Strathnaven, where Admirality is not much regarded. All the country flockt about the shore. The people, not knowing then the strength of brandy or such forreign liquor, drank to excess of it, and I heard it say that this very ships loadning debaucht Cathnes and Strathnaver to that degree that very many lost their lives by their immoderation. Mr. Robert Gordon, the Earl of Sutherlands sone, being but newly married to Miss K. Macky, Lord Rays daughter, a high blooded saguin, fell accidentally with some camarads, and tooke a great latitude, drinking liberally even to excess. At length he got free of them, escapeing with his life to take some rest. Shortly after, these cupvullid villans came in to the gentlemans chamber, being in bed with his bride, oblidges him to rise and

Shipwracks.

drink so many healths in his shirt standing. The poor, modest, bashfull lady had not the confidence (lest critickly construed) to challange them, or call her husband to his bed. With reluctancy they parted. Robin went away, laid him down, but never rose; for the sweat being formerly obstructed, rising naked, the pores being open, could get no sleep, fell into a high distemper, and within five dayes thereafter died, to the regreet and greefe off all who knew him, being truely the prettiest Gordon alive. Shee, poor creature, left a young widow, weept out her eyes; lived desolat and disconsolat all her dayes: the effect of debauched drunkenness.

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[Reflections on intemperance, unbelief, etc.]

1671. This continued tempestuous wind brought store of heareing into our lochs. The firth of Beuly was never more full, varieties small and great heareing; nor were there lesse in all our Highland Kiles, rather more. Lochbroom to the north, Loch Carron, Lochuirn in Glenelg, Lochfine and Dunbarr, all great hearing, and as great a tack and as rich as ever. I was wittness of it, living then by the shoare at Phoppachy, that 40, 50, boats and more were every day fishing uppon our loch, and needed but make a sign to one of those, and come at your call. The greatest heareing sold for twopence, at last a penny, the least, two farthings, the hundered. No such pennyworth in the world. They had wisely made wide nets for the great hearing, as well as the narrow common nets for the small; and these boates, when loaded and full, some would land at Lovat, some at Reedcastell, some at Kessock, some at Bunchrive or Clachnihary, as the Highlanders flockt with their horses to buy them. Some halfe score of boates set saile for Avoch, Monlochy, Chanry, Altirly, Nesse, Petty, or Invernesse, to sell their fish, and back againe next morrow; and this rich tack and shoal of heareing continued without abatement in our Firth from August till March; the lick never heard or known here before, men concluding that it must have been a presage and fatall forerunner of some plague, dearth, mortality, or intestin warr; but no such thing ensued. Men had salted so many barrels of heareing this year as might

be provision for many, the Inverness merchants loadning ships of them to England, France, Holland, and East Countries, to their great gaine. Captain Phineas Potts painted boat was bussied at this heareing drive, and happly with a north blast was cast in uppon our shoar full of great hearing and broken. With difficulty and by a Providence we preserved the crew from drowning, brought the men in to my house, toasting them at a good fire till they recovered, and for a requittall of their entertainment we got the fraught free, so that er nixt morrow not one vessell fatt or tub within my house but were full of great heareing, besids thousands that were divided among the poor.

My Lord Lovat haveing shipped at Findorn in February 1670, landed at Midlburg in Zealand, where the Scottish stapple stood for the time; staying here a short time for diversion, sailed from Fluishing towards Holland, and landed at the Brill, and thence to Rotterdam, where he mett with Frances Miller, the Scottish factor, who answered his bill. My Lord Lovats travels abroad. Zealand. Rotterdam.

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[Long account of Lovat's travels, and descriptions of the following places visited by him: Rotterdam, Delph, Hague, Leyden, Harlem, Amsterdam, Utrecht, Arnhem, Nimighen, Cleve, Dusseldorp, Cologne, Bonn, Coblenz, Mentz, Frankfort, Darmstadt, Heidelberg, Prague, Worms, etc. Most of these towns were visited by the author himself in 1659.]

My Lord Lovat, haveing spent a tedious winter in Low Germany and Utrecht, hath thoughts now of returning home in the spring—*Cum zephiro, primisque veris, et Hyrundine prima*; and, saluting Amsterdam, tooke occasion of the scout or berge along the Roden Zea, to the Texell, a rare harbour, where yow may espy a thousand rootes of oaken trees at low water, but at full sea ships of the greatest burden goe out and in under saile; and here my Lord shipped in a Monross bottom, and with a fresh fortunat gale landed at Stonhive April 14, and without stop road to Aberdeen, and so to Udny, Strachin, Inverallochy, Carnbuilg, visiting his great friends. His cousin, Thomas Fraser of Strachin, convoyed him north; arrived at Lovat April 20; welcomed with the joifull acclamations of all 1671. Lord Lovat landed at Stonehive.

his kindred, who longd for him; and, resolving to live at Beulye, imployed workmen, masons and wrights, for building of a stone house there neare his own gate, as a Tilly soule for accommodating off strangers resorting to that place, a lodging very soon finished. All the fault was that Lovat was deserted, and that house dissmantled to furnish this, the roofe and oaken beames, hewn stone, and furnishing carried over the Beuly be boates; and, what was this but according to the Scottish proverb, Tirr the Kirk to thack the quire; rob Peter to cloath Paul. This act was condemnable in this great man, and he lived but sheort to reap the profit.

Allexander, the Tutor of Lovat, lived all this spring and summer at Invernes, sick under a chronick mallady. He laboured long, phisick prevailed litle, and quit given over by men of skill. *Sero medecina paratur—Cum mala per longas invaluere moras.* He was a man of an excellent constitution, pur, sanguine, fair, and full, statly tall person; now cacochimick, the jaudice prevailed, and lost hopes. We carried him west by sea to his house at Tommich, where he expired, July 24. Perfect to the last minut, gave us all great contentment att death, leaving a lusty lady, and but one daughter as sole issue. *Ah voluptates nimium fugaces, cuncta caduca.* He was forty sex yeares current, and 20 yeares married, twelve of which he was Tutor of Lovat. The method and manner of his funeralls being put to the touch, it prevailed that it should be with torches in the night, which accordingly was performed Monday, August 1, Lambes day. It was splendid and sumptuous, but unusuall. His corps laid in the Chappell of Kirkhil close by his father. The grandeur and honorable conduct of his burriall was exact in all things proper, with a vast confluence of people, yet had not that show which it would make. were it in the day. The first course of the numerous links and torches, kendled at the house, convoyed the corps to the river; the next course, kendled at the river bank, convoyed him to the church; and the third course at the interment. The corps was laid in his uncle Sir James Fraser of Brayes grave, buried here, December 1649, twentieth two yeares before. My uncle, Alexander Fraser, being Sir Jameses servant when he died, told me that he was coffined with eare

Alexander, Tutor of Lovat, died July 24, 1671.

1671.

rings, which prompted me to make a narrow search when the head was taken out of the coffin with his closse nightcap on; but I found nothing but one small Inauris or earring, and no pendants at all. It was truely the purest gold I ever saw, and I kept it above 20 yeares for his sones use, to whom I gave it afterwards as a rarety. Among all the epitaphs made uppon the Tutor of Lovat, I set down but this one for the singularity of it in the maner, and maker being a young boy, my own schoolmaster.[1]

In præproperum, præmaturum et nunquam satis dolendum viri virtutum Culturæ, spectatissimi Heroum, celeberrimi perhonorifici ac augustissimi Alexandri Fraserij Lovatiæ Analogisti, obituu, qui fatis concesserat, die 24 *Julij anno salutis humanæ.* 1671.

Acrosticon.

A *tra dies veniens, trista succincta colorem.*
L *ætitiam mortis signa canendo negat.*
E *heu quid referam, memoratu quam fuit ista.*
X *enia digna viris, usque petita tua?*
A *spera qui colitis, Muscosaque rura tenetis,*
N *unc sinite admisso, corda dolore, Premi*
D *icat amara quidem, suspensus verba viator,*
E *t nunc Purpureus corpora fundit humi*
R *eddat et omne genus, pecorumque, aviumque, lugubres.*

F *unera deplorans, proh dolor usque sonos!*
R *es memoranda quidem, si quem penes esset in orbe*
A *ut famam ingenio, vel tua facta loqui.*
S *temmate Fraserio præclarum et gente propago*
E *xhibuit.* (*Fluctu heu Scotià mæsta jacet*)
R *estrinxit quoniam, mors execrabelis arcte*
I *llum se squalidum gaudeat esse chorus*
V *t salebrosa maris timidus vada nauta relinquit*
S *ic portum accipiens, tu petis astra Dei.*
Mæstitia luctuque consectus posuit.—

ALEXANDER FRASER.

Now is Alexander gone, leaveing no male ofspring to represent him, and neither brother or sister of Lord Hughs ofspring

Master Alexander Fraser, schoolmaster at Wardlaw.

[1] That is, schoolmaster at Wardlaw.

but Thomas Beufort; and it is an odd fate which followes the Mackenzie matches in this famely. Lord Simon married Mackenzies daughter, and had but one sone by her, viz. last Lord Hugh. This Alexander, the Tutor, married M'kenzies daughter, and had no sone at all by her; and this present Lord Hugh married Tarbut Mackenzies daughter, and had but one sone by her viz. the present Master of Lovat, Hutchen Baldow, about 5 yeares of age, and but of small expectation; yet a wonder it is how much his father dottes uppon him alwayes. My Lord, being confined all the summer, by his uncles sickness and death, to divert himselfe, takes a progress to Stratharick and Abertarf, att deere hunting and other sport, and, surrounding Lochness, payed a visit to his cousin, Glenmorison, a man of charming converse, and his lady, good Helen, much more, and had a wonderfull love for her cheefe, my Lord Lovat, with whom shee would hardly part, apprehending never to see him again; and, alas! so it happened according to her conjectur, and to all our sorrow and greefe. After his circular course in the hills he returnd home to Beuly at the midle of September.

Sad harvest.

This was a sad harvest for wind and rain, an incredible shakeing of all cornes, cruel tempest by sea, many a ship lost, sad inundations, loss of men and cattell; yet plenty of all things, especially such a tack of harring as never was known; all our great lochs crouded. Loch Fine, Loch Urne, Lochcarron, and Lochbroome full of ships, so that the Highlanders made more mony by their fish than any other commodity; and our small loches also of Dingwall and Beuly had such store of harring that er Hallowmas yow could buy a 100 great harring for a penny, the small harring for two farthings, a horse load for a grot; but, as its observed, a great mortality ensued afterwards; and strange how this year and the last answeired to this in the universall store off hareing every quher, and generall mortality.

Store of hearing everywhere.

The Laird of Rarsey drouned in the Lewes . . . with 26 . . . persones.

This April the Earle of Seaforth duelling in the Lewes, a dreedful accident happened. His lady being brought to bed there, the Earle sent for John Garve M'kleud, Laird of Rarzay, to witness the christning; and, after the treat and solemnity of the feast, Rarsay takes leave to goe home, and, after a rant of drinking uppon the shoare, went aboord off his

birling and sailed away with a strong north gale off wind; and whither by giveing too much saile and no ballast, or the unskillfullness off the seamen, or that they could not mannage the strong Dut[ch] canvas saile, the boat whelmd, and all the men dround in view of the cost. The Laird and 16 of his kinsmen, the prime, perished; non of them ever found; a grewhound or two cast ashoare dead; and pieces of the birling. One Alexander Mackleod in Lewes the night before had voice warning him thrice not to goe at [all] with Rarsey, for all would drown in there return; yet he went with him, being infatuat, and drownd [with] the rest. This account I had from Alexander his brother the summer after. Drunkness did the [mischeife].[1]

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[Account of affairs in England etc.]

In Scotland a profound peace and quiet; onely the discourse and disputation muttered and murmured among wild and dissaffected persones was a tolleration from the uniformity which the agents for Presbiterians solicited to the utmost, but to no effect, so that these factious, turbulent spirits could not be quiet, but keept their field conventicles on foot in severall places in the West, especially the masqued Priests and Jesuits, preaching up rebellion among them under the notion of Presbiterian ministers; which a certain gentleman in Galloway discovered. Being one day at a field sermon near his own house, the docterin did not please him, and pumping his memory, found that this was a Jesuit whom he had known abroad beyond sea, who preached to them that day, who personated the canting tone, gestures, and demonstrations off that gang to the life. Sermon being ended, the gentleman invited the preacher to his house, and, after some entertainment, urged that he had seen him formerly in a certain city in France. After some insinuations and convincing instances he brought him to a confession of the Jesuiticall design of incurraging

1672.

Masket Jesuits preach in the Presbiterian conventicles.

[1] John Garbh Macleod of Raasay was noted for valour and strength. Elegies were composed on him by his sister, and the Macleod bardess, Mairi Nighean Alastair Ruaidh. The pibroch 'Raasay's Lament' was also composed to his memory by MacCrimmon.

faction and keeping up rebellion among the dissaffected Nonconformists. The gentleman threatned a discovery and information against them if they insisted, which prevented further spreading off the tares; this much good it did, that it prevailed with the gentleman to desert the Presbiterian persuasion and turn Episcopall in his judgement, and had great influence upon many of his relationes and acqaintances by the spreading of the report, and brought those under an odium.

Craford and Cassils and Mar, dead.

The Earl of Craford, a very loyall peer, dyed this yeare, and the Earl of Cassles also; and the good Earle of Marr haveing dyed the year before, his Lady Dowager is now marryed to Andrew, Lord Fraser of Mucholl, a very meet match, Andrew being one of the finest noblemen in the kingdom for a statesman and orator. Yet the old debate is still on foot

Philorth, Lord Salton.

tuixt him and Alexander, Laird of Philorth, who, haveing gained his action of precedency against Arthur Forbes of Blacktown, his nephew, is now by act of Parliament declared Lord Salton, and got the Kings patent, by the death of

Lord Lovat.

Alexander, Lord Abernethy, last Lord Salton, to whom Sir Alexander Fraser of Philorth succeeded by due right of his mother, Lady Margaret Abernethy, daughter to the Lord Salton, now being 2 Lord in the realme, and hath place of his cheefe, my Lord Lovat, who in the old list was 5 Lord, tho severals sureptitiously got in before him. I gave an account formerly how he spent the summer after his return home from Low Germany, haveing keept health tollerably well all the yeare; but being universally beloved he was rapt and ravished from one famely to another, which proved uneasy to him, though indeed his Lordship loved company, and diverted himselfe frequently with visits among the Frasers and his allyes, M'kenzies. My Lord had a wonderfull affection for his cousen, Hugh Fraser of Struy, who was a man of great experience, a singular historian, and condescended to take his Christmas with him, which was keept solemn and sumptuous enugh. The Mistress of Struy, Mary Lindsay, the famous Bishop of Ross and after Archbishop of Glasgow his daughter, had a wonderfull faculty off entertaining strangers, and indeed she tryed her skill and art at this Christmas to entertain my Lord Lovat, haveing the Laird of Glenmoriston and his lady, the

Chisholm of Commer and his lady, with them also. And the Chisholm prevailed with my Lord to take his New Yeare with him at Earchles, where they keept the feast of Circumcision splendedly.

My Lord Lovat at his return home to Beuly ordered preparations to be made for the feast of Epiphany, called Uphallyday, to be keept at his owne house, January 6, haveing invited the Chisholm, Laird of Glenmoriston, and Struy, with their Ladyes and children, to be with him at that feast, perhaps the last which he resolved to keep in this the last though not the least of the holy dayes; when in the meantime the Earle of Seaforth came to Beauly, and, knowing that Lovat was alone, invited him to his house in Chanory at the said Epiphany, where and when he was to have the prime of his kinsmen with him, especially the Laird Tarbut, who was then out of Court with his prince by Lord Lauderdales procurement, a prevaileing faction powerfull enugh at the time. But Lovat excused himselfe at Seaforths hands, showing his Lordship that he was prevented, and he preingaged with persones of quality and his deare friends who were to be with him that day, and whom he had of a while invited, and could not passe from his word of honnour, not knowing if ever he could enjoy such an occasion again of treateing his friends and good nighboures at his own house. The Earl of Seaforth applauded his Lordships project, and declared that if he had not been ingaged under promise to Cromarty and Tarbut at his own house that day, he would not seek an invitation to be with him at Beuly, for the Earl had a singular kindness for Struy and Chisholm, his cousens; and so parted good friends.

Epiphany or Uphollyday.

At the time appointed, the happy providence that attended my dear Lord Lovat, non was absent, nor pretence of excuse with any who were invited to be with him at the Epiphany or Uphollyday feast; and many mo then I mentioned. The Tutor of Grant, Patrick, was here, being then in suit of Sybilla M'kenzie the late Tutor of Lovats lady, living then at Tommich; and my Lord would needs have her that day at dinner, although he cared little for her, being, as he observed, a woman of great parts but bad practices and farr worse principles. Yet he dissembled his purpose, becaus of his good

friends whom he was very glad to have with him that day, and entertaind them cheerfully and generously, there being nothing [spared] to make that treat sumptuous, great fare, good wines (for the claret was sold in the tavern for a shilling sterling the pint), brave musick. His trumpet, Hans Adams, a German, was singular; Hugh Chisholm, with basse and trible viol the best in the North; and the great Pipe. Martiall musick my Lord licked well. His Master Houshold, George Wane, served at south in the greatest famelys in the kingdom; and his servants and attendants, for conduct and mannagement, men of breeding and education, being with my Lord abroad, viz. Mr. John Fraser, Allan Fraser, and White. There were 3 tables in the Great Hall for the gentry in their order and degrees; and German Hans, the trumpet, being a Lutheran, to make them merry, would ask him what his religion was. Aha, saith Hans, a faith, my Lord, my religion is gone. Fye, whey so? Tush, my religion was five shillings, a crown a day, when I was dallyed among generall persons at tilt and parades.

* * * * *

[Follows a disquisition on the lawfulness of feasts.]

In January my Lord Lovat turnd melancholye.

About the midle of January my dear Lord Lovat turnd pensive and melancholius, and would frequently vent his vexation for want of good company to divert him. He could not away with airy light company. His chamerlan, James Lundy, was a smart pretty man, but prophane and scurrilous. William Fraser of Belty was no better, if not worse. He dearly loved Hugh Fraser, old Struy, but he was farr off, and could not be frequently with him. Belladrum was tender, goutish, and gravelish. Culboky was no good man, rude and unpolisht. He could give every one his character, the Levits as well as Laicks of his name. Often would he condole the degenerat temper of his clan and kinsmen, and reflect on those glorious dayes wherein the Scotish yowng gentlemen endeavoured to outvy their elder brothers by undertakeing farr and dangerous journayes into forreign parts, to acquire honour and glory by feates of armes, and experiencing themselves in the military disciplin and warlick affaires. Some served abroad, some at

home, some schollars, some souldiours, some marchants, some mechanicks, some lawyers, some churchmen; but now, alas! the famelies of my name strives to outvie one another in vice, luxury, drunkness, thieving, idleness, ignorance. I shewed them the example of a good chiefe and superiour. My last expedition to the Netherlands and Low Germany was not so much out of fancy and humor as to exceet my countrymen, kinsmen, and others to the like attempts of travel, seing litle honour or credit can be gained at home; and though some persons perhaps may say I purchassed litle by my going abroad, I reply that I lost as litle, and my advice might have been without prejudice to the great Cæsar, *Veni, vidi, redii.* I had no time, and farr less power and meanes to add luster and glory to my famely, my ancestors haveing clipt my wings quit crusht me, nipt my designs in the bud, and stopt my towering flight, and finds and present my losses nothing lesse than I had cause to feare they would prove, which hath reduced me to the condition I am now in.

* * * * *

All January and February my Lord Lovat kept close at home, not able to goe out of doores; and that was a well spent time in reading and discoursing of divinity and history. He had his uncle, Beufort, and John Fraser of Clunwaky, an old experienced gentleman, still with him. The later entertained him with history and genealogy: and, for my part, I never left him but on Fridayes nights or Satturdayes morning, to attend my charge; being in another parish, and the river interjected, was uneasie to me. Mr. John Mackray, his own pastor, supplyed my absence. In the long nights I wrot the History of his own travels in the Netherlands and Low Germany from his own and servants mouth, which I set down *in mundo* in this volumne; and also I read over to him my own Trienniall Traveles abroad, in 3 tombes;[1] and often would he passionately expresse himselfe, I wish God I had travelled with yow, Jacob, O, that I had been your fellow traveller, for strong sollid reasones, which I forbeare to impart; travels abroad had polisht me, prevented my numerous inconveniencies, yet had

[1] See footnote, p. 415

made me a man, a wholsom man, a long lived man, *Nosce teipsum.* It would have put me from being *peregrinus domi*—he would sigh, and say *difficile est se nosce sed beatum; tecum habita te consule, tibi predica, dic tibi quis sis.* I will be shortly over my troubles, discontents, toiles, and trialls. I will shortly end my pilgrimage; God fit me for my journay to another world; and often would mention Seneca, whose councell is worth following in these choice lines which he would repeat—

Nemo confidat nimium secundis
Nemo desperet meliora lapsus!
Miscet hæc illis prohibetque
Clotho stare fortunam.

Let non fallen dispare to rise,
Nor trust too much prosperities;
Cloths mingling both command
That neither stand.

And often repeat these heavenly lines—

Aonij Palearij de animarum immortalitate.

O fortunati quorum mens conscia recti,
Salvete æternum Heroes, quos aurea Divum
Regna manent, nunquam casura fluentibus annis;
Nusquam illic curæ, nusquam dolor, omnia læta,
Omnia tuta, animas tenet omnes una voluptas!

Lord Lovat sickened.

About the closure of February my Lord sensibly sickned, and found by certain symptomes that his death drew neare, and would often reflect uppon what Doctor Trail in Heidle Berg had forwarned him off, which appeared daylie in his hecktick decay; nor would he be prevailed with to take any phisick, but condescended to cordialls, emulsions, ptisans, Doctor George Mackenzie being frequently with him, a most knowing rationall man, who knew his constitution, yet would tender him no medecin nor forreign drugg, onely simples and method of dyet. He would often say, Doctor, Doctor, yow laid my wife in her grave, and so will yow me shortly. I have strong apprehensiones of death, and am prepard for it; this March will make an end of me; but I was born in April, and perhaps my death may trist with the time of my birth; and am very sure, Jacob, yow will preach my funerall sermon, and yow 'l have a long summers day to do it. Non else will be called to that work; non knew me so well as yourselfe; non

can speake so freely and franckly of me as yow. My wifes funerals yow preacht uppon a short advertisement; yow have a long time to think of and fit yow for mine. No more of this. Its a great bussiness death; its a weighty work; a mater of moment to die, and die well. *Semel tantum moriendum semel pie moriemur.* Its appointed for all men once to die—*omnibus semel plerisque bis*—for there is a second death, and blissed are they that share in the first resurection, over which the second death shall have no power. He lov'd to speake of death, and look uppon it without feare— Rev. 20. 6. Currage in his death.

Qui vultus Acherontis Atri—
Qui Styga tristem, non tristis videt—
Audetque vitæ ponere finem,
Par ille Regi, par superis erit.

He that smileing can gaze on
Stix, and black wav'd Acheron,
That dares brave his ruin, he
To Kings, to Gods, shall equall be.

In March there was a meeting of the clergy at Invernes. The Bishop came this way going to Rosse, and many of the ministers of Murray accompanied him, payed my Lord Lovat a visit *in transitu*; but Master Alexander Symmur, parson of Duffus, and Sir James Strachan of Thorntoun, parson of Keith, stayed two night in Beuly to divert my Lord, who loved such converse dearly. He would averr that there was non that wore a gown in Scotland whom he respected beyond Mr. Symmur, and I am sure that respect was reciprocall. Sir James Strachan was my Lords school commarad, being together att Saint Andrewes in Leonardin Colledge, *anno* 1657, 1658. He tooke great delight in Sir James Strachan his converse, a sharp man, learnd, and of great memory. He would tell my Lord that his famely was ancient, honest, as well as honorable, free from oppression, extortion, fraud, and greed; and that though they lived among bad nighboures, they were good themselves, singular examples, ornaments in the rud North. The Bishop of Murray and clergy visit Lovat.

* * * * *

All the month of March and the beginning of April, my Lord was crouded and oppressed with visits, and this proved uneasie to him in his weakeness, but could not shift off friends, Lovat crouded with visits.

being universally beloved, he was universally bevailed, being rumored abroad that he was irrecoverable. The Earl of Murray came once to see him, and much resented his sickness, and his own loss in such a true friend. The Earl of Seaforth was often with him, for they were brothers-in-law. The Lairds of Tarbut and Cromerty came but too oft. The Lairds of Fowles and Balnigown were much concernd, and condold him. The Lairds of Mackintosh, Calder, Kilravock, and Lochell, came and sent often to know his condition. The Lairds of Glenmoriston and Chisholm had him in great veneration. Often would he with them condole and regreet the weakness of his famely, the imbecillity of his kinsmen, which will be a great help to their enemies, with the infancy of his heir, their great advantage, and non, like myselfe, too nice in resentments of honor. He would also reflect uppon the loss of records and registers. God would yet visit the kingdom for the cry of these sacred ruins, especially on Beuly and Fern. That noble monument, amongst the fatall overthrowes of many mo within the nation, were altogether razed at the dispose of some then in commission, in the fury of our confused Reformation, whose over heasty actions in these behalfes hath left us a want of many truthes which otherwayes we might have had, but sacrilegiously broken down and by purloining transferred to far prophaner uses.

His children. About the beginning off April he had his frequent faintings, and made a motion to myselfe off bringing his children to him, whom he longd to see that he might blisse them; but especially most desirous to have his sone, of whom he would sometimes sigh and say, O poor Hugh, what art thow by thy spot and mark marked for? As I found with David, so wilt thou that the sones of Zeruiah are too strong for us. But I thought it sometimes an effect of great prudence to lay asid all bitterness when I treated with them, unless we would have that wound which perhaps would heale of itselfe, to become incurable by oft rubbing of it. I did sometimes in my passion flye out into stinging bitter satyres, and injourious expressiones against that party in the sensible resentments of my wrong, discovering what I had with art concealed so long before; but it proved ineffectuall, so now I must conclud with the addage, To a

cause past cure, care is a corrosive. What after times may produce for thee lyes in the womb of Providence: *de futuris quid contigit.* But the onely leader of these lurks now at home, haveing created grand enemies to himselfe without any Tarbut. design of showing himselfe much in publick, where till those evil impressions be taken off or forgotten, he will not be looked uppon with any great good will. But I have my feares when I am gone the effect of the prophesie and prediction found uppon the Alter of Beuly will appeare. The flamming hills mentioned there may prove a Vesuvius to the nighbourhood, sparks may reach far and kendle a fire, if not quencht, put out, or prevented.

* * * * *

[One or more leaves of the Manuscript amissing, the record of Lovat's death being thus lost. The next remaining leaf begins ~~abruptly~~ in the middle of the burial ceremony.]

Att the Ferry (as if they had come with tideings from the Tomb) starts up two statly horses in their groomes hands, all covered over with black mantles, and in this mourning postur step forward, following the man in armour all the way, vizarded. Everything here extorts teares from the beholders. To give a further account of this parrade: from the west end of the moore to the church stile, a mile in length, marcht the armed bragads, computed to be 300 in rank and file, well appointed, makeing two divisions south and north, from reer to front, like an avenue through which the Pale [pall] and mourners marcht slowely in the manner before mentioned forward to the church yard, round about which within were the Murray Militia in mourning planted, their drums covered over with black. The Earle of Murray being their Cornell ordered 400 to attend my Lord Lovats funeralls, a very martiall muster, so that in the whole conduct of this burriall there were 200 mourners of the defuncts relations; and scarce any gentleman that came here but in mourning. We reckoned ten clanns of surnames, mourners; and yow may think the convention could not be under eight hundered horse, of which the town of Invernesse were 3 score; the Frasers being a thousand foot. Thomas Fraser of Beufort their Cornel, Struy,

elder, lieutenant Collonel, and Foyer, major; and what a great muster must Mackenzies, Monros, Rosses, Mackintoshes, Grantes, Mackdonells, Camerons, and others make; the whole confluence very considerable. At the church stile the Pale is set up, the coffin receaved by Seaforth, Tarbut, Foules, Ballnigown, Strachin, Cromerty, and others, the prime allyes of the famely. The trumpets and murning bells or mort bells usher them in through a brazen wall of 200 gentlemen guard on each sid. The corps is planted before the pulpit, covered over with black; my Lords and Strachins lofts in the same livery. In the whole floor of the church stand the croud of murners from the one end to the other, a most dolefull spectacle.

After singing of psalms, and prayers to Almighty God, the funerall sermon was preacht by my Lord Lovats own pastor, Master James Fraser, minister at Wardlaw, his text appositly taken from King Davids words to his Court concerning Abner,

2 Samuel, 3. 38. And the King said unto his servants, know yow not that there is a prince and a great man fallen this day in Israel? Of which text a man may conclud, as Bishop Latimar said of his text in his *ultimum vale* to the Court, Take heed to yourselves, etc. If I should do no more but read over my text, my sermon, though it might be called importunat, yet not impertinent, all the whole hour. Meanwhile, every person in the church was a preacher, every sorrowfull eye and sighing spirit a sermon; the present scene of sorrow is acted by a sad concourse of people before us; and who can be here and not be sad? A great man and a good man is fallen this day; he lived amiable and died desireable. Stay but a few dayes, and such a day as this will be thy day. We are now to perform our last office to this noble person. We have brought him from his house to his house; I mean his grave, which must house him up till the great day off the resurection. Leaveing his seraphick soul in the bosom off his Maker, joind with the Spirits of just men made perfect, we commit his body to his

Heb. 12. 23. urn, *Requiescat in Pace.* And now looking upon ourselves all as dying creatures, let us carry hence sincere thoughts of our latter end. The consideration of our last end should be the exercise of our first thoughts; to consider our end would be the end of our sins, and the resurection of our repentance. Ashes

keep fire alive; so this consideration that we are dust and ashes will keep our graces alive. Its appointed for all men once to dye, is our way, and after death the judgement, our journayes end. To him who is Alpha and Omega the beginning and the end, be ascribed due praise, honour, and glory, now and for ever more, Amen and Amen. Heb. 9. 37.

÷Since death of all must be the latter end,
Let our preventing thoughts first thither tend.
Bravely resolv'd it is, knowing the worst,
What must be done at last, as well as first!

* * * * *

[Follows a selection of ten Latin and English 'epitaphs' on Lord Lovat. It is sufficient to give two of them.] Here are some of the Epitaphs made upon my Lord Lovat, yet but on of ten.

In Commemoration of the Death of my most deare and Noble Prince and Patriot That Peerless Peer, Hugh Lord Fraser of Lovat, who departed in the Pryorie of Beuly April the 27 1672 yeares.

The spring it was, and flowers were in contest
Whose smell should first reach heaven and please it best;
Then did great Frasers sweetness so surpasse
All rivall Lords that so he sent for was.
'Twas April when he dy'd, no month so fit
For Heaven to be a mourner in as it.
'Twas Easter too; that time did death devise
Best for this lamb to be a sacrifice.
It was the spring; the way tuixt heav'n and earth
Was sweetned for his passage by the birth
Of early flowers, which burst their mothers womb,
Resolv'd to live and die uppon his tomb.
It was the spring; between earth and sky
To please his soul, as it was passing by,
Birds filled the air with anthems; every nest
Was on the wing to chant him to his rest.
Not a penfeathered lark who ne'r try'd wing
Nor throat, but venturd then to fly and sing.
Following the saint toward heaven, whose entrance there
Dampt them and changd their nots, then pensive air

Disolv'd to teares, which spoiled the feathered train,
And sank them to their nests with griefe again.
Meantime, me thought I saw at heaven's fair gate
The glorious chorists meet and kiss their mate!
They stood a whil his splendor to admire!
Then led him to his place in their own quire,
Which seem'd to be defective, until he
Added his sweetnes to their harmony!

B. L. Ray [Lord Reay?]

A mournfull Elegy uppon the deerfull and untimely death of that floure of true Nobility Lord Hugh Fraser of Lovat, who departed this life in the 29 year of his age, April 27. In the year of our redemption, 1672.

Here hath the fates enriched Vestas bosom
By this fresh flower, nipt in his very blossom.
Nature in this small compend was about
To perfect what in others was left out.
Alas! to see a peece so well begun
Ending his course er the race was but halfe run.
Here is that fruit pluckt off er it was ripe;
A fragrant rose, just snatcht when it did peep.
Here was a morning never saw the noon,
A summer faire wanting soltitian June.
Here was that entring, starting, saluting Spring
Which mature harvest nor winters here do bring.
Here was a tale begun but never told,
A hopfull graft cut down er it was old.
Here was the subject of an ample theame,
When we awake is found to be a dream.
Come, mournfull eyes, now shed your trickling tears,
Let sorrowes streames o'erflow your spangled speares;
Forbeare your mirth, all pleasures, for a while,
Divorce all joyes, yea, more, let not a smile
Appeare; let not an eye be seen to sleep
Nor slumber; onely let them serve to weep
For this unparalelled loss; both sex and ages
Bevail not onely youth but the stern grave sages.
Death sure mistook, and thought he had been old,
Else he had spard this sprig mongst worthies rold.
But what of this, we'r sure death speareth none,
And if it could, I'm sure he had not gone.

Farewell, dear soul, now fre'ed from haps and feares,
Whilst we doe writ thin Epitaphs in teares.
Alas ! unsavoury flowers bud their full prime,
Whilst the fragrant rose is pluckt before its time !

P. P. J. F.
[James Fraser, our author?]

Let my reader consider with candor it was not out of vanity or superfluity that I recorded these few epitaphs made uppon my Lord Lovat. There are but one of ten insert that were writ; there are but ten here, thats the tiths, for I am sure there were an hundered composed. Observable that round about the chappell there was not one foot of the wall without an epitaph pind on, besids scutchons and coates of armes. I think there was a poetick vein invockt and obtained by all poets, and truly they had an ample subject. It was observed there were 80 churchmen at this interment, and non came without an epitaph; some perhaps two or three. The Bishops of Murray, Ross, and Cathness were present, which made a dash and figure. The ceremonies of the funeralls were all finisht with the interment about 4 houres afternoon, and the retreat sounded by the trumpets. When all got off, made a most splendid show. The militia first marcht of with displayed banners, and shot, rank, and file. My Lord Lovats men, drawn up in battalia uppon a field before the church, and stood till all were gone. Every particular clan marcht of in a body, the foot be themselves, the horse be themselves, to the last man; and at length with sound of trumpet and tuck of drum the foot regiment of the Frasers marcht westward to the farr end of the moor, Colonel, Lieutenant Collonel, Major, and Captains, on their heads, and above the ferrie dismissed. We find triffles and mock makrs this day put in gazets and newes letters. This were a fitter flourish to fill a shedall.

* * * * *

[Follows 'An Exact Character of the late Lord Hugh Fraser off Lovat.']

It was the late Lord Lovats observe that it was the preposterous practice of the nobility in the north, especially Seaforth and Lovat, to bring in strangers to be their servants, and get

that mony which our own kinsmen should have. These prove but spyes amongst us, discovers our weakness, takes all the advantage of us they can, fledg their wings with our wealth, and so fly away and fixes it in a strange country, and we get no good of it, whereas if a country man got it he would make his purchas amongst—and it would fall into the house some time or other. Instances of this we have enugh. Instances, Doncan Forbes of Culodden, who has gotten the marrow of the Laird of Inveralochies estate here in the North. For this Simon off Inveralochy, being to marry the Lord Buchans daughter, they will sell his interest here, and pay off debt, and secure her in Buchan land. Sir Mungo Murray, his uncle, bought his ward and marriage, putting in to the Exchequer for it under pretence of friendship. Good Chancelour Cunningham takes an obligation of Sir Mungo that the ward shall be for the minors behoofe, and this he caused put in the Register, *ad futuram rei memoriam*. Sir Mungo comes north, and, as a vile jugle and cheat, by vertue of his right resolves to sell the lands of Ferrintosh. Hugh Dollas, writer in Chanory, another like himselfe, is bribed to get the land for the Mackenzies, being now in the markat. The Laird of Strachin, being at Edinburgh, makes application to the Chancelour, and tells him the fraud and trapan. The Chanclour orders his clerk to give Strachan an extract of Sir Mungo Murrayes obligation. This indeed blew Sir Mungos design blind, and he is jauked off with a piece of mony, and the lands of Ferrintosh and Bunchrive is sold to John Forbes off Culloden, which he now possesses, an interest above 4 thousand a yeare, good rent. So that Doncan Forbes, who was but the Laird of Strachins pantry boy, and brought him north as his servant, turnd burges in Inverness, and made up there, and bought Culodden from the late M'kintosh William, and lives now in his ofspring, possessor of the barony of Culoden, the barony of Ferrintosh, dwels in one of the Lord Lovats houses, and in the Laird of M'Kintosh his principall house. It were tedious to set down all the intrigues and particulars of this transaction; onely this, that a poor mean stranger, and a follower off the Frasers, should now possess so much of the Lord Lovats interest is a great change; and all this happened

John Forbes of Culodden buyes Ferrintosh.

[*Another hand-writing.*] Culloden Family Extraction.

Sir Mungo Murraye's fraud.

in my time, being privy to and witness off it all, from first to last.

John Forbes of Culodden being now a Laird and Barron of the shire, there is a difficulty at the riseing to greatness to learn Thales his lesson. *Nosce Teipsum; for* [sic] *asperius nihil est humili cum surgit in altum.* I wish it be not verified in him. Humility is a great grace, and to be selfe denied is the first step to heaven. *Et patriam solæ et certos novere penates.* One insolent act of this mans: when he set measones to repaire the house of Bunchrive, he defaced the Lord Lovats name and armes off the storm windowes, and causd set and ingrave his own; where Simon Lord Fraser of Lovat and Dame Jean Stuart were before, now John Forbes and Jean Dunbarr. He also built a mill uppon the Burn of Bunchrive, quheras that town and lands were formerly tied and restrickt to the Lord Lovats mill of Farnway. But he mett with shrud handling for revenge of this incroachment. Alexander Mackwilliam, a Fraser, Captain off our Watch, with his brother, John Fraser, and halfe a score desperat yowng men, came disguisd to Bun- crive in a morning, and brake down all the glass windowes of the house, the carved names and stones, then pulld down the mill, brake the millstones to bits, levelling all to the ground as if there had been no house there. This atrocious riott galls Cullodden to the heart. The shirref of Inverness, or the Lord Lovats balife, were judges competent for such villanies; there he could expect no favour nor justice. My advice to him, being at my owne house, was freely to pass it over unconcernedly, for if he should persue it legally he could have no reparation of these meanes, not being solvendo, nor off their persones, being desperat and would soon turn outlawes and doe him and his lands considerable mischeefe (for Highland fewds never dies); and moreover it were no small difficulty (if possible at all) to instruct the deed or fix uppon the actors. Uppon mature thoughts he quit gave it over, and settes a tack of his maines in Bunchrive to Alexander Chisholm, Shirreff Deput off Inverness, who now lives in that town, and laboures the land.

S.
L. F.
L.
D.
I. S.
I. F. I. D.

A riot in Bunchrive.

There is an old prophesie runns concerning the Frasers, viz, that some great and fatall change will happen to fall out

A prophesie of Frasers and others.

when every leading famely of the name hath but one sone; and this casualty is now observed among them, for my Lord Lovat hath but one sone, the Lord Fraser of Muchol hath but one sone, the Lord Salton Philorth but one sone, the Laird of Strachin hath but one sone, the Laird of Inveralochy hath but one sone, Sir Alexander Fraser of Dorris hath but one sone. This is the sentiments off thoughtfull men amongst us at present. Another prediction of some great alteration uppon the famelies quhen Mackchinnich Glondow, MackkHimmy baldow, M'kintosich Cline, agus Shissolach Cāme, lives in one age, that is black-kneed Seaforth, blackspotted Lord Lovat, squinteyed Mckintosh, and gleied or a Chisholm blind of an eye; and those four ar just now contemporary:[1] and though much stress should not be laid uppon such prophesies, yet they ought not to be vilified or contemnd; and, seing these things were observed before they came, we can do no less then remark them when they fall out, as now they doe. And I remember to heare a very old man, Eneas M'kdonell in Craigscorry, relate these two predictions to Sir James Fraser, tutor of Lovat, *anno* 1648; and as I heard the observe then with my eares, so I now see it with my eyes. God Almighty turn all to the best!

Whatever falls out among the laytie of the name of Fraser, the clargy were never so numerous then at the late Lord Lovats death; and, as I reckoned them by name, so I also knew them in particular, viz. 1. Mr. Farqhar Fraser, Dean of the Isles. 2. Master James Fraser, minister at Tire eyh [Tiree]. 3. Mr. John Fraser, minister at Coll; 4. Master Lachlin Fraser, minister at Inverlochy and Lochabber; 5. Master Hugh Fraser, minister at Killtarlity; 6. Master Donald Fraser, minister at Urqhart; 7. Master Thomas Fraser, minister at Siddy; 8. Master James Fraser, minister at Wardlaw; 9. Master Alexander Fraser, minister at Petty; 10. Master Alexander Fraser, minister at Daviot; 11. Master William Fraser, minister at Slaines; 12. Mr. James Fraser, minister at Arbroth; 13. Mr. Thomas Fraser, minister at S. Michells in the west; Mr. Michel Fraser, Deacon at [ ]; Mr.

[1] See footnote, p. 467

James Fraser, Brey; Mr. James Fraser in . . . on;[1] Mr. Hugh Fraser, Eskidell; Mr. Simon Fraser, Finask; Mr. William Fraser, Pitcali . . .;[1] Mr. George Fraser, governour to Seaforth; Mr. William Fraser, Kilmorak; etc.

The settlement of the Lord Lovats famely, by the Tutors, is now fallen uppon Sir George M'Kenzie of Tarbut, being the uncle, takes the young Lord in his own custody. Mistress Anna, the eldest daughter, being now 13 yeares of age, is sent south to be educat. Mistress Isabel is now about . . . yeares age, is at Channorys School, intrusted to the care of her aunt, the Countess off Seaforth. Mistress Margret, the youngest, now about 9 yeares of age, is sent to the Lady Collintown, her grandmother and godmother. Thomas Fraser of Beufort, the onely uncle and granduncle extant of the famely, seing he is secluded from any intromission with the estate, the lest that can be allowed him is to have his choice of any labouring within the Lordship, and he chuses Tommich, where his mother-in-law, Sibilla, lived, where now he setles, passing his time privatly and contentedly without the croud, care, and confluence of any worldly concern, and may sing with the poet, *Beatus ille qui procul negotiis, Paterna Rura Rebus exercet suis*[2]—

My Lord Lovats children disperst and disposed.

Felix qui suus est, animi propriique monarcha,
Laus est Imperij ponere jura sibi;
Maximus internum quisquis superaverit hostem.
Major Alexandro, Cæsare, major erit.
Ecquid habent reges, nisi membris tegmen et escaem?
Quæ vel nobiscum, vile inappale tenet.

Happy who art thy own! and monarch of thy mind;
Its praise to limit thee; and have thy will confind!
Great victory's this to vanquish an inward foe,
What more could Cæsar, great Alexander, doe?
Lo what hath Kings but their grand courts and food,
The same have we in our cottages for need!

[1] Ink faded.

[2] Adapted from Horace, Epodes ii.:—

'*Beatus ille qui procul negotiis,*
Ut prisca gens mortalium,
Paterna rura bobus exercet suis,
Solutus omni fenore.'

A horrid murder in Wardlaw parish.

There happened a horrid murther within this parochin of Wardlaw, tedious to relate in all its circumstances. The manner in short was thus. Mr. Simon Fraser in Finask had the Maines of Lovat in labouring, and one John M'keanvore,[1] his foreman, threshing straw for his oxen in one of the barns, usually made great botles of straw to carry uppon his back home; and the rogue kept a linning satchell about him and filled it with barly, and secured it in the heart of the botle of straw, that none might see or suspect him. One night going off with a burding uppon his back, the satchell dropt out of the bottle, full off barly, which Donald Mackwilliam Chui,[2] one of Mr. Simons boys, remarking, said, John this is not honest; yow abuse the trust which your master gives yow and us all; if this be your constant practice, its a great losse to the honest gentleman, who cannot attend his barns. Being thus challanged, and feareing to be discovered, he contrives a plott to dispatch Donald Mackwilliam Chui after this manner. He came up to Finask in the evening late, and told the young man that he would putt him uppon a secret, which he wisht him to conceal; for, saith he, I have found a great selch at the shore, and we will make a good piece of monny by him, and I have not revealed this to any but to my brother-in-law, John Mackeanire,[3] in Donaldston, who is just going down with me to the place that we may flea the selch and secure the fatt in such a place. The poor innocent yowng man, Donald M'kwilliam Chui, dreeding no harm, runns after him, and in the bottom near the carse closs by the rode, John M'keanire was lurking till they came. Immediatly John Mackeanvore drawes his durk and stabs Donald Mackwilliam Chui to the heart, who haveing fallen to the ground, John Mackeanire, frightned, and clapt his hands with an Oh, oh! Mackeanvore saith to him, John, give yow him the next stab that yow may be as deep in the guilt as I, conform to paction, else, by God, I will give yow a stabb as deep as my hand can reach. The fellow, fearing the worst, reaches a thrust through the dead body, and so another and another till he was killed outright;

[1] John, son of Big John.
[2] Donald, son of Black William.
[3] John, son of Dun [?] John.

and then carried away the dead corps to the carses shore, and laid it uppon a piece of the broken bank in the lake, thinking that the next flowing of the sea would carry it away; and there left the body, and returnd home in the dark night.

The signall providence that appeared in this mater was, that though the dead body had layn uppon the sodd within the floud mark, and the sea ebbed and flowed sex times dureing its being there, yet not taken away. Uppon the 3d day the herdsmen bringing by their cattell discovered the dead man, heasted in to the place, found it was their nighbour, Donald Mackwilliam Chui, murthered, instantly allarmed the townes round about. All the people presently flockt to the place, and, perceiving that he had been three dayes missed, and his corps lying uppon a flatt piece of the bank within the flood, wondered that the sea ebbing did not drive him away, the wind being southerly all the time. But the hand of God was in it to discover the murther off the innocent. The corps is carried to the churchyard, and laid in the common reer with the chappell, and a dispatch sent expresse for the Shirref Deput, Alexander Chisholm, living in Bunchrive, who peremptorly conveens the whole parish, causes strip naked the corps, and lay it exposed uppon a broad plank at the entry of the chappel, and chaines set round; and all the gentlemen of the 3 parishes present, concluding that this murther was an act of malice and revenge, and not of gain or lucer, the poor young man being but a servant and had no great trust. The list of the parishioners being read, every one as he was called toucht the bare body, laying his hand on it, non of quhat degree soever excepted, men and women to the number of 6 or 700. At length the murtherer, John Mackeanvore, laid his hand most confidently uppon the bare breast, and I narrowly observed (sitting at the head of the coffin) that the greatest wound oppened, and a drop of bloud guished out. I desired he should lay on his hand again, which he did, and men observed a drop of blood issue from the nose. He is suddenly ceased and fettered, brought in to the church, and, after serious prayer for the discovery of this horrid wark of darkness, he is examined, and a torture threatned; but no confession. His mittimus signd, and sent in to the vault of Inverness and

Search made for triall to discover the murder.

secured. Not one man or woman within my parish of Wardlaw, after reading the catollogue, was missed but John M'keanire who was seen to goe heastily through Kingily and over the burn, as the people were conveening for triall, and so escaped. He was seen and known at the bridge end of Inverness, buying ground tobacco in papers, and so away through Strathnarn, and over the bridge of Dulce in to Strathspay; and no account of him for 2 yeares.

John Mackeanvore, the capitall murtherer, being in the pit at Inverness, laid fast in the stocks, continued there but about a fortnight, and both his feet down from the ancles dropt off as if by amputation! When he is brought forth he had a foot in every hand like a shoe last, cursing and imprecating, and praying God to reveing his cruel usage; so that many condemned the judge as too severe, and seemed to vindicat this villan, who is carried away in a sledge through the streets and over the bridge home to his own house in Finask, where his wife and friends attend him; falling in a fever, is every Saboth prayed for as for death, and that God would discover this murther. Meanwhile, men had harsh and doubtfull apprehensions of the mater, untill the Lords time, who discloses the hidden works off darkness, and brings to light and unto judgement every secret thing, whether it be good or whither it be evil; for the secret things before to the Lord our God, but the things that are revealed belong to us and our children for ever. In fine, I myselfe, out of charety, cured this John M'keanvores wounds, untill at last his stumps were as strong as mens fists, without feet; and a contribution made for buying him a horse, and goes up and doun the country confidently as an innocent, begging, and no account of John M'keanire, who is reputed by all men to be the murtherer, haveing run for it as guilty; and we are in suspense for two yeares; the land of Finask (*interim patitur justus*) blasted uppon, neither crop nor cattell thrive: *Inocuus clamat sanguis*; blood cries: Mr. Simon Fraser would give . . .[1] that act for a discovery of this murther, becaus of the clamour and the place seeming to suffer.

Ecles. 12, 14.

Deut. 29. 29.

It is good that a man should both hope and quietly wait

[1] MS. destroyed.

the salvation of the Lord, saith the mournfull Prophet; *nec Deus intersit nisi dignus vindice nodus!* By a rare providence this murder was discovered. We were at the Synod of Murray in April, and accidentally I happened to be in company with Sir James Strachan of Thorntoun, parson of Keith, and he inlarged uppon the judgement of God uppon murderers. I tooke occasion to tell him of this murder in my parish, and our precedours to discover it, and how one suspected had escaped and fled we knew not whither; and, after I had described John Mackeanire to him in his pitch, complexion, features and lineaments, Truely, said Sir James, that same man is in my parish under the name off Donald Gailach, Highland Donald, and ordinarly he serves William Fraser of Couper hill, neare the bridge of Keith, bring him in coales of heather, and waites uppon his kettle and brewing. We parted, and I was impatient to be home, and declard to Mr. Simon Fraser, my nighbour, all that passed betuixt me and Sir James Strachan anent Highland Donald, and he was as impatient untill he sent away a country boy that had both languages to Keith, with a line to Couper hill, who presented Hiland Donald openly to his view. The boy knew very well it was John Mackeanire, with whom he was intimatly acquaint; yet never discovered himselfe to him, but came immediatly back with a return to Mr. Simon, and a full account of the murderer, how William Fraser of Couper Hill had put him in an obscure angle, and presented John M'keanire to his view.

Lam. . . . [Horace, *Ars Poetica*, l. 191.]

Master Simon Fraser dallyes no longer, but getting 6 or 7 pretty men together, and goes forward to Keith, and late at night came to Couperhill, William Fraser, being at home, who ripely contrives a way to bring Highland Donald to them, and, knowing his haunt to be in a poor womans house within halfe a mile to the town, he sent one of the maides about the house thither and desired Donald to be at Couper hill once that day, or when his conveniency did allow, becaus he had 3 or 4 dayes work for him. He, dreeding nothing, comes along with the woman to Couperhill. The house was quiet, the chamber windowes shut; getting him once within the hall, door is shut; the guard issues out of their ambush, layes hold of Donald, and presents him within the chamber. The windowes are

The murderer apprehended.

opened, and Master Simon saluts him by the name of John Mackeanire, and welcomes him to his chamber, where he had been a stranger of a long time. Yow may think John was in a surpriseing astonishment to be thus catcht cunningly in a net. He is delivered to a guard, their reckoning cleared off, and they march away; and it was strange that all the rode, as they came, he never confessed anything, notwithstanding off their convincing arguments against him, as to the murder of Donald Mackwilliam Chui; but which is rare, when he came in view of Invernesse and saw the very church steeple thereof, he came to a cleare confession, and of his own accord declared every particular how he and John Mackeanvoir contrived the killing off M'kwilliam chuy, and every act and step of the murther from first to last.

At their arrivall to the towne with the prisoner, they make application to the Shirref Deput, Alexander Chisholm, who receave him off their hands, commits him to the gaile under guard, calles an inquest and size, sits himselfe as judge competent, conveens John Mackeanire first, who makes a clean brest, confesses all and every point and passage of the murther of Donald Mackwilliam chui, and how John M'keanvore instigat him to it, and made him accomplish and *socius criminis* against his genious and inclination. Then John M'keanvoir is called, stood long to his deniall, till threatned with tortur, and both confronted as to time, place, cause, and reson of the murther, and at length came to a clear confession; but continued an obdurd dog to the last. Being both convict, the sentence of the judge was that John M'keanvore showld be brought to the Castle hill of Inverness, his head cut off uppon the block by the hands of the common hangman, and his body burried under the gallous, his head put upon one of the pins of the toll booth of Inverness, his right arm cut off and sent to Wardlaw parish, and put uppon a pole near and in view of the church. 2. John M'keanire is to be brought to that parish and his head to be cut off there on a block fixt uppon the bell hill of Wardlaw, and that head, being cut off, to be fixt uppon a pole, set uppon the top of Leminech, and then his right arm to be cut off and fixt uppon the pole belowe the church, with M'keanvores. The which was exactly and accordingly done

The two murderers executed.

to the great astonnishment of all the parishioners off Ward-law, beholding the same. Thus is Gods law executed: Whoso sheddeth mans bloud by man shall his bloud be shed. God, Gen. 9. 6. who is a long suffering but not an eversuffering God, hath now in his own due time avenged Donald Mackwilliam chuis bloud uppon Mackeanvore and Mackeanire, now both executed. Whoso killeth any person, the murderer shall be put to death, and ye shall take no satisfaction for him that is fled. So yow shall not pollute the land wherein yow dwell, for bloud it Num. 35. 3. defileth the land, and the land cannot be cleansed but by the bloud of him that shed it; no expiation but bloud for bloud.

This was a singular good year, fertil enugh, but rainye, which made harvest late, for from lambess to hallowmasse we had not 3 continued dry dayes; much heated corn; in September great and tempestuous winds; the 11. of September was the sadest shakeing that ever man living heard off or saw; it is unexpressible and the losse incredible: so that Thursday 11. of September turnd into a proverb. Yet it is observed that a shakeing yeare was never a scarce yeare, and so it happened, for there was great store of victuall all the kingdom over; the boll within sex mark, or about 5, all the year till spring after. A great deal of old corn, and litle gone out of the country, keept it cheap all the yeare; and how may the abuse and contempt of plenty provoke the Great and Almighty God to deprive us of it: And when I have Levit: . . . broken the staff of your bread it shall be delivered to yow by weight, and ye shall eat and not be satisfied. This was threattened then, and inflicted also, as the prophet complains. And I will take away from Juda and Jerusalem the whole stay and staff of bread. *Quid Deus avertat.* Man, apprehending future happiness, hath hope given him for the sustentation of his drooping soul, who would live wounded with calamities did not smileing hope cheere him with expectation of deliverance, as the Poet Tibull:

Jam mala finissem; sed credula vitam
Spes fovet, et melius cras fori semper ait,
Spes alit agricolas; spes sulcis credit aratris,
Semina, quæ magno fenore reddit ager.

Hæc laqueo volucres, hæc captut arundine pisces
Cum tenues hamos alldidit ante cibus.
Spes etiam valida, captivum compede vinctum
Crura sonat ferro, sed canit inter opus.

Hope flatters life, and sayes she 'll still bequeath
Better; else I had cur'd all ills by death.
She blyths the farmer; do's his grain commit
To earth, which with large use replentieth it.
She snares the birds; and fishes, as they glide,
Striks with small hooks that consuming bates do hide;
She cheeres the shakled prisoner, and whil his thigh
Rings with his chaines he works and sings on high.

1674. This year begins with a Parliament endicted at Westminster, where his Majesty was present in person, and made a gracious speech to them. The greatest mater in hand was the thoughts of peace with the Dutch, and all indeavoures tending thereunto vigorously persued. At this time his Majesty causd a new sort of brasse halfepence and farthings to be coind and to passe current through all England, minted in the Tower, and issued forth a proclamation for the suppression of the particular farthings and halfepence of privat shopkeepers; and, being informed that some of these did continue to utter halfe pence and farthings of their own stamping, he caused them to be proceeded against according to law, which was so effectually done that many were convicted and fined, but, uppon submission, by the Kings mercy pardoned, so that now one coin of brasse passes all England over. I remember, *anno* 1660, when I was at London, the constables appointed one in every lane and street in the city to coin farthings with his own name on it; and they bought this priveledge, so that the brasse mony which passed in one lane did not in another.

Brasse halfe pences and farthings coined for all England.

In the close of January the Dutch sent their Embassador to England with their letter to his Majesty pleading for peace. In end a Treaty was concluded uppon between the King of England and the Dutch. The place appointed was Collogn, where the Plenipotentiaries of the severall confederats were to meet: for the King of Great Britain, Sir Joseph Williamson and Sir Leonel Jinkins; for the King of Spain, Count Areschot, and Done Emanuel de Lyra; for the Emperour, Count Con-

ningfech and the Barron de Isola; for the Crown of Sweden, Count Totti; for the French, the Count de Chausues. The newes were receaved with cordiall joy in the Low Countries; the peace ratified and publickly proclamed at London. Peace with Holland ratified March 1.

In February her Royall Highness was brought to bed of a daughter, christened at St. James's by the Lord Bishop of Durham by the name of Katharina Laura, the Duke of Monemouth being godfather, the Lady Mary and Lady Anna godmothers. In March the Parliament of England is prorogued till the 10 of November. In the beginning of April the Court goes for Windsor, where the Earl of Mulgrave was insitut Knight of the Garter. And now there are grudges and discontents that the King favours rebels. The Lord Loquart, haveing presented the King with a brave coach and 6 horses, and is sent Ambassador to offer his Majesties mediation between the King of France and the Queen of Spain to compose the differences between them; and that he might no way be concerned in their difference, by proclamation forbids any of his subjects to enter into the service of any forreign prince. In May Sir Leonel Jinkins and Sir Joseph Williamson return to London from Colloign, and the Barron de Reed, van Benninghen, and van Heren, extraordinary Embassadors from the States of Holland, made their solemn entry to London May 30. The King and the Duke of York goe for Portsmouth, June 10; and, uppon resignation of the Duke of Buckingham, the Duke of Monmouth is made Chancelour of the University of Cambridge. The solemn ceremony is performed at Worcester House. The Earle of Arlingtown is created Lord Chamerlane of his Majesties houshold, and at the same time Sir Joseph Williamson created principall Secretary of State. June 10, a strick proclamation is issued against the Jesuits and Priests, commanding their discovery and apprehension, and 5 libs. for each that would be taken and presented; and uppon the 22 of September his Majesty published a proclamation prorogueing the Parliament till the 13 of Aprile ensueing. The Earles of Ossery and Arlington are sent to Holland, and in November arrived at the Hague, er they payed their respects to the Prince off Orange, now State holder and Captain. In October his Majesty, being royally feasted when Sir Robert Veiner was Feb. 4. Princess was delivered.

created Lord Mayor of the city, condescended to the acceptance of the freedom of London in the Chamberlans office from the hands of Sir Thomas Player, Chamberlan, beyond the example of any of his royal predecessors. The said Sir Robert Veiner presented his Majesty in the name of the city with a coppy of the freedom, in a large square box of massy gold; the seal appendant also in a box of gold set all over with diamonds and other precious stones, a rich present. In December his Majesty translated the Right Reverend father in God, Doctor Jo. Crowe, Bishop of Oxford, and Clerk of his Closet, to the See of Durham, and made choice of the Honorable Doctor Compton, brother to the Earle of Northampton, to succeed in his place.

* * * * * *

[Here follows a synchronism of events on the Continent. The record, as now existing, closes abruptly at the foot of page 373, and in the year 1674. It is almost certain that, as left by the author (who survived till 1709), it came down to a much later period.]

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Printed by T. and A. Constable, Printers to His Majesty
at the Edinburgh University Press